

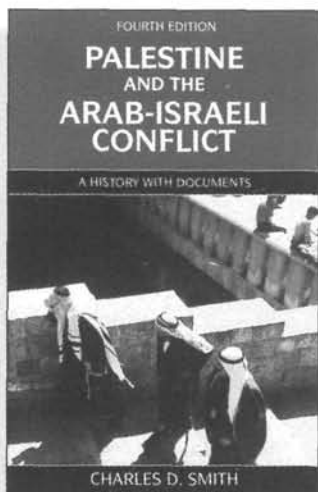
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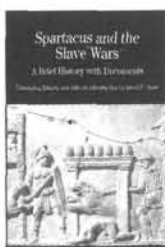
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In This Issue

This issue contains five articles and one review essay, as well as our usual complement of reviews of individual books and films. Between them, the articles deal with a broad range of places, periods, and topics. One focuses on cultural practices and ideas linked to slumber in pre-industrial England, another uses techniques associated with social and environmental history to analyze a donkey massacre that occurred in South Africa during the 1980s. In addition to these, there is an article that looks at cinema and society in Nazi Germany and an article that interprets the meaning of debates over abortion law in interwar Britain. Also, there is a collaborative study, by three scholars, of the international campaign waged in the 1930s to expose the injustices of American race relations through rallies and publications demanding the release of the “Scottsboro Boys”—a group of young African-American men unjustly convicted of raping two white women. The appearance of this article is particularly appropriate at this moment in time, since the spring of 2001 marks the 70th anniversary of the famous (or, rather, infamous) trials. The review essay that follows the articles extends still further the scope of the April issue. Written by a specialist in East European history who, like many historians of late, has become increasingly interested in subjects with a global reach, it examines a series of recent works that present contrasting interpretations and descriptions of the similarities of and differences between early modern Asian and European economic systems.

Articles

A. Roger Ekirch focuses on a subject that has typically received little attention from historians: slumber. Even in this era when many of us take for granted the importance of looking at the quotidian existence of historical actors, he argues, history continues, for the most part, to ignore sleep patterns and the significance attached to them. This is unfortunate in the case of the history of Britain, Ekirch insists, for three reasons. First, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that, in pre-industrial times, many ordinary people were very concerned with the quality of their repose and took steps to improve it. Second, in this setting, dreams and their analysis were considered very important subjects—as indeed has been true in many contexts. Third, and perhaps most surprising, a tradition of segmented as opposed to uninterrupted sleep seems to have been the norm before the arrival of modern lighting and other relatively recent

developments. Making use of diverse source materials, ranging from diaries to letters to works of fiction, Ekirch explores the meaning of the practice of segmented sleep and its demise. He also describes the varied ways that British people spent their time during the period of wakefulness between what they sometimes referred to as their “first” and “second” sleep.

James A. Miller, Susan D. Pennybacker, and Eve Rosenhaft look at a well-studied event, the outrage generated in progressive circles by the treatment of the “Scottsboro Boys,” but they place it in a novel and unusually transnational framework. Making use of newly available evidence from the Comintern archives, as well as materials scattered in libraries located in various parts of North America and Europe, they draw attention to the transnational scope of the campaign to free the young African-American defendants from incarceration and to the varied political affiliations and backgrounds—from Communist Party members to non-Communist progressive intellectuals—of those who joined the effort. In addition, through a detailed consideration of the European tour of the mother of two of the defendants, which looks both at her words and deeds and the way audiences responded to them, the authors make a compelling case for the need to find new strategies for dealing with African-American agency and the complexities of competing vernaculars of communication when constructing a more robustly international history of race and politics in the twentieth century.

Stephen Brooke draws on methodologies and insights associated with fields such as postcolonial studies and feminist criticism to investigate a topic in legal history: abortion law. He illuminates, through close analysis of diverse texts from 1930s Britain, the interplay between class and gender in arguments over the proper role of the state in general and the legal system in particular in regulating natal practices. The topic of abortion remains the subject of considerable controversy in many countries to this day, yet attempts to place earlier debates on the topic into the fullest possible context remain relatively rare. Brooke’s article provides scholars interested in the subject with some fascinating information and a model for using the tools of both historians and literary critics to shed light on the political and social dimensions of legal debates.

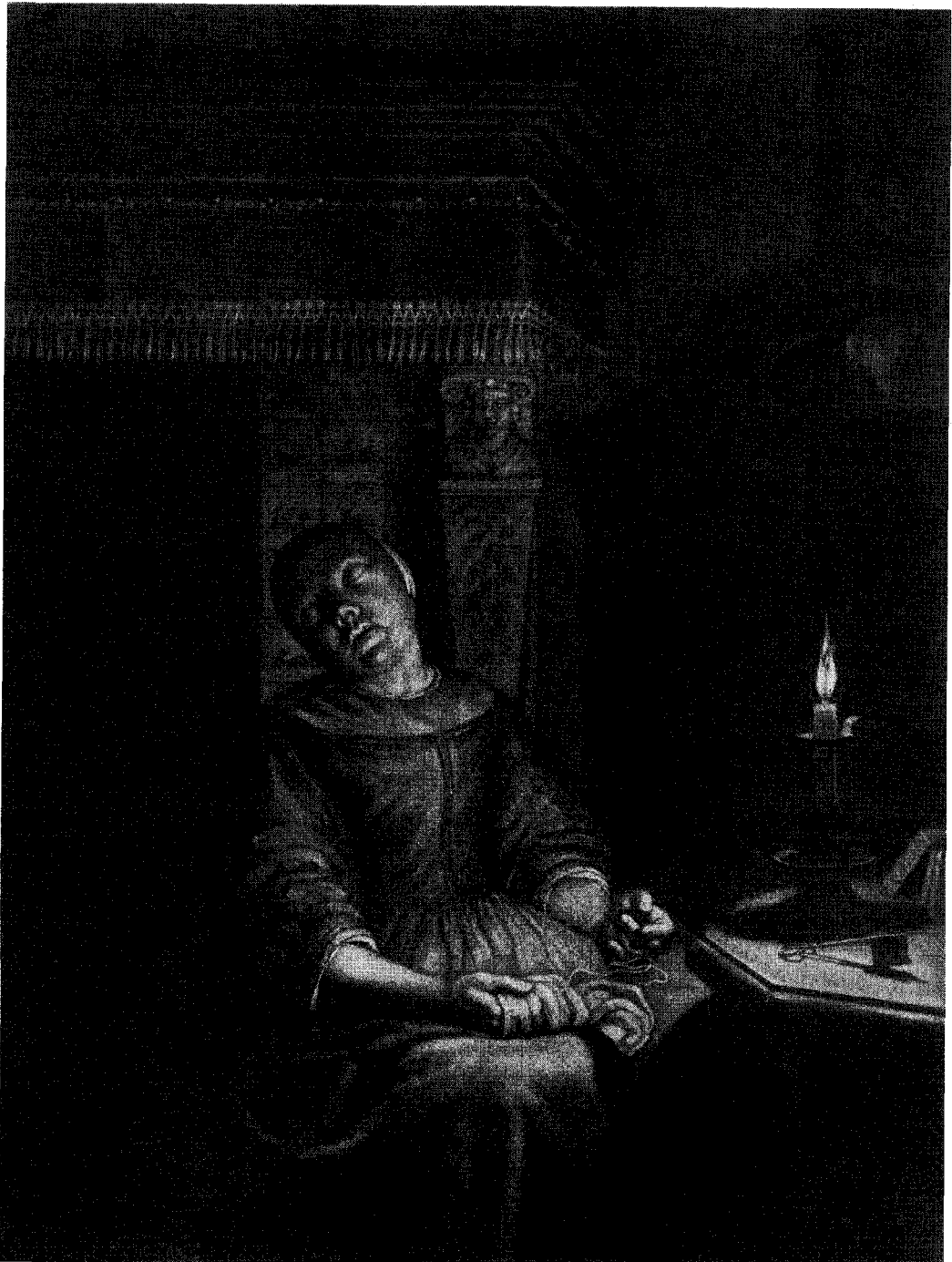
Scott Spector directs our attention to the often problematic or underdeveloped treatment of ideology in interdisciplinary work on cinema and society, choosing as an entry point into this subject the rich literature on films produced in Germany during the Nazi era. He discusses a series of books and articles by historians, on the one hand, and specialists in film studies, on the other, but he explicitly distances his approach from that of the author of a review essay. His concern is with making the case for a particular set of techniques that, if used properly, he claims, can do more than has generally been done to bring together the history of ideas and the history of cultural practices. Interdisciplinarity, Spector argues, is much easier to celebrate in the abstract than to actually carry out, and, in many instances, when film studies and cultural history come together, ideological issues end up getting short shrift. The key in looking at the Nazi political project—and, by extension, others as well—is, according to Spector, to create

a form of intellectual history that emphasizes ideology yet treats it as a complex concept that cannot be reduced to the dogma explicitly endorsed by a single leader or even an entire regime.

Nancy J. Jacobs focuses tightly on a little-known but dramatic act of donkey culling that took place in South Africa during the 1980s and has been remembered and talked about by local residents in varied and passionate ways ever since. Treating the event as an episode in colonial history that fits into a long series of efforts by the state to denigrate donkeys and by extension exert control over their owners, she sees the slaughter of these animals as a tragic occurrence and also one that sheds light on power relations associated with class and race. One of her most provocative claims is that historians need to address the different ways that animals figure in the mental and emotional worlds of human actors. In this case, Jacobs asserts, it is crucial to come to terms with the fact that, to their owners, the slain donkeys were fellow beings as opposed to merely objects or possessions. Based largely on interviews, yet attentive to the care with which oral history evidence needs to be handled where controversial and violent episodes are concerned, this article moves between and makes effective use of methodologies and ideas associated with social, cultural, and above all environmental history.

Review Essay

Gale Stokes examines the theses defended and methodologies employed by the author of several major works of macrohistory that address a common issue: the rise of the West. Why was it, the authors of these books ask, that a relatively small and at one point backward periphery area on the western fringe of the Eurasian continent, rather than some other seemingly more promising regions, became the dominant force in the world in the nineteenth century? Stokes traces the main fault lines in the answers they offer, paying particularly close attention to the contrast between works (such as those of David Landes) that argue that there was something unique in the western European past that facilitated its eventual assertion of economic and political hegemony and works (such as those of Andre Gunder Frank) that deny the validity of this idea. Stokes, an Eastern Europeanist by training who has begun to teach more courses with a global reach, sees both Landes and Frank as trapped by the way they frame their questions, but he is encouraged by recent moves toward new styles of comparative history that stress the similarities as opposed to differences between varied parts of the world in early modern times. Here, he says, in works that make room for reciprocal as opposed to one-way comparisons, we begin to glimpse the possibility for future histories of Eurasia and of the world that will be able to grapple effectively with the development and legacy of a global order that was, for a time, dominated by Europe.



Frontispiece: Gerard Valck, *Servante Endormie* (Sleeping Servant), n.d. Courtesy of the Graphische Sammlung der ETH, Zurich.

Sleep We Have Lost: Pre-industrial Slumber in the British Isles

A. ROGER EKIRCH

Our entire history is only the history of waking men.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg

DURING THE FIRST DAYS OF AUTUMN IN 1878, Robert Louis Stevenson, at age twenty-seven, spent twelve days trudging through the Cévennes, France's southern highlands, despite having suffered from frail health during much of his youth. His sole companion was a donkey named Modestine. With *Treasure Island* and literary fame five years off, Stevenson's trek bore scant resemblance to the grand tours of young Victorian gentlemen. Midway through the journey, having scaled one of the highest ranges, he encamped at a small clearing shrouded by pine trees. Fortified for a night's hibernation by a supper of bread and sausage, chocolate, water, and brandy, he reclined within his "sleeping sack," with a cap over his eyes, just as the sun had run its course. But rather than resting until dawn, Stevenson awoke shortly past midnight. Only after lazily smoking a cigarette and enjoying an hour's contemplation did he fall back to sleep. "There is one stirring hour," he later recorded in his journal, "unknown to those who dwell in houses, when a wakeful influence goes abroad over the sleeping hemisphere, and all the outdoor world are on their feet," men and beasts alike. Never before had Stevenson savored a "more perfect hour"—free, he delighted, from the "bastille of civilization." "It seemed to me as if life had begun again afresh, and I knew no one in all the universe but the almighty maker."¹

Aside from spending the night outdoors, no explanation sufficed for the wistful hour of consciousness that Stevenson experienced in the early morning darkness. "At what inaudible summons," he wondered, "are all these sleepers thus recalled in the same hour to life?" Were the stars responsible or some "thrill of mother earth below our resting bodies? Even shepherds and old country-folk, who are the

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¹ Robert Louis Stevenson, *The Cévennes Journal: Notes on a Journey through the French Highlands*, Gordon Golding, ed. (New York, 1979), 79–82.

deepest read in these arcana," he marveled, "have not a guess as to the means or purpose of this nightly resurrection. Towards two in the morning they declare the thing takes place; and neither know or inquire further." Unknown to Stevenson, his experience that fall evening was remarkably reminiscent of a form of sleep that was once commonplace. Until the modern era, up to an hour or more of quiet wakefulness midway through the night interrupted the rest of most Western Europeans, not just napping shepherds and slumbering woodsmen. Families rose from their beds to urinate, smoke tobacco, and even visit close neighbors. Remaining abed, many persons also made love, prayed, and, most important, reflected on the dreams that typically preceded waking from their "first sleep." Not only were these visions unusually vivid, but their images would have intruded far less on conscious thought had sleepers not stirred until dawn. The historical implications of this traditional mode of repose are enormous, especially in light of the significance European households once attached to dreams for their explanatory and predictive powers. In addition to suggesting that consolidated sleep, such as we today experience, is unnatural, segmented slumber afforded the unconscious an expanded avenue to the waking world that has remained closed for most of the Industrial Age.

THIS ARTICLE SEEKS TO EXPLORE the elusive realm of sleep in early modern British society, with the aid of occasional illustrations from elsewhere in Europe and British North America. Although England forms the heart of my inquiry, I have focused on facets of slumber common to most Western societies, including, most significantly, the predominant pattern of sleep before the Industrial Revolution. Few characteristics of sleep in past ages, much less the "arcana" of "old country-folk," have received examination since Samuel Johnson complained that "so liberal and impartial a benefactor" should "meet with so few historians." Apart from fleeting references in scholarly monographs to the prolonged sleeping habits of pre-industrial communities, only the subject of dreams has drawn sustained scrutiny. Early modern scholars have neglected such topics as bedtime rituals, sleep deprivation, and variations in slumber between different social ranks.² In the first

² Samuel Johnson, *The Adventurer* (March 20, 1753): 229. Nearly twenty years ago, George Steiner argued that studies of sleep "would be as essential, if not more so, to our grasp of the evolution of mores and sensibilities as are the histories of dress, of eating, of child-care, of mental and physical infirmity, which social historians and the *historiens des mentalités* are at last providing for us." "The Historicity of Dreams," in Steiner, *No Passion Spent: Essays 1978–1996* (London, 1996), 211–12. More recently, Daniel Roche has implored, "Let us dream of a social history of sleep." *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600–1800*, Brian Pearce, trans. (Cambridge, 2000), 182. Historical accounts of dreams have included Peter Burke, "L'histoire sociale des rêves," *Annales: E.S.C.* 28 (1973): 329–42; Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990); Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992); Carole Susan Fungaroli, "Landscapes of Life: Dreams in Eighteenth-Century British Fiction and Contemporary Dream Theory" (PhD dissertation, University of Virginia, 1994); Alan Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge, 1970), 183–87; S. R. F. Price, "The Future of Dreams: From Freud to Artemidorous," *Past and Present* 113 (November 1986): 3–37; Manfred Weidhorn, *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (The Hague, 1970); *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*, David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (New York, 1999); Charles Carlton, "The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud," *History Today* 36 (December 1986): 9–14. Attitudes toward sleep, from the ancient world to the twentieth century, are

portion of this article, I explore these and other features, not only to map sleep's principal contours but also to underscore its manifold importance in everyday life. More significantly, this section lays the foundation for a detailed investigation of segmented sleep and, ultimately, its relationship to early modern dreams. If the overall subject of slumber for historians has remained cloaked in obscurity, the age-old pattern of "first" and "second sleep" has been wholly ignored. Central to the entire article is the profound role pre-industrial sleep played in the lives of ordinary men and women, which by no means included the assurance of sound slumber.

Historical indifference to sleep stems partly from a seeming shortage of sources, in particular our misguided notion that contemporaries rarely reflected on a state of existence at once common yet hidden from the waking world. But within such disparate evidence as diaries, medical books, imaginative literature, and legal depositions, there are regular references to sleep, often lamentably terse but nonetheless revealing. Far from being ignored, the subject frequently absorbed people's thoughts, with most sharing the opinion of the character "Grave" in a late seventeenth-century comedy that "we must desire it should be as sedate, and quiet as may be."³ Then, too, social historians have normally displayed less interest in the mundane exigencies of human behavior than in broader issues relating to class, religion, race, and gender. Only recently have scholars systematically begun to address how individuals genuinely lived, with fresh attention to such basic aspects of pre-industrial existence as hygiene, dress, and diet.⁴ Sleep has remained among the most neglected topics primarily because the relative tranquility of modern slumber has dulled our perceptions of its past importance. Much like the Scottish cleric Robert Wodrow, we seem to have concluded that "sleep can scarce be justly reconed part of our life."⁵ Whereas our waking hours are animated, volatile, and highly differentiated, sleep appears, by contrast, passive, monotonous, and uneventful—qualities scarcely designed to spark the interest of a scholarly discipline dedicated to charting change across time, the faster-paced the better.

Grist for our prejudices lies strewn throughout English literature. With the explosive expansion during the sixteenth century in imaginative writing, the

chronicled in Jaume Rosselló Mir, *et al.*, "Una aproximación histórica al estudio científico de sueño: El periodo intuitivo el pre-científico," *Revista de historia de la psicología* 12 (1991): 133–42. For a brief survey of sleep in the Middle Ages, see Jean Verdon, *La nuit au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1994), 203–17; and for an examination of key medical texts touching on sleep during the early modern era, see Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Sleep: Theory and Practice in the Late Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 41 (October 1986): 415–41.

³ Charles Gildon, *The Post-Boy Rob'd of His Mail . . .* (London, 1692), 109.

⁴ For several recent explorations of ordinary life, see *A History of Private Life*, Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., Arthur Goldhammer, trans., 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1987–91), esp. vols. 2 and 3; Roche, *History of Everyday Things*; Annik Pardaillhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy: Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, Jocelyn Phelps, trans. (Philadelphia, 1991). Research devoted to recapturing everyday realities has included a growing appreciation for the senses. See, for instance, Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); and Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, Martin Thom, trans. (New York, 1998); Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago, 1999).

⁵ Robert Wodrow, *Analecta: or, Materials for a History of Remarkable Providences; Mostly Relating to Scotch Ministers and Christians*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1842–43), 3: 496.

peacefulness of sleep became a favorite topic for all forms of literary adulation, especially verse drama and poetry. Johnson later claimed that because poets required "respite from thought," they were naturally "well affected to sleep," which "not only" bestowed "rest, but frequently" led "them to happier regions." No doubt, life's daily miseries made beds appear all the more oases of serenity.⁶ Typically, when not likening slumber to the gentle embrace of death ("No diffrence," wrote the London poet Francis Quarles, "but a little Breath"⁷), writers celebrated sleep as a sanctuary that locked "Sences from their Cares." In "balmy Sleep," people "forgot the Labours of the Day" and "in Oblivion buried all their Toils," opined the author of *Night Thoughts among the Tombs*.⁸ Nor were its blessings reserved just for persons of privilege. At a time when distinction, rank, and preferment ordinarily reigned, slumber alone made "the Wretched equal with the Blest." Sir Philip Sidney called sleep "the poor man's wealth, the prisoner's release, the indifferent judge between the high and low."⁹ A corollary to this assumption, rooted in the medieval concept of the "sleep of the just," was the belief that the soundest slumber, in fact, belonged to those with simple minds and callused hands, society's toiling classes. "Whilst the Peasant takes his sweet repose," wrote John Taylor the Water-Poet, "the peere is round behem'd with cares and woes."¹⁰

⁶ Johnson, *Adventurer* (March 20, 1753): 232. Among poets, Christof Wirsung echoed, sleep represented "the pleasantest amongst all goods, yeas the onelie giver of tranquility on earth." *Praxis Medicinæ Universalis: or, A Generall Practise of Phisicke* . . . (London, 1598), 618. See also Albert S. Cook, "The Elizabethan Invocations to Sleep," *Modern Language Notes* 4 (1889): 457-61.

⁷ *The Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Francis Quarles*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed., 3 vols. (New York, 1967), 2: 206. See also, for example, Thomas Cheesman, *Death Compared to Sleep in a Sermon Preacht upon the Occasion of the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Allen* . . . (London, 1695); William Jones, *A Disquisition Concerning the Metaphorical Usage and Application of Sleep in the Scriptures* (London, 1772).

⁸ T. D. Gent, *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster, A Poem in Burlesque* (London, 1690), 43; *Night Thoughts among the Tombs* . . . (London, 1753), 37. See also, for example, Michelangelo, "The Speech of Night," and Samuel Daniel, "A Plea," in *Journey into Night*, H. J. Deverson, ed. (New York, 1966), 194, 196; Sir Philip Sidney, *Arcadia*, 2 vols. (1598; rpt. edn., Delmar, N.Y., 1984), 2: 396-97; "On Sleep," in *Four Odes* (London, 1750), 1; "To Sleep," *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside* (New York, 1969), 262.

⁹ Burton E. Stevenson, *The Home Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases* (New York, 1948), 2134; Sir Philip Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella* (London, 1591). Sancho Panza reflected, "While I sleep I have no fear, nor hope, nor trouble, nor glory. God bless the inventor of sleep, the cloak that covers all man's thoughts, the food that cures all hunger, the water that quenches all thirst, the fire that warms the cold, the cold that cools the heart; the common coin, in short, that can purchase all things, the balancing weight that levels the shepherd with the king, and the simple with the wise." Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, J. M. Cohen, trans. (1950; rpt. edn., Baltimore, 1965), 906. See also *Another Collection of Philosophical Confernces of the French Virtuosi* . . . , G. Havers and J. Davies, trans. (London, 1665), 3; Elkanah Settle, *Ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa* (London, 1677), 51; Jean-François Senault, *Man Become Guilty: or, The Corruption of Nature by Sinne*, Henry, Earle of Monmouth, trans. (London, 1650), 247; Abraham Cowley, "Sleep," in *Minor English Poets, 1660-1780: A Selection from Alexander Chalmers' The English Poets*, David P. French, comp., 10 vols. (New York, 1967), 2: 115; Mr. A., "To Sleep," *The Diverting-Post, Made Up into a Packet for the Entertainment of the Court, City, and Country* (January 1706); Christopher Jones, "Midnight Thoughts," *St. James Chronicle* (London), March 22, 1774.

¹⁰ *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet Not Included in the Folio Volume of 1630*, 5 vols. (1870; rpt. edn., New York, 1967), vol. 1. For the "sommeil du juste," see Verdon, *La nuit au Moyen Age*, 203-06. Earlier, the belief that "the sleep of a labouring man is sweet" was expressed in Ecclesiastes 5: 12. See also *Du Bartas: His Divine Weekes and Workes*, Joshua Sylvester, trans. (London, 1621), 465; Robert Daborne, *The Poor-Mans Comfort* (London, 1655); John Collop, "On Homer," in *Poesis Rediviva* (London, 1656), 63; Cheesman, *Death Compared to Sleep*, 12; William Somerville, *Ocassional Poems, Translations, Fables, Tales* . . . (London, 1727), 275; "The Peasant," *General Advertiser* (London),

Sleep, to be sure, granted weary men and women of all ranks some measure of relief from daily cares as well as an interval of hard-won rest from their labors. Rare was the early modern family that did not shoulder its share of petty tribulations, much less endure disease, violence, or poverty. Even for those of upper-class birth like Dame Sarah Cowper, "The greatest part of our time is spent in pain, trouble and vexation . . . we being continuously liable to Accidents, Infirmitys, Crosses, and Afflictions." Sleep's principal contribution was not merely physiological but psychological. Thus, according to London street slang, falling asleep was to "forget oneself." If only because "its pleasures are purely negative," surmised Cowper, "Sleep may be reckon'd one of the Blessings of Life."¹¹ Also possible is that the solace persons derived varied in inverse proportion to their quality of life, with those farther down the social scale most looking forward to slumber. Affirmed a Jamaican slave proverb, "Sleep hab no Massa."¹² Set against the drudgery of their waking hours, retiring to bed for most laborers, if only on a thin mattress of straw, must have been welcome indeed, all the more since few claimed furniture of any greater comfort.

But did sleep routinely offer individuals a genuine asylum? Did most, in an era before sleeping pills, body pillows, and earplugs, enjoy the reasonable expectation of undisturbed rest? In her diary, Cowper further noted that "even sleep it self" was "not altogether free from uneasiness," and the Elizabethan Thomas Nashe wrote of "our thoughts troubled and vexed when they are retired from labor to ease."¹³ Moreover, did all social classes enjoy sleep equally? If the lower orders had reason to anticipate bedtime most eagerly, how, if at all, did the nature of their slumber compare to that of privileged classes? Did the commonalty rest more soundly, as widely depicted in early modern literature, or were sleeping conditions no better than the quality of their waking lives? And finally, of no less importance, what benefits might sleep have conferred, apart from providing people with a reprieve from daily life? Was its value strictly "negative," or did men and women have more compelling reasons for embracing their exhaustion?

SO INGRAINED HAS BEEN HISTORICAL INDIFFERENCE toward sleep that such elementary matters as the time and length of slumber before the nineteenth century remain an

November 16, 1751; ballad quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen: 1590–1642* (New York, 1968), 84.

¹¹ "When our spirits are Exhausted," Cowper noted, "we wish for sleep as old men for Death, only because we are tired with our present condition." She also complained that her own husband, Sir William, commonly went to bed early in order to avoid her presence. February 13, July 22, 1712, Diary of Dame Sarah Cowper, Hertfordshire County Record Office, England; Statement of Elizabeth Israel, *The Proceedings on the King's Commissions of the Peace, Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery for the City of London; and also Gaol Delivery for the County of Middlesex, held at Justice-Hall in the Old Bailey* (hereafter, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*), June 7–11, 1764.

¹² Quoted in Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), 524–25.

¹³ July 22, 1712, Cowper Diary; Thomas Nashe, "The Terrors of the Night," in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, F. P. Wilson, ed., 5 vols. (1910; rpt. edn., Oxford, 1966), 1: 355. For the latest in luxury bedding available to modern consumers, see Amy Zipkin, "Counting Sheep, and Dollar Signs," *New York Times*, May 31, 1998.

enigma. The hour at which most individuals went to bed, when they awakened the following morning, and whether the duration of their sleep varied from one night to the next have never received serious analysis, except for the occasional suggestion that people fled to their beds soon after sunset to cope with the onset of darkness. Because the light afforded by candles was available chiefly to the wealthiest families, the members of most households, presumably, were unable or too fearful, once enveloped by darkness, to work or socialize. "No occupation but sleepe, feed, and fart," to paraphrase the Stuart poet Thomas Middleton, might best express this view of what transpired after sunset.¹⁴

Among learned authorities, a night's sound slumber was thought critical not only for withered spirits but also for bodily health. Most medical opinion by the late Middle Ages still embraced the Aristotelian belief that the impetus for sleep originated in the abdomen by means of a process called "concoction." Once "meate" and other foods have been digested in the stomach, explained Thomas Cogan in *The Haven of Health*, fumes ascend to the head "where through coldnesse of the braine, they being congealed, doe stop the conduites and waies of the senses, and so procure sleepe." Not only did nighttime invite sleep "by its moisture, silence and darkness," but those properties were thought enormously well suited to concoction.¹⁵ Virtually all writers credited sleep with physical vitality, lively spirits, and increased longevity. Declared an Italian proverb, "Bed is a medicine."¹⁶ A parallel belief was that retiring early could best reap the full benefits of sleep. "By going early to asleep and early from it, we rise refreshed, lively and active," claimed the author of *An Easy Way to Prolong Life*.¹⁷

Less clear, in retrospect, was the time of night intended by the expression "early to bed," a judgment, perhaps, that truly rested in the heavy lidded eyes of the beholder. Did popular convention favor sunset as a time for repose or some later hour? Another proverb claimed, "One hour's sleep before midnight is worth three after," suggesting that going to bed "early" may have borne an altogether different

¹⁴ Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters* . . . (London, 1608). For a sampling of this belief, see Pierre Goubert, *The French Peasantry in the Seventeenth Century*, Ian Patterson, trans. (Cambridge, 1986), 39; Jacques Wilhelm, *La vie quotidienne des Parisiens au temps du Roi-Soleil, 1660-1715* (Paris, 1977), 70; Maria Bogucka, "Work, Time Perception and Leisure in an Agricultural Society: The Case of Poland in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Labour and Leisure in Historical Perspective, Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, Ian Blanchard, ed. (Stuttgart, 1994), 50; Barbara and Cary Carson quoted in James P. Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 315; David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), 214.

¹⁵ Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London, 1588), 232-33; Dannenfeldt, "Sleep," 422-24.

¹⁶ Henry Davidoff, *A World Treasury of Proverbs from Twenty-Five Languages* (New York, 1946), 25. See, for example, Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions* . . . , T. Newton, trans. (London, 1576), 57; John Northbrooke, *A Treatise wherein Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine playes or Enterluds with Other Idle Pastimes* . . . (London, 1577), 8; William Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health* . . . (London, 1607), 53; *The Workes of That Famous Chirurgeon Ambrose Parey*, Thomas Johnson, trans. (London, 1649), 26-27; Henry Hibbert, *Syntagma theologicum* . . . (London, 1662), 282; Dannenfeldt, "Sleep," 407-12.

¹⁷ John Trusler, *An Easy Way to Prolong Life, By a Little Attention to Our Manner of Living* . . . (London, 1775), 11. How widespread this notion was may be seen in such proverbs as "go to Bed with the lamb and rise with the lark" and "would you have a settled head, You must early go to bed." Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1966), 36.

meaning from retiring at the onset of darkness.¹⁸ Moreover, while contemporaries routinely lauded sleep and its manifest contributions to personal health, they also, even more frequently, scorned slumber that appeared excessive. Puritans in England and America often railed against what Richard Baxter called “unnecessary sluggishness,” but so, too, did myriad others who were increasingly time conscious by the sixteenth century.¹⁹ So what, in the eyes of contemporary moralists, was the proper amount of sleep? Several authorities like the Tudor physician Andrew Boorde believed that sleep needed to be taken as the “complexcyon of man” required.²⁰ Some prescribed seasonal adjustments, such as sleeping eight hours in the summer and nine hours during long winter evenings, whereas Jeremy Taylor, one-time chaplain to Charles I (1625–49), prescribed a nightly regimen of only three hours!²¹ More commonly, writers, not just in Britain but throughout the Continent, urged from six to eight hours in bed, unless special circumstances such as illness or melancholy mandated more.²² Whether these opinions shaped popular mores or instead reflected them, as seems likely, common aphorisms expressed similar attitudes toward the proper length of sleep, including “Nature requires five, Custom takes seven, Laziness nine, And wickedness eleven.”²³

Of course, some laborers must have collapsed soon after returning home, barely able from numbing fatigue to take an evening meal, especially in rural regions during the summer when fieldwork grew most strenuous. In southern Wiltshire, complained John Aubrey, workers, “being weary after hard labour,” lacked “leisure to read and contemplate of religion, but goe to bed to their rest.”²⁴ In truth, however, few adults beneath the upper ranks enjoyed the opportunity to sleep more than seven or eight hours, much less the entire night. Despite the biblical injunction to rest at nighttime, “when no man can work,” pre-industrial subsistence pressures

¹⁸ F. P. Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3d edn. (Oxford, 1970), 389.

¹⁹ Baxter quoted in Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York, 1995), 124; Thomas Elyot, *The Castle of Helthe* (London, 1539), fols. 45–46; *The Schoole of Vertue, and Booke of Good Nourture* . . . (London, 1557); William Bullein, *A Newe Boke of Phisicke Called y Goverment of Health* . . . (London, 1559), 91; Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Health* . . . (London, 1547); Michael Cope, *A Godly and Learned Exposition uppon the Proverbes of Solomon*, M.O., trans. (London, 1580), fols. 85, 415v–16; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, 58; Northbrooke, *Treatise*, passim; Sir Thomas Overbury, *The “Conceited Newes” of Sir Thomas Overbury and His Friends*, James E. Savage, ed. (1616; rpt. edn., Gainesville, Fla., 1968), 167; *The Whole Duty of Man* . . . (London, 1691), 188–89; Richard L. Greaves, *Society and Religion in Elizabethan England* (Minneapolis, 1981), 385–87.

²⁰ Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*. See also Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 237; Tobias Venner, *Via recta ad vitam longam* . . . (London, 1637), 279–80; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, 57; *Whole Duty of Man*, 189.

²¹ Lawrence Wright, *Warm and Snug: The History of the Bed* (London, 1962), 195; Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*.

²² Bullein, *Newe Boke of Phisicke*, 91; Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*; Venner, *Via recta*, 279–80; *Directions and Observations relative to Food, Exercise and Sleep* (London, 1772), 22; Dannenfeldt, “Sleep,” 430.

²³ Wright, *Warm and Snug*, 194, my italics. The physician Guglielmo Gratarolo pointedly distinguished slumber of eight hours’ duration according to “common custome” from prolonged sleep in “ancient time,” as Hippocrates had advised. *A Direction for the Health of Magistrates and Studentes* (London, 1574). See also Giovanni Torriano, *Piazza universale di proverbi italiani: or, A Common Place of Italian Proverbs* (London, 1666), 194; Gosta Langenfelt, *The Historic Origin of the Eight Hours Day: Studies in English Traditionalism* (1954; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1974), 78, 80.

²⁴ John Aubrey, *Aubrey’s Natural History of Wiltshire* (1847; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 11.

and demands of the workplace kept many from slumber.²⁵ Nighttime, too, afforded households precious opportunities for sociability and leisure, which frequently accompanied spinning, mending, and other “evening workes” by the hearth. In villages, men frequented taverns, and neighbors gathered within homes to enjoy the resonant talents of storytellers. Large towns and cities featured a growing array of nighttime diversions ranging from masquerades and assemblies to brothels and nighthouses.²⁶

Darkness, naturally, proved a menacing deterrent to nocturnal activity. “The night is no man’s friend,” attested a proverb. Yet many residents of urban and rural communities, when navigating the dark, learned to rely on local lore, magic, and their knowledge of the natural universe. Time, place, and weather became critical concerns while treading abroad. The quality of moonlight (called by some the “parish-lantern”) varied greatly, as did the nocturnal landscape, which children learned to negotiate early on “as a rabbit knows his burrow.” Most people, robbed of their vision in a world of face-to-face relationships and hence their ability to discern gestures, dress, and facial expressions, depended heavily on hearing, smell, and touch (feet as well as hands). They also resorted to charms to ward off evil spirits.²⁷ And although the cost of candles—tallow as well as beeswax—remained prohibitively high for most households, early modern folk relied on a broad range of more primitive illuminants, including rushlights and candlewood, for small measures of light.²⁸

Diaries, though heavily weighted toward Britain’s upper classes, suggest not only that adults typically slept for periods of from six to eight hours but that the standard time for retiring to bed fell between nine and ten o’clock. “This family goes to Bed between 9 and 10,” noted Sarah Cowper, a rule with occasional exceptions that

²⁵ John 9: 4. See, for example, Rev. John Clayton, *Friendly Advice to the Poor . . .* (Manchester, 1755), 37; Thomas Porter, *A Witty Combat: or, The Female Victor* (London, 1663); Franco Sacchetti, *Tales from Sacchetti*, Mary G. Steegmann, trans. (1908; rpt. edn., Westport, Conn., 1978), 223–32; Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London*, H. F. B. Brett-Smith, ed. (New York, 1922), 29–30; Richard Baxter, *The Practical Works of Richard Baxter*, 4 vols. (London, 1838–45), 1: 242, 466; Robert Greene, *Ciceronis Amor: Tullies Love (1589) and A Quip for an Upstart Courtier (1592)* (Gainesville, Fla., 1954); Anthony Horneck, *The Happy Ascetick: or, The Best Exercise* ([London], 1680), 394, 409; Statement of Anne Russel, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, January 16–21, 1755; A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day’s Close: Night in Times Past* (forthcoming).

²⁶ See, for example, Deposition of Mary Greenwood, August 16, 1772, Assi 45/31/1/315, Public Record Office, London; Francis Jollie, *Jollie’s Sketch of Cumberland Manners and Customs . . .* (Beckermest, Eng., 1974), 45; Robert Bell, *A Description of the Condition and Manners . . . of the Peasantry of Ireland, Such as They Were between the Years 1780 & 1790 . . .* (London, 1804), 20–21; Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality*, Richard Southern, trans. (Cambridge, 1979), 107–10; Peter Kalm quoted in *English Historical Documents, 1714–1783*, D. B. Horn and Mary Ransom, eds. (New York, 1969), 530; Ekirch, *At Day’s Close*. For the growth in urban entertainment, see Thomas Burke, *English Night-Life: From Norman Curfew to Present Black-out* (New York, 1971), 1–70; Angus McInnes, “The Emergence of a Leisure Town: Shrewsbury 1660–1760,” *Past and Present* 120 (August 1988): 65–66; Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1989), *passim*.

²⁷ B. Stevenson, *Home Book of Proverbs*, 1686; Robert Morgan, *My Lamp Still Burns* (Llandysul, Wales, 1981), 64; *Glossary of Northamptonshire Words and Phrases . . .*, Anne Elizabeth Baker, comp. (London, 1854), 95; Ekirch, *At Day’s Close*.

²⁸ Norman John Greville Pounds, *The Culture of the English People: Iron Age to the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, 1994), 121–24; Pardailhé-Galabrun, *Birth of Intimacy*, 125–30; William T. O’Dea, *The Social History of Lighting* (New York, 1958), 17–21, 36–45; Roche, *History of Everyday Things*, 121; Ekirch, *At Day’s Close*.

seems to have applied to less fortunate households. Advised Thomas Tusser, "In winter at nine, and in summer at ten," whereas an inscription over the parlor of a Danish pastor read: "Stay til nine you are my friend / Til ten, that is alright / but if you stay til 11, you are my enemy." Although the Sussex shopkeeper Thomas Turner tried to allow himself between seven and eight hours of slumber, either his duties as a parish officer or his thirst for drink, among other "emergent" occasions, sometimes delayed his normal ten o'clock bedtime. One December evening after a vestry meeting, he stumbled "home about 3:20 [a.m.] not very sober. Oh, liquor," he bemoaned, "what extravagances does it make us commit!"²⁹

HAD PRE-INDUSTRIAL FAMILIES, in fact, retreated to their beds soon after sunset, able to rest for as much as twelve hours rather than just seven or eight, sleep might have seemed less important. Instead, the subject provoked widespread interest. Whether *Macbeth*, *Henry V*, or *Julius Caesar*, many of William Shakespeare's plays patently appealed to that preoccupation. And not just dreams, long a source of fascination in their own right, but other mysteries, including instances of narcolepsy and sleepwalking, were explored at length in newspapers as well as literary works.³⁰ For the most part, however, these curiosities represented aberrations born in the shadowlands separating sleep from wakefulness. Vastly more relevant to most people was the quality of their own repose and the ways in which it could be improved. After all, explained a French writer, "Sleep and waking being the hinges on which all the others of our life do hang, if there be any irregularity in these, confusion and disorder must needs be expected in all the rest." Such was its importance that sleep inspired a typology more nuanced than that routinely employed today. In the environs of Northumberland alone, two terms, "dover" and "slum," signified light sleep, whereas the widely used expressions "dog," "cat," or "hare" sleep referred to slumber that was not only light but anxious. "Ye sleep like

²⁹ November 27, 1705, Cowper Diary; Tusser quoted in Eric Sloane, *The Seasons of America Past* (New York, 1958), 26; Hugo Matthiessen, *Natten: Stuiet I Gammelt Byliv* ([Copenhagen], 1914), 8–9; February 8, 1756, and December 26, 1763, *The Diary of Thomas Turner 1754–1765*, David Vaisey, ed. (Oxford, 1985), 26–27, 283. Similarly, for both sides of the Atlantic, see the regulations quoted in the *Liverpool Mercury*, February 7, 1812; January 19, 1711, Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, Harold Williams, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1948), 1: 170; "Letter of Edward Shippen of Lancaster, 1754," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 30 (1906): 86; June 25, 1794, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, Elaine Forman Crane, ed., 3 vols. (Boston, 1991), 1: 568; Lawrence Wright, *Clockwork Man: The Story of Time, Its Origins, Its Uses, Its Tyranny* (New York, 1968), 74. A seventeenth-century proverb instructed, "To sup at six and go to bed at ten, will make a man live ten times ten." Vincent Stuckey Lean, *Lean's Collectanea*, 4 vols. (Bristol, 1902–04), 1: 503. A French variation, common in the sixteenth century, counseled: "To rise at five, to dine at nine, To sup at five, to sleep at nine, Lengthens life to ninety-nine." *Lloyd's Evening Post* (London), February 19, 1768.

³⁰ Steiner, "Historicity of Dreams," 212; Simon B. Chandler, "Shakespeare and Sleep," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 29 (1955): 255–60. See, for example, *The True Relation of Two Wonderfull Sleepers . . .* (London, 1646); *A General Collection of Discourses of the Virtuosi of France . . .*, G. Havers, trans. (London, 1664), 197–201; *Journals of Sir John Lauder*, Donald Crawford, ed. (Edinburgh, 1900), 84; "Letter of M. Brady," *London Chronicle*, July 31, 1764; "The History of Cyrillo Padovano, the Noted Sleep-Walker," in *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, Arthur Friedman, ed., 5 vols. (Oxford, 1966), 2: 214–18; *A Relation of Several Hundreds of Children & Others That Prophesie and Preach in Their Sleep* (London, 1689); "Somnificus," *Weekly Journal: or, British Gazetteer* (London), February 27, 1725; James Boswell, ["On Sleep and Dreams"], September 1781, in *The Hypochondriack*, Margery Bailey, ed., 2 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1928), 2: 110.

a dog in a mill," declared a Scottish proverb.³¹ More desirable was "dead" or "deep" sleep, what James Boswell described as "absolute, unfeeling, and unconscious." Attested a Welsh aphorism, "Men thrive by sleep, not long but deep," an observation supported by modern research emphasizing that whether or not individuals feel rested in the morning chiefly depends on the number of times they awaken during the night.³²

Families went to great lengths to ensure the tranquility of their slumber. Of particular importance were a household's beds, typically the most expensive articles of family furniture. Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, English beds evolved from straw pallets on bare floors to wooden frames complete with pillows, sheets, blankets, coverlets, and "flock mattresses," which were typically filled with rags and stray pieces of wool. Affluent homes boasted elevated bedsteads, feather mattresses, and heavy curtains to ward off dangerous drafts and inquisitive eyes. Recalled William Harrison in 1557 of his youth, "Our fathers, yea, and we ourselves also, have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dagswain or hapharlots . . . and a good round log under their heads, instead of a bolster." "Pillows," he noted, "were thought meet only for women in childebed." But already families were investing heavily in superior beds not only as a mark of social prestige but also for their greater comfort. "Because nothing," remarked the sixteenth-century Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius, "is holesomer than sound and quiet Sleepe," a person needed "to take his full ease and sleepe in a soft bedde." Such was their importance that beds were among the first possessions purchased by newlyweds as well as the first items bequeathed in wills to favored heirs. In modest homes, beds often represented over one-quarter of the value of all domestic assets, while for more humble families, the bed was the piece of furniture first acquired upon entering the "world of goods." Only half in jest, Carole Shammas has quipped that the early modern era might be rechristened "The Age of the Bed."³³

³¹ *Another Collection of Philosophical Conferences*, 419; *Northumberland Words*, Richard Oliver Heslop, comp., 2 vols. (1892; rpt. edn., Vaduz, 1965), 1: 248, 2: 659; *The Proverbs of Scotland*, Alexander Hislop, comp. (Edinburgh, 1870), 346. For similar comparisons to the sleep of animals, see, for example, Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 742; Thomas Dekker, *North-Ward Hoe* (London, 1607); *The Works of Thomas Adams*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861–62), 2: 193; Thomas Duffett, *The Empress of Morocco* (London, 1674), 15; Overbury, "Conceited Newes," 260; Statement of Richard Wager, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, October 16, 1728; Bartlett J. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases: From English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 30.

³² William Rowley, *All's Lost by Lust* (London, 1633); Thomas Shadwell, *The Amorous Bigotte* (London, 1690), 43; *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant* (New York, 1964), 146; Boswell, ["On Sleep and Dreams"], 2: 112; Henry Vaughan, *Welsh Proverbs with English Translations* (Felinfach, Wales, 1889), 35; Erik Eckholm, "Exploring the Forces of Sleep," *New York Times Magazine* (April 17, 1988): 32.

³³ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, Georges Edelen, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), 201; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, 73; Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans* (New York, 1993), 66; Carole Shammas, "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America," *Journal of Social History* 14 (Fall 1990): 169, 158; F. G. Emmison, *Elizabethan Life: Home, Work and Land* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1976), 12–15; Pounds, *Culture of the English People*, 145–47; Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, 102; Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris: An Essay in Popular Culture in the 18th Century*, Marie Evans, trans. (Leamington Spa, Eng., 1987), 130–31; Roche, *History of Everyday Things*, 182–85; Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1994), 69–70; Pardailhé-Galabrun, *Birth of Intimacy*, 73–81. Anthony Burgess interpreted the elevated height of bedsteads "as a symbol of overlordship" for which there was "no utilitarian rationale." Not only did raised beds remain accessible to vermin, but it

As bedtime neared, households followed painstaking rituals. Such habitual if not compulsive behavior no doubt helped alleviate anxieties many people felt when surrendering themselves to sleep, a condition of unparalleled vulnerability in pre-industrial times. Threats to body and soul as well as to sound slumber seemingly lurked everywhere. Even a cosmopolitan figure of the Enlightenment like Boswell wrote of "gloomy" nights when he was "frightened to lie down and sink into helplessness and forgetfulness." "We lie in the shadow of death at *Night*, our dangers are so great," affirmed a country vicar.³⁴ To forestall thieves, propertied households prepared for bed as if girding for an impending siege. "Barricaded," "bolted," and "barred," as a Georgian playwright described an English home—"backside and foreside, top and bottom." Nighttime saw quarters made fast, with doors and shutters locked once dogs had been loosed outdoors. Nor could the working poor rest easily. As one who earned her bread by washing, Anne Towers had "a great charge of linen" besides her own belongings in her London quarters on Artichoke Lane—"I always go round every night to see that all is fast."³⁵ Not only did domestic arsenals contain swords and firearms, or cudgels, sticks, and bed staves in less affluent homes,³⁶ but on especially foreboding nights friends and relations remained together, sleeping under the same roof if not the same covers, to allay common fears.³⁷

Then also, as portrayed in Gerrit van Honthorst's painting *The Flea Hunt*, domestic pests necessitated nightly removal (see Figure 1), sometimes resulting in

was "easier for your enemies to stab you than if you were on the floor." Burgess, *On Going to Bed* (New York, 1982), 84. To be sure, the height of bedsteads dramatically distinguished men and women of property from other household members, including children confined to trundle beds and servants, but my experience as a graduate student without the benefit of a bedstead makes me skeptical that persons found it no more comfortable to enter and exit a raised bed. Moreover, medical opinion warned against resting "upon the ground, nor uppon colde stones, nor neere the earth: for the coldnesse of stones, and the dampe of the earth, are both very hurtfull to our bodies." Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 235. See also Steven Bradwell, *A Watch-man for the Pest . . .* (London, 1625), 39.

³⁴ Boswell, ["On Sleep and Dreams"], 2: 110; Richard Steele, *The Husbandmans Calling: Shewing the Excellencies, Temptations, Graces, Duties, etc. of the Christian Husbandman* (London, 1670), 270. "We are unable to think of, much more to provide for, our own Security," observed the eighteenth-century poet James Hervey. *Meditations and Contemplations*, 2 vols. (London, 1752), 2: 42. See also Stephen Bateman, *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation . . .* (London, 1569); Thomas Amory, *Daily Devotion Assisted and Recommended, in Four Sermons . . .* (London, 1772), 15; Benjamin Bell, *Sleepy Dead Sinners* (Windsor, Vt., 1793), 8. For Sigmund Freud's influential discussion of "neurotic ceremonials" pertaining to sleep, see "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices," in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, James Strachey, ed., 23 vols. (London, 1957–66), 9: 117–18; Barry Schwartz, "Notes on the Sociology of Sleep," *Sociological Quarterly* 11 (Fall 1970): 494–95; Stanley Coren, *Sleep Thieves: An Eye-Opening Exploration into the Science and Mysteries of Sleep* (New York, 1996), 165.

³⁵ David Ogborne, *The Merry Midnight Mistake . . .* (Chelmsford, Eng., 1765), 34; Statement of Anne Towers, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, July 15–17, 1767; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (New York, 1983), 101; Pounds, *Culture of the English People*, 128–29; and Norman J. G. Pounds, *Hearth and Home: A History of Material Culture* (Bloomington, Ind., 1989), 184–86.

³⁶ Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 243; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st edn. (Oxford, 1888–1928), s.v. "bedstaff"; *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, 1716–1766, *passim*.

³⁷ See, for example, September 8, 11, 1794, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 1: 590, 592; December 2, 1766, and February 8, 1767, *The Blecheley Diary of the Rev. William Cole, 1765–67*, Francis Griffin Stokes, ed. (London, 1931), 161, 184; *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1664–1742*, John Cameron and John Imrie, eds., 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1949, 1969), 2: 466; *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, May 19–20, 1743, December 5–9, 1746; Deposition of Mary Nicholson, February 20, 1768, Assi 45/29/1/169.

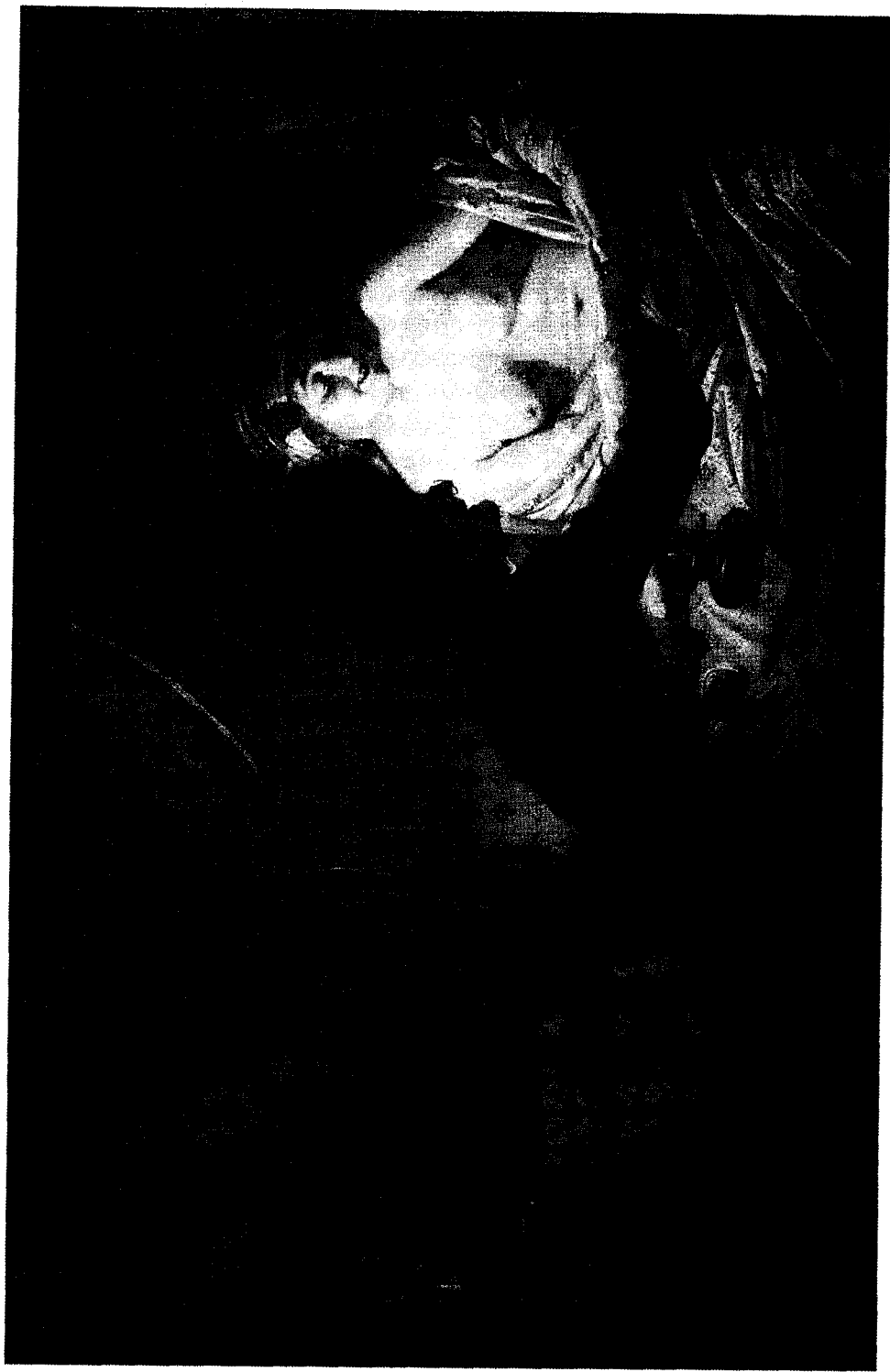


FIGURE 1: Gerrit van Honthorst, *The Flea Hunt*, 1621. Courtesy of the Dayton Art Institute. Museum Purchase with Funds Provided in Part by the 1980 Art Ball.

"bug hunts" of furniture and bedding for both fleas (*pulex irritans*) and bedbugs (*cimex lectularius*) after their arrival in Britain by the sixteenth century. To keep gnats at bay, families in the fen country of East Anglia hung lumps of cow dung at the foot of their beds.³⁸ Sheets could never be damp from washing ("dirt is better than death," observed John Byng), and in winter weather, beds required warming with pans of hot coals or, in modest dwellings, with hot stones wrapped in rags.³⁹ Temperatures dipped all the more quickly once hearths were banked and most lights snuffed to prevent the threat of fire, an even greater peril than crime in densely packed cities and towns.⁴⁰ If windows boasted curtains, they needed to be drawn to forestall the harmful consequences of sleeping in moonlight and the dreaded properties of evening drafts. Samuel Pepys even tried to tie his hands inside his bed to keep from catching a cold.⁴¹ To shield heads from the cool air, nightcaps were worn. While nightdress for middle and upper-class families, introduced at least by the sixteenth century, included chemises and smocks, the lower classes wore coarse "night-gear," slept unclad in "naked" beds, or remained in "day-clothes," either to save the expense of blankets or to rise quickly in the morning.⁴²

³⁸ Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1658), 2: 956–57; *The Goodman of Paris: A Treatise on Moral and Domestic Economy by a Citizen of Paris* (New York, 1928), 65–67; John Southall, *A Treatise of Buggs* . . . (London, 1730); J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *The Plague of the Philistines and Other Medical-Historical Essays* (London, 1964), 146–61; L. O. J. Boynton, "The Bed-Bug and the 'Age of Elegance,'" *Furniture History* 1 (1965): 15–31.

³⁹ July 16, 1784, John Byng, 5th Viscount Torrington, *The Torrington Diaries*, C. Bruyn Andrews, ed., 4 vols. (New York, 1934–38), 1: 174. Remarked William Cole while in France, "Certainly the French are a more hardy People than we are: they never air their Linnen, but constantly go to Bed in damp, or rather wet Sheets . . . whereas the same practice would give an Englishman, if not his Death, at least the Rheumatism." November 28, 1765, Rev. William Cole, *A Journal of My Journey to Paris in the Year 1765*, Francis Griffin Stokes, ed. (London, 1931), 344. For the prevalence of warming pans, see Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 318–19. For their preparation by chambermaids, see *Domestic Management: or, The Art of Conducting a Family; With Instructions to Servants in General* (London, 1740), 56.

⁴⁰ The devastating consequences of fires in early modern society have been well documented in *A Gazetteer of English Urban Fire Disasters, 1500–1900*, E. L. Jones, et al., eds. (Norwich, 1984); Bernard Capp, "Arson, Threats of Arson, and Incivility in Early Modern England," in *Civil Histories: Essays Presented to Sir Keith Thomas*, Peter Burke, et al., eds. (Oxford, 2000), 197–213; Pounds, *Culture of the English People*, 131–34; Penny Roberts, "Agencies Human and Divine: Fire in French Cities, 1520–1720," in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds. (New York, 1997), 9–27.

⁴¹ Bradwell, *Watch-man for the Pest*, 39; Venner, *Via recta*, 275; Dannenfeldt, "Sleep," 425; Israel Spach, *Theses medicae de somno et vigilia* . . . (Argentorati, 1597); Giovanni Florio, *Florios Second Frutes* (1591; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 157; May 17, 1664, Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., 11 vols. (Berkeley, Calif., 1970–83), 5: 152; James Nelson, *An Essay on the Government of Children* . . . (London, 1756), 132. Only in the eighteenth century did people begin to grow less fearful of the "night air." Just as Samuel Johnson, to Boswell's shock, gladly stood before an open window one fall night [October 14, 1773, *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773*, Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett, eds. (New York, 1961), 297], Benjamin Franklin horrified John Adams, when sharing a bed in 1776, by insisting that opening the window would prevent contracting colds. Bernard Bailyn, "Butterfield's Adams: Notes for a Sketch," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 19 (April 1962): 247.

⁴² Information is sparse about sleeping garments, but see C. Willett and Phillis Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (London, 1951), 41–43, 52, 61; Almut Junker, *Zur Geschichte der Unterwäsche 1700–1960: Eine Ausstellung des Historischen Museums Frankfurt, 28 April bis 28 August 1988* (Frankfurt, 1988), 10–78; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, Vol. 1: *The History of Manners*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (New York, 1978), 164–65. For the absence of clothing among sleepers, see Cheesman, *Death Compared to Sleep*, 6; Erasmus Jones, *A Trip through London* . . . (London, 1728), 56–57; Edmond Cottinet, "La nudité au lit selon cathos et l'histoire," *Le Moliériste* (April 1883): 20–25, (June 1883): 86–89; Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1969), 66; Dannenfeldt,

Within well-to-do households, feet might be washed before bed, hair cut and combed, beds beaten and stirred, and chamber pots set, all by servants. Laurence Sterne referred to these and other servile duties as "ordinances of the bed-chamber." Of a young lad in training, Pepys wrote, "I had the boy up tonight for his sister to teach him to put me to bed," which included singing or reading to his master with the aid of a "watch-candle" or "night-light," commonly a squat candle in a perforated holder not easily overturned.⁴³ To calm attacks of anxiety, brandy or medicine was swallowed, with laudanum, a solution made from opium and an especially popular potion among the propertied classes.⁴⁴ For much the same purpose, alcohol may have been imbibed at bedtime by the lower orders, though also intended, no doubt, to embalm the flesh on frigid nights. For John Gordon, newly arrived in the capital from Bristol, a half-pint of wine was guarantee enough, he hoped, "in order to sleep all night." On the other hand, to avoid upset stomachs, common wisdom discouraged late night suppers and counseled that sleep first be taken on the right side of the body to facilitate digestion.⁴⁵

Finally, the family patriarch bore a responsibility for setting minds at rest, normally by conducting household prayers, the fabled "lock" of every night. "Discompose yourselves as little as may be before Bed-time," urged the writer Humphrey Brooke, "the Master of the Family prudently animating and encouraging his Wife, Children and Servants against Fear and Disorder." By the sixteenth century, evening devotions had grown habitual among families readying for bed. Whether voiced spontaneously or recited by rote, prayer each night brought many

"Sleep," 426. References to "lying rough," that is, wearing "day-clothes" to bed, may be found in Francis Grose, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (London, 1785); [Thomas Deloney], *The Gentle Craft: A Discourse Containing Many Matters of Delight, Very Pleasant to Be Read . . .* (London, 1637); R.B., *Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, & Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland . . .* (London, 1688), 5; Alan Macfarlane, *The Justice and the Mare's Ale* (Oxford, 1981), 56; Constantia Maxwell, *County and Town in Ireland under the Georges* (Dundalk, 1949), 123. On the necessity of nightcaps, see Venner, *Via recta*, 275; J. Nelson, *Essay on the Government of Children*, 132; October 20, 1763, *Boswell's London Journal*, 1762–3, Frederick A. Pottle, ed. (New York, 1950), 49–50.

⁴³ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Samuel Holt Monk, ed. (New York, 1950), 568; September 22, 1660, *Pepys Diary*, 1: 251. Boswell opined, "I have sometimes been apt to laugh when I contemplated a bed-room with all its contrivances." ["On Sleep and Dreams"], 2: 111. See also *How They Lived: An Anthology of Original Accounts Written between 1485 and 1700*, Molly Harrison and O. M. Royston, comps. (Oxford, 1962), 122–25, 167; *The Elizabethan Home Discovered in Two Dialogues*, M. St. Clare Byrne, ed. (London, 1930), 77–78; December 12, 1762, *Boswell's London Journal*, 81; *Domestic Management*, 50–56. Of night-lights, the *Public Advertiser* of October 20, 1763, advised, "Every sensible family, or Person should have a lighted Lamp all Night, particularly during the Winter, in the House, having many great Conveniences, as the Prevention of Robberies, Murders, &c. likewise is of Use in cases of Fire, and of sudden Sickness." See also Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior, 1400–1600* (New York, 1991), 278.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Wirsung, *Praxis Medicinæ Universalis*, 618; November 1, 1695, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695 . . .*, Andrew Clark, comp., 5 vols. (Oxford, 1891–1900), 5: 493; October 3, 1704, *Cowper Diary*; September 7, 1771, October 7, 1775, *The Diary of Syllas Neville, 1767–1788*, Basil Cozens-Hardy, ed. (London, 1950), 113, 191, 230; January 7, 1782, *Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck, 1778–1782*, Joseph W. Reed and Frederick A. Pottle, eds. (New York, 1977), 418.

⁴⁵ Statement of John Gordon, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, September 15–20, 1756. See also, for example, Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell . . .*, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1907), 4: 44; Edward Ward, *Miscellaneous Writings, in Verse and Poetry . . .* (London, 1712), 89; "To the Editor," *British Chronicle* (London), February 2, 1763; "T.C.," *Public Ledger* (London), December 5, 1765. In truth, only sleep's first hours are enhanced by alcohol; thereafter, people grow very restless. Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, 138.

households much comfort, with some families, including servants, praying together.⁴⁶ Protestant and Catholic verses shared distinctive features. Along with giving thanks for heavenly guidance, requesting peaceful sleep, and asking forgiveness for moral failings, most prayers appealed directly for divine protection from nocturnal harm, including "sudden Death, Fears and Affrightments, Casualties by Fire, Water, or Tempestuous Weather, [and] Disturbance by Thieves."⁴⁷ In addition, less affluent households, in preparing for sleep, routinely invoked magic, an important dimension of pre-industrial life that gained added resonance at bedtime. Besides potions to prevent bedwetting and spur sleep on, nightspells were employed to shield households from fire, thieves, and evil spirits. To keep demons from descending down chimneys, suspending the heart of a bullock or pig over the hearth was a common ritual in western England, whereas early modern families hung amulets and recited charms to avert nightmares, widely thought to be imps seeking to suffocate their prey. "Whosoe'er these words aright Three times o'er shall say each night, No ill dreams shall vex his bed, Hell's dark land he ne'er shall tread," comforted an early Welsh verse.⁴⁸

IMPLICIT IN MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF SLEEP before the Industrial Revolution remains the wistful belief that our forebears enjoyed tranquil slumber, if often little else, in their meager lives. Notwithstanding the everyday woes of pre-industrial existence, most families at least rested contentedly from dusk to dawn, we like to think.

⁴⁶ Humphrey Brooke, *Cautionary Rules for Preventing the Sickness* (London, 1665), 6; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1971), 113–28; François Lebrun, "The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety," in *Passions of the Renaissance*, Roger Chartier, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans., vol. 3 of Ariès and Duby, *History of Private Life*, 96–97. References to the "lock" of the night may be found in Owen Feltham, *Resolves* (London, 1628), 406; October 2, 1704, Cowper Diary; *Scottish Proverbs*, Andrew Henderson, ed. (Edinburgh, 1832), 48. For personal references to meditation and prayer, see, for example, April 4, 1605, *Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1605*, Dorothy M. Meads, ed. (London, 1930), 217; March 4, 1666, *Pepys Diary*, 7: 65; *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1682–1693*, George Morison Paul, ed. (Edinburgh, 1911), 59; *Two East Anglian Diaries, 1641–1729: Isaac Archer and William Coe*, Matthew Storey, ed. (Woodbridge, Eng., 1994), 51, 267; November 13, 1700, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, E. S. De Beer, ed., 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), 5: 435; February 28, 1704, May 8, 1712, Cowper Diary; December 25, 1727, *The Diary of James Clegg of Chepel en le Frith, 1708–1755*, Vanessa S. Doe, ed. (Matlock, Eng., 1978), 24; *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, October 15, 1718; Deposition of William Smith, August 27, 1774, Assi 45/32/1/113.

⁴⁷ July 18, 1709, Cowper Diary. See also, for example, *The Writings of John Bradford . . .*, Aubrey Townsend, ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1848), 1: 239; Phillip Stubbes's *Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare's Youth, A.D. 1583*, Frederick James Furnivall, ed. (London, 1877), 1: 220; *Thankfull Remembrances of Gods Wonderful Deliverances, with Other Prayers* (n.p., 1628); F.S., *Schoole of Vertue* (London, 1630); *Maister Beza's Household Prayers: For the Consolation and Perfection of a Christian Life*, John Barnes, trans. (London, 1607); *The Whole Duty of Prayer* (London, 1657), 31–32; April 7, 1700, *Diary of John Evelyn*, 5: 400.

⁴⁸ "Mary's Dream," quoted in *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse in English*, Gwyn Jones, comp. (Oxford, 1977), 78; Gervase Markham, *Country Contentments . . .* (London, 1615), 31; George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered* (Gainesville, Fla., 1969), 217–18; Kingsley Palmer, *The Folklore of Somerset* (Totowa, N.J., 1976), 45; William Lilly, *A Groatsworth of Wit for a Penny: or, The Interpretation of Dreams* (London, [1750?]), 18; *The Oxford Book of Local Verses*, John Holloway, comp. (Oxford, 1987), 81–82, 285; Eveline Camilla Lady Gurdon, *Folk-Lore of Suffolk* (Suffolk, 1893), 159; *Dialects, Proverbs and Work-lore*, George Laurence Gomme, ed. (London, 1884), 131; Marie Nelson, "An Old English Charm against Nightmare," *Germanic Notes* 13 (1982): 17–18; N. Bailey, *English Dialect Words of the Eighteenth Century . . .*, William E. A. Axon, ed. (London, 1883), 121.

Evening silence coupled with overpowering darkness contributed to unusually peaceful repose, as did the fatigue ordinary men and women suffered from their labors. Upon reliving this "more primitive pattern" when camping outdoors, a leading authority on sleep recently rhapsodized, "With the stars as our only night-light, we are rocked in the welcoming arms of Mother Nature back to the dreamy sleep of the ancients. It's little wonder we wake the next morning feeling so refreshed and alive."⁴⁹

If one defining characteristic of sleep is the barrier it erects between the conscious mind and the outside world, another is that sleep's defenses are easily breached. Unlike sleep-like states resulting from anesthesia, coma, or hibernation, sleep itself is interrupted with ease.⁵⁰ Indeed, notwithstanding idyllic stereotypes of repose in simpler times, early modern slumber remained highly vulnerable to intermittent disruption, much more so, in all likelihood, than does sleep today. Despite elaborate precautions taken by households, many early references to sleep contain such adjectives as "restless," "troubled," and "frighted." A seventeenth-century religious devotion spoke of "terrors, sights, noises, dreames and paines, which afflict manie men" at rest.⁵¹ Exacting the greatest toll were physical maladies, all the more severe after sunset, ranging from angina, gastric ulcers, and rheumatoid arthritis to such respiratory tract illnesses as asthma, influenza, and consumption (pulmonary tuberculosis). Making sleep all the more onerous, whatever the strain of sickness, is that sensitivity to pain intensifies at night.⁵² An early painting by William Hogarth unabashedly portrays an anguished gentleman, perched

⁴⁹ William C. Dement, *The Promise of Sleep* (New York, 1999), 101.

⁵⁰ Despite his idealized view of sleep in past ages, Dement himself notes the ease with which slumber can be broken. *Promise of Sleep*, 17.

⁵¹ *Herbert's Devotions: or, A Companion for a Christian . . .* (London, 1657), 1. See also, for example, Edmund Spenser quoted in Deverson, *Journey into Night*, 133; Quarles, *Complete Works*, 2: 206; October 12, 1703, Cowper Diary; Lady Charlotte Bury, *The Diary of a Lady-in-Waiting*, A. F. Steuart, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1908), 1: 31; Richard Brathwait, *Natures Embassie: or, The Wilde-mans Measvres* (London, 1621), 120; Thomas Shadwell, *The Miser* (London, 1672), 18; George Powell, *The Imposture Defeated: or, A Trick to Cheat the Devil* (London, 1698), 28; April 4, 1782, Journal of Peter Oliver, Egerton Manuscripts, British Library, London; Benjamin Mifflin, "Journal of a Journey from Philadelphia to the Cedar Swamps & Back, 1764," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52 (1928): 130–31. The supplement to Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie* identified numerous obstacles to sleep: "Hunger prevents sleeping, indigestion, any irritating cause that constantly agitates some part of the body, the cold in one part of the body, feet for example, while the rest is covered, violent sounds, anxieties & annoyances, a preoccupation, melancholy, mania, pain, shiverings, warm drinks, drunk from time to time, like tea, coffee, several diseases of the brain that are not yet well determined, all these prevent sleep." *Supplément à L'Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers . . .*, 4 vols. (1777; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 4: 809. For an extended discussion of sleep disturbances, see Ekirch, *At Day's Close*.

⁵² Kenneth Jon Rose, *The Body in Time* (New York, 1989), 87–88; Jane Wegscheider Hyman, *The Light Book: How Natural and Artificial Light Affect Our Health, Mood and Behavior* (Los Angeles, 1990), 140–41; Mary Carskadan, ed., *Encyclopedia of Sleep and Dreaming* (New York, 1993), 269–70; Gay Gaer Luce, *Body Time* (London, 1973), 151, 178. For the common association of nighttime with heightened discomfort, see, for example, *Diary of the Rev. John Ward . . .*, Charles Severn, ed. (London, 1839), 199; September 24, 1703, October 18, 1715, Cowper Diary; Vaughan, *Welsh Proverbs*, 85; Thomas Legg, *Low-Life: or, One Half of the World, Knows Not How the Other Half Live . . .* (London, 1750), 9; "A Night-Piece, on a Sick-Bed," *The British Magazine* 2 (1747): 272; *The Autobiography of William Stout*, J. D. Marshall, ed. (Manchester, 1967), 238; August 14, November 29, December 30, 1774, *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752–1778*, Jack P. Greene, ed. (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), 2: 850, 890, 907; March 10, 1798, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 2: 1011; Richard Cobb, *Death in Paris: The Records of the Basse-Geôle de la Seine, October 1795–September 1801, Vendémiaire Year IV–Fructidor Year IX* (Oxford, 1978), n. 1, 90.



FIGURE 2: William Hogarth, *Francis Matthew Schutz in His Bed*, late 1750s. Courtesy of the Norfolk Museums Service (Norwich Castle Museum).

halfway out of bed, vomiting into a basin (see Figure 2). Illness only magnified anxiety and depression, insidious sources of disturbed slumber in their own right, especially when aggravated by fears of fire and crime. No social class was spared, but those having the fewest resources to cope with life's problems were most subject to insomnia. Of the urban poor, a contemporary remarked, "They feel their sleep interrupted by the cold, the filth, the screams and infants' cries, and by a thousand other anxieties."⁵³

In most respects, the sleep of the working poor and the destitute remained acutely vulnerable to the vexations of everyday existence. Certainly, their quarters lay more exposed to unwelcome intrusions, including frigid temperatures, annoying noises, voracious insects, and the stench of nightsoil. In Paris, due to the high cost of obtaining quiet quarters, Nicolas Boileau remarked, "Sleep like other Things is sold. And you must purchase your Repose with Gold."⁵⁴ Much of the population

⁵³ G. C. L. Canali quoted in Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, David Gentilcore, trans. (Chicago, 1989), 64; John Wilson, *The Projectors* (London, 1665), 18; Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, 157; Karl Wegert, *Popular Culture, Crime, and Social Control in 18th-Century Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1994), 79–80; Matthiessen, *Natten*, 128; Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 151.

⁵⁴ *The Works of Monsieur Boileau*, 2 vols. (London, 1712), 1: 201. See also *The True Narrative of the*



FIGURE 3: William Hogarth, *Industry and Idleness*, 1747, plate 7. Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

beneath the middling orders still suffered from tattered blankets and coarse mattresses, with many families scarcely able to afford even those essentials. In an engraving by Hogarth, a bed shared by the “Idle Prentice” and a prostitute features sheets and a blanket, but the wooden bedstead has collapsed amid the squalor of their rat-infested garret. Notably, “Idle” has just been abruptly awakened by the noise of a cat, probably in pursuit of the rat in the foreground (see Figure 3). Without “fire” or “place,” the urban poor often slept in public streets or, if lucky, atop or beneath wooden platforms protruding from shop windows—“bulkers” these unfortunates were widely called. Hayracks, stables, and barns afforded “nests” for rural vagabonds, such as the “thirty persons, men, women and children” found “naked in straw” in a barn near Tewkesbury in 1636. In Coventry and Nottingham, many of the “poorer sort” took refuge at night within caves.⁵⁵

Inadequate bedding meant that families in the lower ranks routinely slept two,

Proceedings at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bayly. . . , December 8–9, 1680 (London, 1680); “Rusticus,” *St. James Chronicle*, November 12, 1772; Ben Jonson, *Volpone: or, The Fox; Epicene: or, The Silent Woman; The Alchemist; Bartholomew Fair*, Gordon Campbell, ed. (Oxford, 1995), 127.

⁵⁵ William Hill quoted in Menna Prestwich, *Cranfield: Politics and Profits under the Early Stuarts* (Oxford, 1966), 529; Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen*, 13; *Collected Works of Oliver Goldsmith*, 1: 432; A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (London, 1985), 83–84; Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance*, 69–70; Legg, *Low-Life*, 18. “Bulkers” are mentioned in the

three, or more to a mattress, with overnight visitors included. Sharing not only the same room but also the same covers conserved resources and generated welcome warmth. Advised an Italian proverb, "In a narrow bed, get thee in the middle," whereas "to pig" was a common English expression for sleeping with one or more bedfellows. Probably most parents slept apart from children other than infants, although occasionally entire households of European peasants shared the same beds.⁵⁶ So, too, some families throughout the British Isles brought farm animals within sleeping quarters at night. Besides protecting cows, sheep, and other livestock from predators and thieves, boarding with beasts allowed greater warmth, notwithstanding the "nastiness of their excrements."⁵⁷

Perhaps for the laboring population, as poets so often claimed, fatigue alleviated such hardships. The Virginia tutor Philip Fithian studied during many evenings to the point of exhaustion in order to render his sleep "sound & unbroken" and immune to "cursed Bugs."⁵⁸ But probably more realistic than most pieces of verse, if less well-known, was a passage from *The Complaints of Poverty* by Nicholas James:

And when, to gather strength and still his woes,
He seeks his last redress in soft repose,
The tattered blanket, erst the fleas' retreat,
Denies his shiv'ring limbs sufficient heat;
Teased with the squalling babes' nocturnal cries,
He restless on the dusty pillow lies.

Similarly, the author of *L'état de servitude* bemoaned, "In an attic with no door and no lock / Open to cold air all winter long / In a filthy and vile sort of garret / A Rotten mattress is laid out on the ground."⁵⁹

Sleep, the poor man's wealth, the husbandman's delight? Not in any conventional

Old Bailey Sessions Papers, July 5, 1727; Legg, *Low-Life*, 99; Grose, *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*; Lance Bertelsen, *The Nonsense Club: Literature and Popular Culture, 1749-1764* (Oxford, 1986), 29.

⁵⁶ Torriano, *Piazza universale di proverbi*, 127. For the prevalence of communal sleeping, see John Jervis, "Journal of Tour of France," 1772, Additional Manuscripts 31192/fol. 40, British Library, London; Alain Collomp, "Families: Habitations and Cohabitations," in Chartier, *Passions of the Renaissance*, 507; Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, 98-99; Peter Benes, "Sleeping Arrangements in Early Massachusetts: The Newbury Household of Henry Lunt, Hatter," in *Early American Probate Inventories*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, *Annual Proceedings*, Benes, et al., eds. (1987): 145-47. For the expression "to pig," see the *OED*, s.v. "pig"; Journal of Twisden [Bradboan?], 1693-94, 1698, Miscellaneous English Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Edward Peacock, *A Glossary of Words Used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire* (1877; rpt. edn., Vaduz, 1965), 191; John Dunton, *Teague Land: or, A Merry Ramble to the Wild Irish; Letters from Ireland, 1698*, Edward MacLysaght, ed. (Blackrock, Ire., 1982), 32.

⁵⁷ Dunton, *Teague Land*, 21; *Five Travel Scripts Commonly Attributed to Edward Ward*, Howard William Troyer, ed. (New York, 1933), 5, 6; *The Travel Diaries of Thomas Robert Malthus*, Patricia James, ed. (London, 1966), 188; *The Great Dirunal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, J. J. Bagley, ed., 3 vols. (Chester, Eng., 1968-72), 2: passim; G. E. and K. R. Fussell, *The English Countrywoman: A Farmhouse Social History, A.D. 1500-1900* (New York, 1971), 102.

⁵⁸ July 9, 1774, Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed. (Williamsburg, Va., 1943), 178.

⁵⁹ *The New Book of Eighteenth-Century Verse*, Roger Lonsdale, ed. (Oxford, 1984), 343; *L'état de servitude*, quoted in Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty* (Princeton, N.J., 1983), n. 61, 183. The working-class author John Younger later derided "toddy-noodled writers of gentle novels" for "describing the happy ignorance of the snoring peasantry

sense, except for allowing a sometimes troubled respite from what was likely an even more onerous day. "The Gods have bestowed Sleep upon us that we might take Rest for our Cares and forget our Sorrows," noted a contemporary, "not to make it a continual Tormentor." "Especially," he added, "since the Soul has no other Sleep to fly to."⁶⁰ Not that most people regularly faced prolonged bouts of wakefulness when in bed, for almost certainly they did not. It would be easy to exaggerate the toll taken by nightly annoyances. On the other hand, merely a series of brief disturbances of at most several minutes apiece, unknown even to the sleeper, can impose an enormous burden on the mind and body in terms of quality of rest and physical repair. Far from consistently enjoying blissful repose, ordinary men and women likely suffered some degree of sleep deprivation, feeling more fatigued upon awakening at dawn than when retiring at bedtime. All the more arduous as a consequence were their waking hours, especially when sleep debts were allowed to accumulate from one day to the next and superiors remained unsympathetic. Upon returning to his London quarters one evening to find his "man" asleep, Virginia's William Byrd II delivered a prompt beating, as did the Yorkshire yeoman Adam Eyre to a maidservant for her "sloathfulness."⁶¹ If complaints are to be believed, the work of laborers was erratic and their behavior lethargic—"deadened slowness" was one description of rural labor. "At noon he must have his sleeping time," grouched Bishop James Pilkington in the late 1500s of the typical laborer. Previous historians have explained such behavior as the product of a pre-industrial work ethic, but allowance must also be made for the chronic fatigue that probably afflicted much of the early modern population, as depicted in Thomas Rowlandson's drawing, *Haymakers at Rest* (see Figure 4). Indeed, napping during the day appears to have been common, with sleep less confined to nocturnal hours than it is in Western societies today.⁶² We can only wonder whether

without any real knowledge of such people's matters." *Autobiography of John Younger, Shoemaker, St. Boswells* (Edinburgh, 1881), 133.

⁶⁰ "Of Superstition," *American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia), December 16, 1742.

⁶¹ April 13, 1719, William Byrd, *The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings*, Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds. (Oxford, 1958), 256; October 9, 1647, *Yorkshire Diaries and Autobiographies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Durham, Eng., 1875), 1: 67; Charles P. Pollak, "The Effects of Noise on Sleep," in *Noise and Health*, Thomas H. Fay, ed. (New York, 1991), 43; Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, 72-74, 286; Lydia Dotto, *Losing Sleep: How Your Sleep Habits Affect Your Life* (New York, 1990), 31. A story in the *Middlesex Journal*, September 19, 1772, criticized a wealthy widow for contributing "to the want of rest at night" among her servants, whose "health" was "totally ruined and destroyed." See also Di Giacommo Agostinetti, *Cento, e dieci ricordi che formano il buon fattor di villa* (Venice, 1717), 257; Legg, *Low-Life*, 97; Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household* (Harlow, Eng., 2000), 168. Little wonder that among the lower classes throughout early modern Europe the mythical "Land of Cockaigne" exerted wide appeal. Not only did this utopian paradise overflow with food and drink, according to popular legend, but men rested in "silken beds," and "he who Sleeps most earns the most." "The Delightful Journey to Cockaigne," quoted in Piero Camporesi, *The Land of Hunger*, Tania Croft-Murray, trans. (Cambridge, 1996), 160-64; Edward Peter Caraco, "Pieter Bruegel's *Land of Cockaigne*" (MA thesis, University of Virginia, 1978); Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, Diane Webb, trans. (New York, 2001), 42-43, 365-71. (My thanks to Columbia University Press for allowing me to see the pre-publication proofs.) For the unconventional view that ample rest among servants and slaves was desirable because it made them more docile, see *Les serées de Guillaume Bouchet*, C. E. Roybet, ed., 6 vols. (Paris, 1873-82), 2: 153-54.

⁶² Quoted in Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 24; *The Works of James Pilkington, B.D., Lord Bishop of*



FIGURE 4: Thomas Rowlandson, *Haymakers at Rest*, 1798. Courtesy of Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection © 2000, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

exhaustion occasioned other common symptoms of sleep deprivation, including losses in motivation and physical well-being as well as increases in irritability and social friction. “Whether due to sleeping on a bed fouler than a rubbish heap, or not being able to cover oneself,” observed a Bolognese curate about insomnia among the poor, “who can explain how much harm is done?”⁶³

“I AM AWAKE, but ’tis not time to rise, neither have I yet slept enough . . . I am awake, yet not in pain, anguish or feare, as thousands are.” So went a seventeenth-century religious meditation intended for the dead of night.⁶⁴ As if illness, inclement weather, and fleas were not enough, there was yet another, even more familiar, source of broken sleep, though few contemporaries regarded it in that light. So routine was this nightly interruption that it provoked little comment at the time. Neither has it ever attracted scrutiny from historians, much less systematic investigation. But Robert Louis Stevenson shared the experience when hiking in the Cévennes; and because it had been a vital commonplace of an earlier age, “old

Durham, Rev. James Scholefield, ed. (London, 1842), 446. For discussions of a pre-industrial work ethic, see, for example, Sobel, *World They Made Together*, 25–26; E. P. Thompson, “Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,” *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97; Edmund S. Morgan, “The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607–18,” *AHR* 76 (June 1971): 595–611; John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century English Industry* (New York, 1981), 55.

⁶³ Canali quoted in Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams*, 68–69; Coren, *Sleep Thieves*, passim.

⁶⁴ Herbert’s *Devotions*, 236.

country-folk" knew about it in the late nineteenth century. Some probably still do today.

Until the close of the early modern era, Western Europeans on most evenings experienced *two major intervals of sleep* bridged by up to an hour or more of quiet wakefulness. In the absence of fuller descriptions, fragments in several languages that I have surveyed survive in sources ranging from depositions and diaries to imaginative literature. From these shards of information, we can piece together the essential features of this puzzling pattern of repose. The initial interval of slumber was usually referred to as "first sleep," or, less often, "first nap" or "dead sleep."⁶⁵ In French, the term was "premier sommeil" or "premier somme,"⁶⁶ in Italian, "primo sonno" or "primo sono,"⁶⁷ and in Latin, "primo somno" or "concupia nocte."⁶⁸ The intervening period of consciousness—what Stevenson poetically

⁶⁵ For the term "first sleep," I have discovered sixty-three references within a total of fifty-eight different sources from the period 1300–1800. See below in the text for examples. "First nap" appears in Colley Cibber, *The Lady's Last Stake: or, The Wife's Resentment* (London, 1708), 48; Tobias George Smollett, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, 2 vols. (London, 1753), 1: 73; Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*, Ian Jack, ed. (Oxford, 1981), 97. For "dead sleep," see Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (Avon, Conn., 1974), 93; Henry Roberts, *Honours Conquest* (London, 1598), 134; Rowley, *All's Lost by Lust*; Thomas Randolph, *Poems with the Muses Looking-glasse . . .* (Oxford, 1638); Shirley James, *The Constant Maid* (London, 1640); Robert Dixon, *Canidia: or, The Witches . . .* (London, 1683), 6. The fewer references to segmented sleep I have found in early American sources suggests that this pattern, though present in North America, may have been less widespread than in Europe, for reasons ranging from differences in day/night ratios to the wider availability of candles and other forms of artificial illumination in the colonies. Two sources—Benjamin Franklin, "Letter of the Drum," *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), April 23, 1730, and Hudson Muse to Thomas Muse, April 19, 1771, in "Original Letters," *Willam and Mary Quarterly* 2 (April 1894): 240—contain the expression "first nap." I have also found references to segmented sleep in twelve works of American fiction published during the first half of the nineteenth century. All the stories take place either in America or in Europe, with nearly half set before 1800. See, for example, Washington Irving, *The Beauties of Washington Irving . . .* (Philadelphia, 1835), 152; Irving, *A Book of the Hudson . . .* (New York, 1849), 51; Irving, *Bracebridge Hall, Tales of a Traveller, The Alhambra* (New York, 1991), 398, 813; Richard Penn Smith, *The Forsaken: A Tale*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1831), 2: 211; James Fenimore Cooper, *The Ways of the Hour* (New York, 1850), 276; Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Tales and Sketches: A Wonder Book for Girls and Boys, Tanglewood Tales for Girls and Boys*, Roy Harvey Pearce, ed. (New York, 1982), 293. While visiting London one winter, Hawthorne, in fact, noted a difference in the nature of English nights and sleep from his own experience in New England: "At this season, how long the nights are—from the first gathering gloom of twilight, when the grate in my office begins to grow ruddier, all through dinnertime, and the putting to bed of the children, and the lengthened evening, with its books or its drowsiness,—our own getting to bed, the brief awakenings through the many dark hours, and then the creeping onward of morning. It seems an age between light and light." January 6, 1854, Hawthorne, *The English Notebooks* (New York, 1962), 44.

⁶⁶ I have found twenty-one references to these terms within a total of nineteen sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Pierre de Deimer, *L'académie de l'art poétique* (Paris, 1610), 260; Honoré d'Urfé, *L'astrée*, M. Hughes Vaganay, ed., 5 vols. (Geneva, 1966), 2: 267, 3: 442; Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), 1: 598; [Claude-Phillippe de Tubières, Comte de Caylus], *Féeries nouvelles*, 2 vols. ([Paris], 1741), 1: 298, 2: 48; and both the tales and fables of Jean de La Fontaine.

⁶⁷ For "primo sonno" and "primo sono," the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano database of early Italian literature, furnished by the ItalNet consortium (on the World Wide Web at www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/OVI/), contains fifty-seven references within a total of thirty-two texts from just the fourteenth century. See, for example, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, V. Branca, ed. (Florence, 1976), 229, 270, 353, 542, 543, 568, 591, 592; Franco Sacchetti, *Trecentonovelle*, V. Pernicone, ed. (Florence, 1946), 433, 536.

⁶⁸ For "primo somno" or some slight variation like "primus somnus" or "primi somni," for which I have discovered nineteen references within sixteen texts, half of the latter before the thirteenth century, see, for example, Henricus Petraeus and Abraham Vechner, *Agonismata . . .* (Marburg, 1618), 172; Ugo Benzi, *Scriptum de somno et vigilia*, Gianfranco Fioravanti and Antonella Idato, eds. (Siena, 1991), 4;

labeled a “nightly resurrection”—bore no name, other than the generic term “watch” or “watching” to indicate a period of wakefulness that stemmed, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “from disinclination or incapacity for sleep.” Two contrasting texts refer to the time of “first waking.”⁶⁹ The succeeding interval of slumber was called “second” or “morning” sleep.⁷⁰ Both phases lasted roughly the same length of time, with individuals waking sometime after midnight before ultimately falling back to sleep. Not all people, of course, including most who retired early enough to experience two intervals of slumber, slept according to the same timetable. The later at night that individuals went to bed, the later they stirred after their initial sleep; or, if they retired past midnight, they would likely not have awakened at all until dawn. Thus in “The Squire’s Tale,” “Canacee” slept “soon after evening fell” and subsequently awakened in the early morning following “her first sleep”; whereas her companions, staying up much later, “lay asleep till it was fully prime” (daylight). Similarly, William Baldwin’s sixteenth-century satire *Beware the Cat* recounts a quarrel between the protagonist, “newly come unto bed,” and two roommates who “had already slept” their “first sleep.”⁷¹

Western Europeans of varying backgrounds referred to both intervals as if the prospect of awakening in the middle of the night was utterly familiar to contemporaries and thus required no elaboration. “At mid-night when thou wak’st from sleepe . . .,” wrote the Stuart poet George Wither; while in the view of John Locke, “That all men sleep by intervals” was a common feature of life, extending as well to much of brute creation, as Stevenson would later discern.⁷² Although details of this pattern are scarce, for the thirteenth-century Catalan philosopher Ramón Lull, “primo somno” stretched from mid-evening to early morning, whereas William Harrison in his mid-sixteenth-century *Description of England* referred to “the dull or

Christian Philippus Brinck, *Dodecas thesium inauguralium juridicarum de somno* (Basil, [1669]). For “concupia nocte,” see D. P. Simpson, *Cassell’s Latin Dictionary* (London, 1982), 128; Cicero, *De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, William Armistead Falconer, trans. (Cambridge, 1964), 287; Tacitus in *Five Volumes*, Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 2: 446, 3: 310; Livy with an *English Translation in Fourteen Volumes*, F. G. Moore, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 6: 372; Plautus with an *English Translation*, Paul Nixon, trans., 5 vols. (London, 1960), 5: 182; Pliny, *Natural History, with an English Translation in Ten Volumes*, W. H. S. Jones, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 8: 254; Paulus Orosius, *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet, trans., 3 vols. (Paris, 1990–91), 2: book 4, cap. 18; Jacobus Andreas Crusius, *De nocte et nocturnis officiis* . . . (Bremæ, 1660), 44; Macrobius, *The Saturnalia*, Percival Vaughan Davies, trans. (New York, 1969), 42.

⁶⁹ OED, s.v. “watching”; *Mid-night Thoughts, Writ, as Some Think, by a London-Whigg, or a Westminster Tory* . . . (London, 1682), A 2, 17; *Private Prayers, Put Forth by Authority during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Rev. William Keatinge Clay, ed. (1851; rpt. edn., London, 1968), 440–41.

⁷⁰ Bullein, *New Boke of Phisicke*, 90; Charles Johnstone, *Chrysal: or, The Adventures of a Guinea* (London, 1760), 20; *Notes and Queries*, 2d ser., 5 (March 13, 1858): 207; Richard Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie, Metoposcopia* . . . (London, 1653), 216; Thomas Tryon, *A Treatise of Dreams & Visions* . . . (London, 1689), 14.

⁷¹ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 403; William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat: The First English Novel*, William A. Ringler, Jr., and Michael Flachmann, eds. (San Marino, Calif., 1988), 5.

⁷² George Wither, *Iuvenila* (London, 1633), 239; John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 1690), 589. See also Francis Peck, *Desiderata curiosa: or, A Collection of Divers Scarce and Curious Pieces* . . . , 2 vols. (London, 1732), 2: 33. For references to the “first sleep” of animals, see, for example, James Shirley, *The Constant Maid* (London, 1640); Samuel Jackson Pratt, *Harvest-Home* . . . , 3 vols. (London, 1805), 2: 457; Caroline Matilda Kirkland, *A New Home* . . . (New York, 1839), 140.

dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their first or dead sleep."⁷³ Customary usage confirms that "first sleep" constituted a distinct period of time followed by an interval of wakefulness. Typically, descriptions recounted how an aroused individual had "had," "taken," or "gotten" his or her "first sleep." "I am more watchful," asserted "Rampino" in Sir William D'Avenant's *The Unfortunate Lovers*, "than a sick constable after his first sleep on a cold bench." An early seventeenth-century Scottish legal deposition referred to Jon Cokburne, a weaver, "haveing gottin his first sleip and awaiking furth thair of," while Noël Taillepied's *A Treatise of Ghosts* alluded even more directly to "about midnight when a man wakes from his first sleep."⁷⁴ Although in some descriptions a neighbor's quarrel or a barking dog woke people prematurely from their initial sleep, the vast weight of surviving evidence indicates that awakening naturally was routine, not the consequence of disturbed or fitful slumber. Medical books, in fact, from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries frequently advised sleepers, for better digestion and more tranquil repose, to lie on their right side during "the fyrste slepe" and "after the fyrste slepe turne on the lefte syde."⁷⁵ And even though Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie investigated no further, his study of fourteenth-century Montaillou notes that "the hour of the first sleep" was a customary division of night, as was "the hour half-way through the first sleep."⁷⁶

At first glance, it is tempting to view this pattern of broken sleep as a cultural relic rooted in early Christian experience. Ever since St. Benedict in the sixth century required that monks rise after midnight for the recital of verses and psalms, this like other regulations of the Benedictine order had spread to growing numbers of Frankish and German monasteries. By the High Middle Ages, the Catholic Church actively encouraged early morning prayer among Christians as a means of appealing to God during the still hours of darkness.⁷⁷ But while Christian teachings un-

⁷³ Raimundus Lullus, *Liber de regionibus sanitatis et informitatis* (n.p., 1995), 107; Harrison, *Description of England*, 382.

⁷⁴ *The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant*, 5 vols. (1872-74; rpt. edn., New York, 1964), 3: 75; Dittay, December 18, 1644, in *Selected Justiciary Cases, 1624-1650*, J. Irvine Smith, ed., 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1953-74), 3: 642; Noël Taillepied, *A Treatise of Ghosts . . .*, Montague Summers, trans. (1933; rpt. edn., Ann Arbor, Mich., 1971), 97-98. See also, for example, *Tristan and the Round Table*, Anne Shaver, ed. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1983), 101, 153; Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, Edward Hutton, trans. (New York, 1940), 396, 397; *The Facetious Nights of Straparola*, W. G. Waters, trans., 4 vols. (Boston, 1915), 2: 190; Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, 5; George Fidge, *The English Gusman* (London, 1652), 11, 17; *Endimion: An Excellent Fancy First Composed in French by Mounseieur Gombauld*, Richard Hurst, trans. (London, 1639), 74; *The Works of George Farquhar*, Shirley Strum Kenny, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1988), 1: 100.

⁷⁵ Governal, *In His Tretyse That Is Cleped Governayle of Helihe* (New York, 1969); Bullein, *Newe Boke of Phisicke*, 90; Boorde, *Compendious Regyment*; André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: Of Melancholike Diseases . . .*, Sanford V. Larkey, ed., Richard Surflet, trans. ([London], 1938), 190; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York, 1938), 464-65; Vaughan, *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health*, 53; Venner, *Via recta*, 275; Francis de Valangin, *A Treatise on Diet: or, The Management of Human Life* (London, 1768), 288.

⁷⁶ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1978), 277, 227. See also Jean Duvernoy, ed., *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (Evêque de Pamiers), 1318-1325*, 3 vols. (Toulouse, 1965), 1: 243.

⁷⁷ "Night vigils," declared the twelfth-century scholar Alan of Lille, "were not instituted without reason, for by them it is signified that we must rise in the middle of the night to sing the night office, so that the night may not pass without divine praise." Best known for advocating this regimen was the Spanish mystic St. John of the Cross, author of *The Dark Night of the Soul*, although in England voices within both the Catholic and Anglican churches still prescribed late night vigils in the eighteenth

doubtedly popularized the regimen of early morning prayer, the church itself was not responsible for introducing segmented sleep. However much it colonized the period of wakefulness between intervals of slumber, references to “first sleep” antedate Christianity’s early years of growth. Not only did such figures outside the church as Pausanias and Plutarch invoke the term in their writings, so, too, did early classical writers, including Livy in his history of Rome, Virgil in the *Aeneid*, both composed in the first century BC, and Homer in the *Odyssey*, written in either the late eighth or early seventh century BC!⁷⁸ Conversely, in the twentieth century, some non-Western cultures with religious beliefs other than Christianity have long exhibited a segmented pattern of sleep remarkably similar to that of pre-industrial Europeans. Anthropologists have found villages of the Tiv, Chagga, and G/wi, for example, in Africa to be surprisingly alive after midnight with newly roused adults and children. Of the Tiv in central Nigeria, a study in 1969 recorded, “At night, they wake when they will and talk with anyone else awake in the hut.” The Tiv even employ the terms “first sleep” and “second sleep” as traditional intervals of time.⁷⁹

Thus the basic puzzle remains—how to explain this curious anomaly or, in truth, the more genuine mystery of consolidated sleep that we experience today. For there is every reason to believe that segmented sleep, such as many wild animals still exhibit, had long been the natural pattern of our slumber before the modern age, with a provenance as old as humankind. Contrary to Stevenson’s suspicions, the key to this enigma has little to do with sleeping outdoors, although shepherds and hunters were beneficiaries. Instead, the answer appears to lie in what these individuals shared with most other people at night during the early modern era. As suggested by recent experiments at the National Institute of Mental Health in Bethesda, Maryland, the explanation likely rests in the darkness that enveloped most pre-industrial families. In attempting to recreate conditions of “prehistoric” sleep, Dr. Thomas Wehr and his colleagues at NIMH found that human subjects, deprived at night of artificial light over a span of several weeks, eventually exhibited a pattern of broken slumber—astonishingly, one practically identical to that of pre-industrial households. Without artificial light for up to fourteen hours each night, Wehr’s subjects first lay awake in bed for two hours, slept for four, awakened

century. Alan of Lille, *The Art of Preaching*, Gillian R. Evans, trans. (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981), 136; Abbot Gasquet, *English Monastic Life* (London, 1905), 111–12; C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London, 1984), 28–30; John M. Staudenmaier, S.J., “What Ever Happened to the Holy Dark in the West? The Enlightenment Ideal and the European Mystical Tradition,” in *Progress: Fact or Illusion?* Leo Marx and Bruce Mazlish, eds. (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 184.

⁷⁸ F. G. Moore, *Livy*, 6: 372–73; Virgil, *The Aeneid*, Robert Fitzgerald, ed., John Dryden, trans. (New York, [1965]), 43; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, W. H. S. Jones and H. A. Ormerod, trans., 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1966), 2: 311; Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, John Dryden, trans. (New York, 1979), 630, 1208; *Chapman’s Homer: The Iliad, The Odyssey and the Lesser Homeric*, Allardyce Nicoll, ed., 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1967), 2: 73.

⁷⁹ Paul Bohannan, “Concepts of Time among the Tiv of Nigeria,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9 (Autumn 1953): 253; Paul and Laura Bohannan, *Three Source Notebooks in Tiv Ethnography* (New Haven, Conn., 1958), 357; Bruno Gutmann, *The Tribal Teachings of the Chagga* (New Haven, 1932); George B. Silberbauer, *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert* (Cambridge, 1981), 111. See also Vilhelm Aubert and Harrison White, “Sleep: A Sociological Interpretation, II,” *Acta Sociologica* 4 (1959): 10–11; C. M. Worthman and M. Melby, “Toward a Comparative Ecology of Human Sleep,” in *Adolescent Sleep Patterns: Biological, Social, and Psychological Influences*, M. A. Carskadon, ed. (New York, in press).

again for two to three hours of quiet rest and reflection, then fell back asleep for four more hours before finally awakening for good. Significantly, the intervening period of "non-anxious wakefulness" possessed "an endocrinology all its own," with visibly heightened levels of prolactin, a pituitary hormone best known for permitting chickens to brood contentedly atop eggs for long stretches of time. In fact, Wehr has likened this period of wakefulness to something approaching an altered state of consciousness not unlike meditation.⁸⁰

On the enormous physiological impact of modern lighting—or, in turn, its absence—on sleep, there is wide scientific agreement. "Every time we turn on a light," remarks the chronobiologist Charles A. Czeisler, "we are inadvertently taking a drug that affects how we will sleep," with changes in levels of the brain hormone melatonin and in body temperature being among the most apparent consequences. Even so, Wehr, to his credit, has speculated that other conditions in his experiments, apart from darkness, might have produced a bimodal pattern of sleep—such as boredom or the enforced rest of his subjects. "Further research will be necessary," he has written, "to determine whether, and to what extent, darkness per se or factors associated with the dark condition" were "responsible for the differences that we observed in the subjects' sleep."⁸¹ But plainly, such factors did not normally exist in the voluminous number of pre-industrial allusions to first and second sleep. Rest in those instances was neither involuntary nor the consequence of monotonous surroundings. The more obvious commonality linking pre-industrial peoples to the subjects in Wehr's experiments, shared too by non-Western cultures still experiencing broken slumber, was a severe shortage of artificial lighting, which in the early modern world fell hardest on the lower and middle classes. Interestingly, allusions to segmented sleep are most conspicuous in materials written or dictated by all but the wealthiest segments of society. References are sparse among the vast mounds of personal papers left by the upper classes. Their relative absence becomes increasingly evident by the late seventeenth century, when both artificial lighting and the vogue of "late hours" grew more prevalent among affluent households. It may be more than coincidental that the prolific diarists Samuel Pepys and James Boswell, by their own admission, seldom woke in the middle of the night. If not conspicuously wealthy themselves, both men circulated within the upper echelons of London society, patronizing genteel nightspots and homes, amply lit in all likelihood by candlelight, well into the night. Of late night entertainments,

⁸⁰ Thomas A. Wehr, "A 'Clock for All Seasons' in the Human Brain," in *Hypothalamic Integration of Circadian Rhythms*, R. M. Buijs, et al., eds. (Amsterdam, 1996), 319–40; Wehr, "The Impact of Changes in Nightlength (Scotoperiod) on Human Sleep," in *Neurobiology of Sleep and Circadian Rhythms*, F. W. Turek and P. C. Zee, eds. (New York, 1999), 263–85; Natalie Angier, "Modern Life Suppresses Ancient Body Rhythm," *New York Times*, March 14, 1995; personal communications with Thomas Wehr, December 23, 31, 1996. Despite not having access to artificial light, the subjects in the experiment were permitted out of bed if they chose to arise in the dark.

⁸¹ Quoted in Warren E. Leary, "Feeling Tired and Run Down? It Could Be the Lights," *New York Times*, February 8, 1996; Thomas A. Wehr, et al., "Conservation of Photoperiod-Responsive Mechanisms in Humans," *American Journal of Physiology* 265 (1993): R855. See also Charles A. Czeisler, "The Effect of Light on the Human Circadian Pacemaker," in *Circadian Clocks and Their Adjustment*, Derek J. Chadwick and Kate Ackrill, eds. (Chichester, Eng., 1995), 254–302; Phyllis C. Zee and Fred W. Turek, "Introduction to Sleep and Circadian Rhythms," and Charles A. Czeisler and Kenneth P. Wright, Jr., "Influence of Light on Circadian Rhythmicity in Humans," in Turek and Zee, *Neurobiology of Sleep*, 5–8, 149–80; Dement, *Promise of Sleep*, 98–101.

Richard Steele observed in 1710, "Our grandmothers, though they were wont to sit up the last in the family, were all of them fast asleep at the same hours that their daughters are busy at crimp and basset [a card game] . . . Who would not wonder at this perverted relish of those who are reckoned the most polite part of mankind, that prefer sea-coals and candles to the sun, and exchange so many cheerful morning hours for the pleasures of midnight revels and debauches?"⁸²

A particularly intriguing reference to segmented sleep lies in an unpolished manuscript scrawled by an anonymous Irishman in October 1761 describing his journey home to Dublin. Upon leaving London between midnight and one a.m. by coach "in the midst of thick darkness," 'twas nigh an hour" before he "cleared the [northern] suburbs, where the people had not yet [all?] gone to bed as their Lights were not yet put out. Nay we discovered some faint glimmerings Here & there as we drove thru Highgate." Between one and two a.m., the coach and its passengers passed through Barnet, six miles to the north of Highgate. In this Hertfordshire town, noted the traveler, the "Good Folks seemed to be in their first sleep."⁸³ A wild guess, in view of the advanced hour? Or was the traveler's inference based on an apparent absence of activity, normally visible perhaps in communities after "first sleep" due to the dim glow of scattered candles, rushlights, and oil lamps? Although early modern families stirring after midnight probably fell back to sleep well before the full period of wakefulness experienced by the NIMH subjects, some individuals arose from their beds upon awakening. Many of these, of course, merely needed to urinate. Advised Andrew Boorde, "Whan you do wake of your fyrste slepe make water if you fele your bladder charged."⁸⁴ Others, however, after arising, took the opportunity to smoke tobacco, check the time, or tend a fire. Counseled an early English ballad, "Old Robin of Portingale," "And at the wakening of your first sleepe You shall have a hott drinke made, And at the wakening of your next sleepe Your sorrowes will have a slake."⁸⁵ Yet for others, work awaited, no matter how wearisome the tasks. The Bath physician Tobias Venner advised, "Students that must of necessity watch and study by night, that they do it not till after their first sleep," when they would be "in some measure refreshed." A seventeenth-century farmer, Henry Best of Elmswell, made a point to rise "sometimes att midnight" to

⁸² [Richard Steele], December 14, 1710, *The Tatler*, George Aitken, ed., 4 vols. (1899; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 4: 337, 339; April 9, 1664, *Pepys Diary*, 5: 118; March 19, 1776, *Boswell: The Ominous Years, 1774-1776*, Charles Ryskamp and Frederick A. Pottle, eds. (New York, 1963), 276. Of the Navy Board, where Pepys, when not socializing, frequently labored at night in a series of official capacities, it was said in 1700, "There are very few nights, even in summer, that we do not burn candles at this office"—according to one estimate, well over one hundred per night during the preceding decade. O'Dea, *Social History of Lighting*, 114-15. Boswell observed in defense of his late hours, "My avidity to put as much as possible into a day makes me fill it till it is like to burst." April 2, 1775, *Boswell: The Ominous Years*, 118. See also T. Burke, *English Night-Life*, 23-70.

⁸³ October 9, 1761, "Journeys from Dublin to London, 1761, 1773," Additional Manuscripts 27951, British Library, fol. 66; *A Description of the Towns and Villages, &c. on and Adjoining the Great North Road, From London to Bawtry* (London, 1782), 4, 5.

⁸⁴ Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*. See also Dunton, *Teague Land*, 25; Statement of Samuel Whitehouse, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, May 21-23, 1760.

⁸⁵ "Old Robin of Portingale," in *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Francis Child, ed., 5 vols. (1882-98; rpt. edn., New York, 1965), 2: 241. See also, for example, Brooke, *Cautionary Rules*, 6; Deposition of Thomas Jubb, November 17, 1740, Assi 45/22/1/102; November 12, 1729, November 30, 1726, January 4, 1728, Diary of Robert Sanderson, St. John's College, Cambridge; Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Love's Adventures* (London, 1662).

prevent the destruction of his fields by roving cattle. In addition to tending their children, women left their beds to perform myriad chores, including doing the wash to avoid disrupting the daily household. The servant Jane Allison got up one night between midnight and two a.m. to "brew a Load of Malt in the Back Kitchen" of her Westmorland master. "Often at Midnight, from our Bed we rise," bewailed Mary Collier in *The Woman's Labour*.⁸⁶ Some hardy souls, after rising in the early morning, remained awake if sufficiently rested or if pressing work intruded. Thomas Ken, the bishop of Bath and Wells, reputedly "rose generally very early, and never took a second sleep."⁸⁷

For the poor, awakening in the dead of night presented opportunities of a different sort. Never during the day was there such a secluded interval in which to commit acts of petty crime: filching from shops, dockyards, and other urban workplaces, or, in the countryside, pilfering firewood, poaching, and robbing orchards. The religious scholar George Herbert hardly exaggerated in claiming that "some wake to plot or act mischief," for an undercurrent of illegal activity reverberated through the early morning hours, occasionally involving more serious offenses. Thomas Liggins, alleged to have received stolen beans in his London home, admitted to leaving his bed between one and two a.m. to accept the merchandise. Of Luke Atkinson, charged with an early morning murder in the North Riding of Yorkshire, his wife admitted "that it was not the first time he had got up at Nights and left her in bed to go to other Folks Houses." And in 1697, young Jane Rowth's mother, "after shee had gott her first sleep . . . was gotten up out of bedd, And [was] smoaking a pipe at the fire side" when two male companions "called on her mother at the little window, and bad her make ready & come away" according to plans all three had hatched the preceding morning. Although nine-year-old Jane was told by her mother to "lye still, And shee would come againe in the morning," her mother's dead body was found a day or two later.⁸⁸ None were more familiar than the church with the dangers and temptations lurking in the dead of night. "Can Men break their sleep to mind the works of Darkness, and shall we not break ours," asked Reverend Anthony Horneck, "for doing things, which

⁸⁶ Venner, *Via recta*, 272; Donald Woodward, ed., *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (London, 1984), 124; Deposition of Jane Allison, March 15, 1741, Assi 45/22/2/64B; Stephen Duck, *The Thresher's Labour* [1736], and Mary Collier, *The Woman's Labour* [1739] (rpt. edn., Los Angeles, 1985), 16. See also "The Peasant's Life, according to William Langland" [c. 1376], in *English Historical Documents, 1327-1485*, A. R. Myers, ed. (London, 1969), 1190; *The Pinder of Wakefield* (London, 1632), 8.

⁸⁷ *Notes and Queries* 5, 2d ser., 115 (March 13, 1858): 207. See also Tobias Smollett, *Peregrine Pickle*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967), 2: 244. Of Bishop Ken, an early biographer wrote that for purposes of "his study" he "strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two of the clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner." James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, Rodney Shewan, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1968), 2: 164.

⁸⁸ *Herbert's Devotions*, 237; Statement of Thomas Liggins, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, January 15-18, 1748; Deposition of Mary Atkinson, March 9, 1771, Assi 45/30/1/3; Deposition of Jane Rowth, April 11, 1697, Assi 45/17/2/93. Reverend Anthony Horneck condemned "how High-way-men and Thieves can rise at midnight to Rob and Murder Men!" Horneck, *Happy Ascetick*, 414. See also M. Lopes de Almeida, *Diálogos de D. Frei Amador Arrais* (Pôrto, 1974), 19; Deposition of Jane Newham, December 3, 1770, Assi 45/30/1/16; Statement of Lord Justice Generall Deputy, August 29, 1722, in Imrie, *Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles*, 2: 376; Deposition of Thomas Nicholson, June 2, 1727, Assi 45/18/4/39-40.

become the Children of Light?"⁸⁹ Certainly, there was no shortage of prayers intended to be recited "when you awake in the Night" or "at our first waking," a time not to be confused with either dawn or "our uprising," for which wholly separate prayers were prescribed. A parent instructed his daughter that "the most profitable hour for you and us might be in the middle of the night after going to sleep, after digesting the meat, when the labors of the world are cast off . . . and no one will look at you except for God."⁹⁰

Most people, upon awakening, probably never left their beds unless to relieve their bladders, if then. Besides praying, they conversed with a bedfellow or inquired after the well-being of a child or spouse. A drawing by Jan Saenredam (see Figure 5) depicts a wakened wife from the far side of a bed adjusting the covers atop her slumbering husband; also asleep are an infant and her nurse. According to one wife, it was her husband's "custom when he waketh to feele after me & than he layeth hym to slepe againe." Lying with her daughter Sara and "a litle childe," Mary Sykes, "after theire first sleepe," upon "heareing" Sara "quakeing and holding her hands together" asked her daughter "what she ailed."⁹¹ Sexual intimacy seems often to have ensued among couples. Joked Louis Sebastien Mercier of the midnight clatter of Parisian carriages, "The tradesman wakes out of his first sleep at the sound of them, and turns to his wife, by no means unwilling." Significantly for our understanding of early modern demography, segmented sleep may have enhanced a couple's ability to conceive children, since fertility might have benefited from an interlude of rest. In fact, the sixteenth-century French physician Laurent Joubert concluded that early morning intercourse enabled plowmen, artisans, and other laborers to beget numerous children. Because exhaustion prevented workers from copulating upon first going to bed, intercourse occurred "after the first sleep" when "they have more enjoyment" and "do it better." "Immediately thereafter," Joubert counseled those eager to conceive, "get back to sleep again, if possible, or if not, at least to remain in bed and relax while talking together joyfully." The physician Thomas Cogan similarly advised that intercourse occur not "before sleepe, but after the meate is digested, a little before morning, and afterwarde to sleepe a while."⁹²

Perhaps even more commonly, however, people used this shrouded interval of

⁸⁹ Horneck, *Happy Ascetick*, 415. See also Almeida, *Diálogos de Amador*, 19.

⁹⁰ *Whole Duty of Prayer*, 13; Richard and John Day, *A Booke of Christian Praiers* . . . (London, 1578), 440–41; R. Sherlock, *The Practical Christian: or, The Devout Penitent* . . . (London, 1699), 322–23; Furnivall, *Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses*, 221; anonymous parent quoted in Danielle Régner-Bohler, "Imagining the Self," in *Revelations of the Medieval World*, Georges Duby, ed., Arthur Goldhammer, trans., vol. 2 of Ariès and Duby, *History of Private Life*, 357. See also, for example, Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living and Dying: Together with Prayers Containing the Whole Duty of a Christian* . . . (London, 1850), 41; Mr. Byles, *The Visit to Jesus by Night, An Evening-Lecture* (Boston, 1741).

⁹¹ *The Deceyte of Women* . . . (n.p., 1568); Deposition of Dorothy Rodes, March 18, 1650, in *Depositions from the Castle of York, Relating to Offences Committed in the Northern Counties in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1861), 28. See also Geoffroy de La Tour-Landry, *Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* (London, 1906), fol. 3b; January 4, 1728, Sanderson Diary.

⁹² *The Waiting City: Paris 1782–88; Being an Abridgement of Louis-Sebastien Mercier's "Le tableau de Paris,"* Helen Simpson, ed. and trans. (Philadelphia, 1933), 76; Laurent Joubert, *Popular Errors*, Gregory David de Rocher, trans. (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1989), 112–13; Cogan, *Haven of Health*, 252. See also Boorde, *Compendious Regyment; The English Rogue Continued, In the Life of Meriton Latroon* . . . , 4 parts (London, 1671), 2: 367; Statement of Mary Pearce, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, April 20, 1737; "A Woman's Work Is Never Done," in *The Roxburghe Ballads*, William Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, eds., 9 vols. (1871–99; rpt. edn., New York, 1966), 3: pt. 1, 305.



FIGURE 5: Jan Saenredam, *Night*, n.d. Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

solitude to immerse themselves in contemplation—to ponder events of the preceding day and to prepare for the arrival of dawn. At no other time, during the day or night, were distractions so few and privacy so great. “The night,” asserted

James Pilkington, "is the quietest time to devise things in"; the "eyes are not troubled with looking at many things," and the "senses are not drawn away."⁹³ Naturally, midnight reflections sometimes proved painful. A character in the Jacobean comedy *Everie Woman in Her Humor* "everie night after his first sleepe" wrote "lovesicke sonnets, rayling against left handed fortune his foe."⁹⁴ Little wonder that, for better or worse, nighttime enjoyed a far-flung reputation as the "mother of thoughtes," many of them born while minds were conscious. "The night brings counsel," echoed a popular proverb.⁹⁵ The seventeenth-century merchant James Bovey reputedly from age fourteen kept a "Candle burning by him all night, with pen, inke, and paper, to write downe thoughts as they came into his head." Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, in order to better preserve midnight ruminations, methods were devised to "write in the dark, as straight as by day or candle-light," according to a report in 1748. Twenty years later, after first obtaining a patent, a London tradesman, Christopher Pinchbeck, Jr., advertised his "Nocturnal Remembrancer," an enclosed tablet of parchment with a horizontal aperture for a guideline whereby "philosophers, statesmen, poets, divines, and every person of genius, business or reflection, may secure all those happy, often much regretted, and never to be recovered flights or thoughts, which so frequently occur in the course of a meditating, wakeful night."⁹⁶

But we run on too quickly. Georgian ingenuity should not mislead us. For every active intellect following first sleep, there were two others initially neither asleep nor awake. The French called this ambiguous interval of semi-consciousness "dorveille," while the English termed it "twixt sleepe and wake." Unless preceded by an unsettling dream, the moments immediately following "first sleep" were often characterized by two features: confused thoughts that wandered "at will" coupled with pronounced feelings of contentment. As senses sharpened, contentedness frequently lingered.⁹⁷ Whether this was the "altered state of consciousness" researchers have detected in clinical experiments, I cannot say with certainty, but common discomforts of the night, such as illness and pests, do not appear to have disturbed powers of concentration during this interval. In his evocative description of awakening from "midnight slumber" in "The Haunted Mind," Nathaniel

⁹³ Pilkington, *Works*, 340. Thomas Jefferson before bed routinely read works of moral philosophy "whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep." Jefferson to Dr. Vine Utley, March 21, 1819, Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, Merrill D. Peterson, ed. (New York, 1984), 1417. See also Girolamo Cardano, *The Book of My Life* (1930; rpt. edn., New York, 1962), 82; Timothy Nourse, *Campania foelix* (1700; rpt. edn., New York, 1982), 175; *Leisure Hours Employed for the Benefit of Those Who Would Wish to Begin the World as Wise as Others End It* (London, 1759), 10.

⁹⁴ *Everie Woman in Her Humor* (London, 1609). See also May 24, 1595, Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward, *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries*, Marshall Mason Knappen, ed. (Gloucester, Mass., 1966), 105; July 12, 1702, Cowper Diary.

⁹⁵ B. Stevenson, *Home Book of Proverbs*, 1686. According to Francis Quarles, "We tire the night in thought, the day in toyl." Quarles, *Complete Works*, 3: 58. See also Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 566.

⁹⁶ John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, Oliver Lawson Dick, ed. (London, 1950), 131; *Gentleman's Magazine* (London) (1748): 108; "To the Printer," *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), February 11, 1769; Rita Shenton, *Christopher Pinchbeck and His Family* (Ashford, Eng., 1976), 29.

⁹⁷ Régner-Bohler, "Imagining the Self," 390; Edmund Spenser, *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, Edwin Greenlaw, ed., 11 vols. (Baltimore, 1947), 2: 249; Richard Brome, *The Northern Lasse* (London, 1632); Sir William Davenant, *The Platonick Lovers* (London, 1636); July 31, 1704, Wodrow, *Analecta*, 1: 53; Statement of John Wragg, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, February 23, 1732; Taillepiet, *Treatise of Ghosts*, 97–98.

Hawthorne insisted, "If you could choose an hour of wakefulness out of the whole night, it would be this . . . You have found an intermediate space, where the business of life does not intrude; where the passing moment lingers, and becomes truly the present." And in what might have been a reference to the tranquility associated with heightened levels of the hormone prolactin, Hawthorne reflected, "You speculate on the luxury of wearing out a whole existence in bed, like an oyster in its shell, content with the sluggish ecstasy of inaction." The early morning could be a time of great personal sovereignty. Thus Stevenson, after awakening in the Cévennes, wrote of being freed from the "bastille of civilization." Less sanguine about "our *solitary Hours*" when "waking in the Night or early in the Morning" was the Hammersmith minister John Wade, who complained in 1692 of men's "unsettled independent Thoughts," "vain unprofitable Musing," and "devising Mischief upon their Beds."⁹⁸

OFTEN, PEOPLE STIRRED FROM THEIR FIRST SLEEP to ponder a kaleidoscope of partially crystallized images, slightly blurred but otherwise vivid tableaux born of their dreams. So in the "Squire's Tale," "Canacee," after she "slept her first sleep," awakened in the warm glow of a dream—"for on her heart so great a gladness broke"; and "Club," when awakened from his "first sleep" in *Love and a Bottle*, recalled the "pleasantest Dream" in which "his Master's great black Stone-horse, had broke loose among the Mares." Less happily, Reverend Oliver Heywood—"at my first sleep"—had a "terrible dream" in which his son "was fallen to the study of magick or the black art." And in *Ram Alley*, "Sir Oliver" spoke of the hours before cockcrow "when maids awak'd from their first sleep, Deceiv'd with dreams begin to weep."⁹⁹

As in previous eras, dreams played a profound role in early modern life, every bit as revealing, according to popular sentiment, of prospects ahead as of times past. Some visions, many believed, merely reprised the previous day, reflecting nothing more than a sour stomach from a recent meal. Other dreams, by communicating divine prophecies, foreshadowed the future. To be sure, well before the literate classes in the late eighteenth century ridiculed dream interpretation among "the vulgar," critics like Sir Thomas Brown, though conceding that dreams could enable people to "more sensibly understand" themselves, condemned the "fictions and

⁹⁸ Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Haunted Mind," in Hawthorne, *Tales and Sketches*, 200–01; John Wade, *Redemption of Time* (London, 1692), 187. See also, for example, Jerome James Donnelly, "The Concept of Night: Its Use and Metamorphosis in the Poetry of the Eighteenth Century" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1966), 81, 89, 100–01, 115, 119.

⁹⁹ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 403–04; Farquhar, *Works*, 1: 100–01; January 6, 1677, *The Rev. Oliver Heywood, B.A., 1630–1702: His Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books . . .*, J. Horsfull Turner, ed., 4 vols. (Brighouse, Eng., 1882), 1: 340; *Ram Alley*, Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, eds. (Nottingham, 1981), 56. See also Rudolf von Schlettstadt, *Historiae Memorabiles: Zur Dominikanerliteratur und Kulturgeschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Erich Kleinschmidt, ed. (Cologne, 1974), 71–72; Peter Motteux, *Beautie in Distress* (London, 1698), 14; [Thomas Newcomb], *The Manners of the Age . . .* (London, 1733), 454; Denis Diderot, *Les bijoux indiscrets* (Paris, 1965), 151; Robert Bage, *Man as He Is*, 4 vols. (London, 1792), 3: 85; William Godwin, *St. Leon: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century*, 4 vols. (London, 1799), 3: 274–75. The sixteenth-century medical authority Christof Wirsung believed that nightmares occurred principally "when a body is in his first sleepe. Lying on his back." *Praxis Medicinae Universalis*, 150.

falshoods" born at night. Even skeptics, however, acknowledged a widespread fascination with visions. Thomas Tryon, for example, wrote in 1689 of how an "abundance of ignorant People (foolish Women, and Men as weak) have in all Times, and do frequently at this day make many ridiculous & superstitious Observations from their Dreams."¹⁰⁰ So, too, *The Weekly Register* in 1732 observed, "There is a certain Set of People in the World, who place the greatest Faith imaginable in their Dreams." That "the English Nation has ever been famous for Dreaming," as "Somnifer" remarked, was reflected in the surging sales of dream books (chapbooks, sections of fortune books, or entire compendiums) devoted to translating different types of visions, often with great specificity.¹⁰¹

The general public valued not only the oracular quality of dreams but also the deeper understanding they permitted of one's body and soul. Some dreams lay rooted in physical health, as Aristotle and Hippocrates once claimed,¹⁰² while others threw a rare shaft of light on the inner core of a person's character. Well before the Romantic philosophers of the nineteenth century and, later, Sigmund Freud, Europeans prized dreams for their personal insights, including what they revealed of one's relationship with God. "The wise man," the essayist Owen Feltham wrote in 1628, "learnes to know himselfe as well by the nights blacke mantle, as the searching beames of day." Between the two, night was the superior instructor, for "in sleepe, wee have the naked and naturall thoughts of our soules." "Let the Night teach us what we are," conceded Tryon, "and the Day what we should be."¹⁰³ Although some revelations were unwelcome, oppressive rules that made daily life arduous no longer always applied in the boundless freedom of dreams. "The Dogge dreameth of bread, of rauging in the Fields, & of hunting," affirmed a proverb. Those forced to adopt a foreign language by day could dream in their native tongue at night; others in their visions freely swore oaths and enjoyed erotic fantasies, as portrayed in *The Dream* by Jacob Jordaens (see Figure 6).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ "To the Rev. Simon Olive-branch," *The Looker-On* (May 22, 1792): 234; *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, Geoffrey Keynes, ed., 6 vols. (London, 1928–31), 5: 185; Tryon, *Treatise of Dreams & Visions*, 9; Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 28–130.

¹⁰¹ *The Weekly Register: or, Universal Journal* (London), December 30, 1732; "Somnifer," *Public Advertiser*, October 24, 1767. For dream books, see, for example, Nashe, "Terrors of the Night," 1: 369–70; *The Art of Courtship: or, The School of Delight . . . as Likewise the Interpretation of Dreams* ([London], 1686); *Nocturnal Revels: or, A Universal Dream-Book . . .* (London, 1706); "Somniculus," *Worcester Journal*, December 21, 1744; Lilly, *Groatworth of Wit; Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, John Ashton, ed. (New York, 1966), 81–82; Price, "Future of Dreams," 32.

¹⁰² Polydori Ripa, *Tractatus de nocturno tempore . . .* (Venice, 1602), chap. 9, no. 27; Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, 113–14; Parey, *Workes*, 27. For renewed interest in the link between dreaming and illness, see Robert L. Van De Castle, *Our Dreaming Mind* (New York, 1994), 361–70.

¹⁰³ Feltham, *Resolves*, 18, 163; Thomas Tryon, *Wisdom's Dictates: or, Aphorisms & Rules . . .* (London, 1691), 68. See also, for example, Philip Goodwin, *The Mystery of Dreams* (London, 1658); T. Adams, *Works*, 2: 16–17; George Chapman, *Evgenia: or, True Nobilities Trance . . .* (London, 1614); [Joseph Addison], September 18, 1712, *The Spectator*, William Bond, ed., 5 vols. (Oxford, 1965), 5: 226–28; William Enfield, *The English Preacher* (London, 1773), 214; "Observations on the Nature of SLEEP: From a Philosophical Essay on Man," *Walker's Hibernian Magazine* 4 (1774): 217–18; Jones, *Disquisition Concerning . . . Sleep in the Scriptures*, 10–11; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The Liminality and Centrality of Dreams in the Medieval West," in Shulman and Stroumsa, *Dream Cultures*, 274–87; Fungaroli, "Landscapes of Life," 48–82.

¹⁰⁴ Lemnius, *Touchstone of Complexions*, 114; Tobias George Smollett, *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom*, Damian Grant, ed. (London, 1971), 109; "A Dreamer," *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, October 21, 1767; Moryson, *Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell*, 1: 27. Not surprisingly, talking in one's sleep was thought more revealing of a person's thoughts than were one's

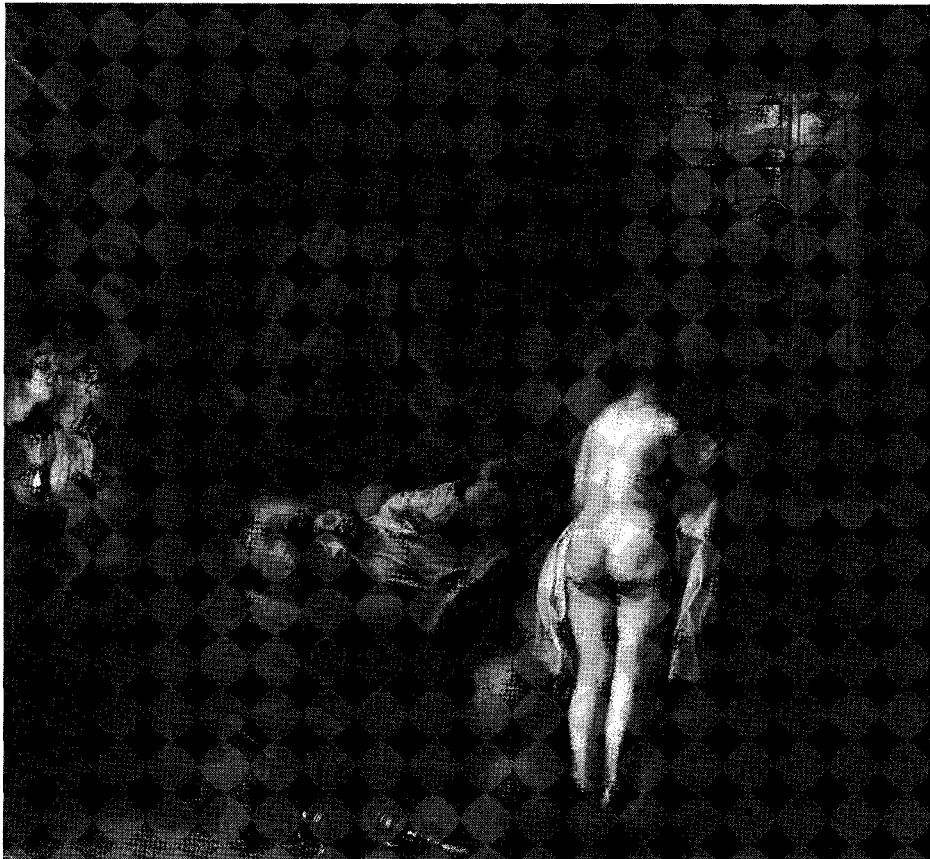


FIGURE 6: Jacob Jordaens, *Die Nächtliche Erscheinung* (The Dream, or The Apparition by Night), n.d. Courtesy of the Staatliches Museum Schwerin.

Leering husbands, spouses suspected, committed adultery without once leaving their sides. Such visions Pepys cherished all the more dearly during the height of London's Great Plague in 1665. After dreaming of a liaison with Lady Castlemaine ("the best that ever was dreamed"—"all the dalliance I desired with her"), he reflected: "What a happy thing it would be, if when we are in our graves . . . we could dream, and dream but such dreams as this." "Then," he added, "We should not need to be so fearful of death as we are this plague-time." So suspicious of his visions was Pepys's wife that she took to feeling his penis while he slept for signs of an erection.¹⁰⁵

If, as playwrights and poets romanticized, sleep soothed the weary and oppressed,

waking opinions, with occasionally embarrassing consequences. "Don't tell me," wrote a suitor to his lover, "that I ought to draw no Consequence from what you said in the Night: It was you that spoke then, and you alone; whereas in the Day 'tis Constraint, 'tis Ceremonty, 'tis Dissimulation that speaks." *The Works of Mr. Thomas Brown*, 4 vols. (London, 1708), 3: 114. See also, for example, William Shakespeare, *Othello*, III, 3; John Fletcher, *et al.*, *The Spanish Curate* (London, 1647), 44; Pont-de-Weyle, *The Sleep-Walker* (Strawberry Hill, Eng., 1778), 37, 55–56.

¹⁰⁵ August 15, 1665, February 7, 1669, *Pepys Diary*, 6: 191, 9: 439. The penis routinely becomes erect during a dream, regardless of its content; in fact, men on average experience "four to five erections a night (when they are asleep), each lasting from five to ten minutes." Rose, *Body in Time*, 54, 95.

their principal relief may have been drawn from dreams. The mere act of dreaming was alone testament to the independence of souls. For the lower classes, dreams represented not only a road to self-awareness but also a well-traveled route of escape from daily suffering. A character in one of Jean de La Fontaine's fables averred, "Fate's woven me no life of golden thread / nor are there sumptuous hangings by my bed: / my nights are worth no less, their dreams as deep: / felicities still glorify my sleep." The allure of dreams may have grown for large numbers of people after the Middle Ages when for many years the Catholic Church held fast to a doctrine that only monarchs and ecclesiastics likely experienced meaningful *somnia*. No doubt for some indigent people, as the satirist William King remarked, "Night repeats the labors of the day."¹⁰⁶ But others derived welcome solace from their visions. Hence the proverb: "All that's pleasant in the World is a short dream." If the sick sometimes dreamed of health, so, too, did unrequited lovers of wedded bliss and the poor of sudden wealth. "The Bed generally produces Dreams, and so gives that happiness," wrote a newspaper correspondent, "which nothing else cou'd procure."¹⁰⁷ Moreover, just as New World slaves returned to "the wilderness" in their sleep, so did Western Europeans visit dead or distant loved ones. The author of *Mid-night Thoughts* wrote of "frequent conversations with dead friends when we Sleep," no small comfort in times of high mortality. Much later, Patrick MacGill, when tramping through Britain, would revisit his native Donegal while asleep: "Often and often I went home to my own people in my nightly dreams."¹⁰⁸ Less frequently, dreams afforded humble men and women opportunities for combating evil and avenging past wrongs, if only rarely on the scale of the "night

¹⁰⁶ *Selected Fables*, Maya Slater, ed. (Oxford, 1995), 283; William King, "Of Dreams," in French, *Minor English Poets*, 2: 259; Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Chicago, 1988), 234; Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, Teresa Lavender Fagan, trans. (Chicago, 1998), 43.

¹⁰⁷ Torriano, *Piazza universale di proverbi*, 261; Mum. Bedlove, "Meditations on a Bed," in *Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal* (London), February 5, 1737. The laborer "Jeffrey" in Richard Brome's comedy *The Queenes Exchange* (London, 1657) defiantly insists, "Let work no more be thought on, we will revel it out Of remembrance, we will not cease our joy to sleep, for Fear we dream of work again." See also John Cotta, *The Triall of Witch-Craft* (London, 1616), 83–84; "The Maiden's Dream," in Chappell and Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 8: cxl; L.P., "The Dainty Damsels Dream . . ." (London, [1660]); *The Diary of Abraham De La Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary* (Durham, Eng., 1870), 219–20; *Les serées de Guillaume Bouchet*, 2: 142; T. Adams, *Works*, 2: 133–34; *The Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)*, Joyce Hemlow, et al., eds., 12 vols. (Oxford, 1972–), 1: 33; Régner-Bohler, "Imagining the Self," 388; Mechal Sobel, "The Revolution in Selves: Black and White Inner Aliens," in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, Ronald Hoffman, et al., eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997), 199–200.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 250; *Mid-night Thoughts*, 34; Patick MacGill, *Children of the Dead End . . .* (London, 1914), 113–14. A study of the nineteenth-century community of Lindsey found that villagers still visited family and friends in their dreams—so often, that a dreamer would comment the next morning, "I have been a deal with ——— in the night." James Obelkevich, *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825–1875* (Oxford, 1976), 293. See also Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. Branca, 373; Thomas V. Cohen, "The Case of the Mysterious Coil of Rope: Street Life and Jewish Persona in Rome in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (Summer 1988): 99; *The Autobiography of a Seventeenth-Century Venetian Rabbi: Leon Modena's Life of Judah*, Mark R. Cohen, ed. and trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 94, 99; Tryon, *Treatise of Dreams & Visions*, 74; *Adventurer* (November 21, 1752): 26; October 8, 1761, *Diary of William Dyer*, 2 vols., 1: 107, Bristol Central Library, England; Lisa M. Bitel, "In Visu Noctis: Dreams in European Hagiography and Histories, 450–900," *History of Religions* 31 (August 1991): 39–59; Sobel, "Revolution in Selves," 180–85; Galit Hasan-Rokem, "Communication with the Dead in Jewish Dream Culture," in Shulman and Stroumsa, *Dream Cultures*, 213–34.

battles" fought by Carlo Ginzburg's Friulian *benandanti* or the resistance waged against the French by the Camerounese during the 1950s. As George Steiner has remarked of indigenous opposition to the Nazis, dreams "can be the last refuge of freedom and the hearth of resistance."¹⁰⁹ The angry English ballad "The Poore Man Payes for All" recounted a dream depicting, among other incendiary scenes, "how wealthy men Did grind the poore men's faces." And while the dreamer, upon waking from his sleep to ponder the vision, remained pessimistic about the poor's plight, he nonetheless hoped that the dream represented an encouraging premonition. Another ballad, "The Poet's Dream," complained of how laws "burthen'd the Poor till they made them groan." "When I awakened from my Dream," describes the ballad, "Methoughts the World turn'd upside down." So trusted the Digger visionary, William Everard, who in 1649 cited divine inspiration in support of his own radicalism.¹¹⁰

The impact of dreams in pre-industrial Britain never became as enduring as it has long been in non-Western societies. Not only do dreams in some African cultures still provide a critical source of guidance, they also constitute alternate realms of reality with distinctive social structures. Among the Alorese in the East Indies, entire households are awakened once or several times each night by family members anxious to communicate fresh visions.¹¹¹ Still, British communities attached great weight to dreams. Whether by reading before bed, avoiding heavy meals, or by placing a piece of cake beneath one's pillow, numerous people practiced the "art of procuring pleasant dreams." Country maidens reportedly resorted to charms in order to dream of their future husbands. One sixteenth-century spell, reprinted in a chapbook, required a girl to place an onion beneath her pillow before reciting a short verse, whereupon "in your first sleep you shall dream

¹⁰⁹ Steiner, "Historicity of Dreams," 211; Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (London, 1983); Achille Mbembe, "Domaines de la nuit et autorité onirique dans les maquis du Sud-Cameroun (1955-1958)," *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 89-121. See also Gustav Henningsen, "'The Ladies from Outside': An Archaic Pattern of the Witches Sabbath," in *Early Modern European Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, eds. (Oxford, 1990), 191-207; Erika Bourguignon, "Dreams and Altered States of Consciousness in Anthropological Research," in *Psychological Anthropology*, Francis L. K. Hsu, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 405.

¹¹⁰ "The Poore Man Payes for All," in Chappell and Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 2: 334-38; "The Poet's Dream: or, The Out-cry and Lamentable Complaint of the Land against Bayliffs and Their Dogs," in *Roxburghe Ballads*, 7: 11-12. A dream, in fact, led the Diggers to select St. George's Hill in Surrey for their egalitarian commune. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 148. See also "Poor Robin's Dream: Commonly Called Poor Charity" (n.p., c. 1600s); Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*; Carla Gerona, "Stairways to Heaven: A Cultural History of Early American Quaker Dreams" (PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1998); Senault, *Man Become Guilty*, 243; Roy G. D'Andrade, "Anthropological Studies of Dreams," in *Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality*, Francis L. K. Hsu, ed. (Homewood, Ill., 1961), 309.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Bourguignon, "Dreams and Altered States," in Hsu, *Psychological Anthropology* (1972), 403-34; Vilhelm Aubert and Harrison White, "Sleep: A Sociological Interpretation, I," *Acta Sociologica* 4 (1959): 48-49; Beryl Larry Bellman, *Village of Curers and Assassins: On the Production of Fala Kpelle Cosmological Categories* (The Hague, 1975), 165-78; Cora Du Bois, *The People of Alor: A Social-Psychological Study of an East Indian Island*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961), 1: 45-46. Of the Zulu, for example, Axel-Ivar Berglund has written, "The important role played by dreams in Zulu thought-patterns cannot be overstressed. Without dreams true and uninterrupted living is not possible. There is cause for anxiety when people do not dream." *Zulu Thought-Patterns and Symbolism* (London, 1976), 97.

of him."¹¹² Such was their currency that the contents of dreams often bore repeating within households, between neighbors, and in letters and diaries. Henry Fuseli's painting *Midnight* (see Figure 7) depicts two men conversing in their beds (perhaps after their first sleep), with one plainly startled, probably from a dream or nightmare. "There are still many who are frequently tormenting themselves and their neighbours with their ridiculous dreams," voiced a critic in 1776.¹¹³

From this distance, the influence dreams had on individuals and their personal relationships is difficult to imagine. Reverberations could last from fleeting minutes to, in rare instances, entire lifetimes. In the wake of dreams, diarists wrote of feeling "stured up," "perplex'd," and "much afflicted." "There are many whose waking Thoughts are wholly employed on their sleeping ones," observed a contributor to the *Spectator* in 1712. Friendships might be severed, romances kindled, and spirits either lifted or depressed as a consequence.¹¹⁴ Others, by drawing religious inspiration from dreams, found the entire direction of their lives enhanced. A Lancashire doctor opined that it was "below a Christian to be too superstitious and inquisitive" about dreams, but he also believed in "extraordinary Dreams in extraordinary Cases." "I have dreamed Dreams that when I have awoke out of them they have even in the Dark and Silent Night brought me upon my Knees and deeply humbled me."¹¹⁵ So influential were these visions, so vast was the "prerogative of

¹¹² "To the Printer," *Sussex Weekly Advertiser: or, Lewes Journal*, September 3, 1770; Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, 85. Benjamin Franklin devoted an essay to the subject in which he advocated a variety of measures, including moderate meals and fresh air. "The Art of Procuring Pleasant Dreams," in *Writings*, J. A. Leo Lemay, ed. (New York, 1987), 118–22. See also January 5, 1679, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683*, Alan Macfarlane, ed. (London, 1976), 617; *Universal Spectator, and Weekly Journal*, November 19, 1743; "Elegy IV," in *The Works of Tibullus . . .*, John Dart, trans. (London, 1720), 185–86; David Simpson, *A Discourse on Dreams and Night-Visions, with Numerous Examples Ancient and Modern* (Macclesfield, Eng., 1791), 59, 89; *County Folk-lore . . . Leicestershire & Rutland*, Charles James Billson, ed. (London, 1895), 58–59; *The Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man . . .*, A. W. Moore, ed. (London, 1891), 125. Another spell for foretelling love required that a young woman ingest pills made from nuts, butter, and sugar, "and then if her fortune be to marry a gentleman, her sleep will be filled with golden dreams, if a tradesman, odd noises and tumults, if a traveller, then will thunder and lightning disturb her." *The History of Mother Bunch of the West . . .* (London, [1750?]), 16.

¹¹³ "On Dreams," *Pennsylvania Magazine: or, American Monthly Museum* (1776): 119–22. A man's dream of an impending earthquake in Germantown, Pennsylvania, sent several residents in whom he confided scampering for safety. July 2, 1804, *Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, 3: 1753. See also, for example, *A Wonderful Dream* [New York, 1770]; Sobel, "Revolution in Selves," 203.

¹¹⁴ "Titus Trophonius," October 4, 1712, *Spectator*, 5: 293–94; *The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome, From September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663*, Thomas Heywood, ed. (Manchester, 1849), 220; November 26, 1682, *Diary of Ralph Josselin*, 640; December 30, 1753, *The Diary of Isaac Backus*, William G. McLoughlin, ed., 3 vols. (Providence, R.I., 1979), 1: 317; January 26, 1707, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1652–1730*, Milton H. Thomas, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1973), 1: 561; October 26, 1779, *Journal of Peter Oliver*; Cowper to Lady Hesketh, 1787, in *The Oxford Book of Dreams*, Stephen Brook, ed. (Oxford, 1983), 249; Van De Castle, *Our Dreaming Mind*, 86. At London's Old Bailey, a thief was convicted of stealing a silver tankard, which he purportedly "dreamed the night before that he must have." Statement of Samuel Clark, *Old Bailey Sessions Papers*, June 28–29, 1758. For the personal impact of dreams, see, for example, *The Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple*, G. C. Moore Smith, ed. (Oxford, 1968), 68; Cardano, *Book of My Life*, 89–90, 156–61; February 21, 1653, February 2, 1674, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, 1: 178, 281; Saunders, *Physiognomie, and Chiromancie*, 202–03; William Hinton, *A Survey or Account of the Most Observable Passages of My Life . . .* (London, 1665), 7–9; John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft . . .* (London, 1677), 296; October 31, 1684, *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683–1687*, Walter Macleod, ed. (Edinburgh, 1893), 90–91; May 12, 1751, *Diary of William Dyer*, 1: 90; March 23, 1775, *Boswell: The Ominous Years*, 91–92; C. J. S. Thompson, *The Hand of Destiny: The Folk-Lore and Superstitions of Everyday Life* (Detroit, 1970), 42–43.

¹¹⁵ August 20, 1737, *The Diary of Richard Kay, 1716–51 of Baldingstone, Neary Bury: A Lancashire*



FIGURE 7: Henry Fuseli, *Midnight*, 1765. Courtesy of the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.

Sleep," that frontiers sometimes grew blurred between the waking and invisible worlds. Such confusion, naturally, was a common reaction among those just awakening. "Is this a dreame now, after my first sleep?" asked "Lovel" in Ben Jonson's *New Inn*. But events depicted in visions occasionally appeared genuine long afterward. An Aberdeen minister, after viewing an unusual spectacle outside his window, days later could not remember "whither he dreamed it or seemed to see it in reality."¹¹⁶ Among the lower and middling orders, the popular pastime of storytelling may have compounded the confusion, since one technique lay in constructing a "jumble" whereby tales were conveyed in such a disjointed fashion as if to suggest the familiar "quality of a dream," perhaps to heighten a tale's authenticity.¹¹⁷

Had pre-industrial families not stirred until dawn, remaining instead asleep in their beds, many of these visions of self-revelation, solace, and spirituality would have perished by the bedside—some lost in the throes of sleep, others dissipated by the distractions of a new day—"fitting with returning light," described the poet John Whaley. "Like a morning dream," affirmed the tragedy *Oedipus*, "vanish'd in the business of the day." Just as a flood of fresh images each morning made it difficult for the newly awakened to remember their visions, so did the physical act of rising from bed. Rare was the opportunity enjoyed by Johann Wolfgang Goethe, who traveled mornings while in Italy half-asleep in a carriage "letting dream images do what they like."¹¹⁸ That sensation usually occurred instead to those waking well

Doctor, W. Brockbank and the Rev. F. Kenworthy, eds. (Manchester, 1968), 12, 39. See also Wodrow, *Analecta*, 1: 63, 349–50; Cotton Mather, *Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2 vols. (New York, 1957), 1: 372; December 30, 1753, *Diary of Isaac Backus*, 1: 317; Barbara E. Lacey, "The World of Hannah Heaton: The Autobiography of an Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Farm Woman," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 45 (April 1988): 286; D. Simpson, *Discourse on Dreams*, 77, 79; Sobel, "Revolution in Selves," 180–200; Gerona, "Stairways to Heaven"; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 519.

¹¹⁶ William Phillips, *The Revengful Queen* (London, 1698), 39; *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London, 1692), 743; January 1723, Wodrow, *Analecta*, 3: 374; Fungaroli, "Landscapes of Life," 92, *passim*. Claimed a correspondent to the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser* in 1770, "How many dreams do we daily hear related, and with such consequence and plausibility, that the relater himself believes he was awake." "To the Printer," *Sussex Weekly Advertiser: or, Lewes Journal*, September 3, 1770. See also "Of Superstitious Fears," *American Magazine* (1744): 374; *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, Sir William Molesworth, ed., 11 vols. (1839; rpt. edn., Darmstadt, Germany, 1966), 4: 13–14; Charles Hopkins, *Boadicea Queen of Britain* (London, 1697), 18; Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Aphorisms*, R. J. Hollingdale, trans. (New York, 1990), 94. Some contemporaries wondered whether dreams represented another realm nearly as real as one's waking life. "Dreams are as living nights; life as a dreaming day," opined Phineas Fletcher. "No one," remarked Blaise Pascal, "can be sure whether he sleeps or wakes, seeing that during sleep we believe so firmly that we are awake," a sentiment echoed by others. A contributor to *The Spectator* queried, "Were a man a King in his Dreams, and a Beggar awake, . . . whether he would be in reality a King or a Beggar, or rather he would not be both?" It was left, however, to Sarah Cowper best to capture the ambiguous reality of dreams by reflecting, "It would content mee if you did but dream of me, or if I could dream that you did so." Giles and Phineas Fletcher, *Poetical Works*, Frederick S. Boas, ed. (Cambridge, 1908), 280; *Pascal's Pensees*, H. F. Stewart, trans. (New York, 1965), 149; "O.," September 18, 1712, *Spectator*, 5: 228–29; Cowper *Commonplace Book*, 322, Hertfordshire County Record Office, England.

¹¹⁷ Patricia Binnie, *The Old Wives Tale* (Manchester, 1980), 26; Gwenan Jones, "The Intention of Peele's 'Old Wives' Tale,'" *Aberystwyth Studies* 7 (1925): 79–93.

¹¹⁸ John Whaley, "To Miss A.W. a Very Young Lady," in *A Collection of Original Poems and Translations* (London, 1745), 257; John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee, *Oedipus* (London, 1679), 14; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey, 1786–1788* (New York, 1968), pt. 1, 113. See also *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed., 5 vols. (London, 1885–96), 2: 45; Nahum Tate, *Brutus of Alba: or, The Enchanted Lovers* (London, 1678), 6.

before dawn, immediately after the interval of their first sleep during the dead of night. Many had likely been immersed in a dream just moments before, thereby affording fresh visions to absorb before returning to unconsciousness. Unless distracted by noise, sickness, or some other discomfort, their mood was probably relaxed and their concentration complete. In fact, the force of some visions—their impact intensified by elevated levels of the hormone prolactin—might have kept nighttime vexations at bay. After the moment of awakening, there also would have been ample time for a dream to “acquire its structure” from the initial “chaos of disjointed images.” It is probably not coincidental that Boswell, whose sleep was rarely broken, just as rarely “had a recollection” of dreams when he finally woke in the morning.¹¹⁹

Nearly two hundred years ago, a European psychologist, Sigismund Ehrenreich Graf von Redern, deduced that persons “rudely awakened” from their “first sleep” had the “same feeling” as if they had been “interrupted at a very serious task.” That supposition has been confirmed by clinical experiments at the National Institute of Mental Health. In addition to exhibiting a bimodal pattern of slumber, subjects experienced rapid eye movement sleep as they awakened around midnight, with REM being the stage of sleep directly connected to dreaming. What’s more, Thomas Wehr has found, “transitions to wakefulness are most likely to occur from REM periods that are especially intense,” typically accompanied by “particularly vivid dreams” distinguished by their “narrative quality,” which many of the subjects in the experiment contemplated in the darkness. Thus, in the drama *Gallathea* before an audience that included Queen Elizabeth on New Year’s night in 1592, the character “Eurota” remarked, “My sleeps broken and full of dreams.” Affirmed Nicholas Breton, around one o’clock the “spirits of the studious start out of their dreames,” whereas the poet Thomas Jordan recalled of an early morning dream:

For here I wak’d, and glad I was to see
T’was but a Dream; yet Lord, so gracious be
To my request, that this Night’s Dream may stay
Still in my thoughts, then shall I Watch and Pray.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Marcel Foucault, *Le rêve: Etudes et observations* (Paris, 1906), 169–70; January 16, 1780, *Boswell: Laird of Auchinleck*, 169. See also January 4, 1788, *Boswell: The English Experiment, 1785–1789*, Irma S. Lustig and Frederick Albert Pottle, eds. (New York, 1986), 179. To remember one’s dreams, advises Robert L. Van De Castle, it is important upon awakening “during the night or in the morning” not to “open your eyes immediately. Lie very still and try gently to recall any imagery that may have been present as you awoke.” *Our Dreaming Mind*, 466.

¹²⁰ Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *The Physiology of Taste: or, Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*, M. F. K. Fisher, trans. (New York, 1949), 222; personal communications with Wehr, December 23, 31, 1996; Wehr, “‘Clock for All Seasons,’” 338; Wehr, “Impact of Changes in Nightlength,” 269–73; *The Plays of John Lyly*, Carter A. Daniel, ed. (Lewisburg, Pa., 1988), 123; *The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, Alexander B. Grosart, ed. (New York, 1966), 2: 12; Thomas Jordan, “The Dream,” in *Piety, and Poesy: Contracted, in a Poetick Miscellanie of Sacred Poems* (London, 1643); Jamie Talan, “Light Sleepers: Artificial Light May Affect Natural Sleep Patterns,” *Gazette* (Montreal), January 13, 1994. Although less likely to be recalled and internalized, dream activity, of course, occurred during “morning” or “second sleep.” Some classical authors even believed that dreams were more apt to be “true” closer to dawn, a belief occasionally echoed by early modern writers. Other authorities, however, disagreed, as did most contemporaries in view of the credence they attached to visions irrespective of when in the night they occurred. In fact, a sixteenth-century minister of Tigurine, Lewes Lauterus, posited that “spirits” most often appeared in dreams “before midnichte in our first sleep.” *Of Ghosts and Spirites Walking by Night . . .*, R.H., trans. (London, 1572). See also Schmitt, “Liminality and Centrality of Dreams,” 278.

SO IT WAS FOR HUNDREDS, probably thousands of years. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, divided sleep, with its interval of wakefulness, would grow less common with the passage of time, first among the propertied classes in better-lit urban neighborhoods, then slowly among other social strata in all but the most cloistered communities. A servant's query in *The Successful Strangers*, produced in 1690—"Why People are not so Religious of late, To break their Sleep to serve Heav'n"—reflected the early decline of segmented slumber generally, not just the infrequency of midnight devotions. Five years later, the "directions for midnight" in a prayer manual for scholars at Winchester College warned against "idle and unclean" thoughts "if you chance to wake in the night."¹²¹

The passing of segmented sleep did not take place overnight. Not until the early nineteenth century would darkness be eroded in larger English localities by industrialization and the continued growth of leisured affluence among urban middle and upper classes. "Life awake at all hours of the night," a person observed of London in 1801. Professional policing, nocturnal trade, evening employment for workers, and, most important, improvements in both domestic lighting and the illumination of public streets increasingly rendered night less obscure. Light from a lone gas mantle proved twelve times as strong as that from a candle or oil lamp, while light from a single electric bulb by the close of the nineteenth century was one hundred times more powerful. Hours once dominated by darkness grew more familiar, with the space men and women shared considerably enlarged. Likely, however, those least able to afford artificial lighting within their homes still experienced segmented slumber, particularly if forced to retire early in order to arise before dawn. The working-class author of *The Great Unwashed* in 1868 remarked that laborers who had "to turn out early in the morning" were "already in their first sleep" at night when the streets of his town were "still in a state of comparative bustle." In other cases, rural communities, such as George Sturt's hamlet of Farnham in Surrey, may have afforded an unmarked grave for this among so many other vestiges of traditional life by World War I. A wheelwright by trade, Sturt recalled in his small classic, *Change in the Village* (1912), how "braying" motor cars, road lamps, and "lit-up villa windows" had only recently breached the "quiet depths of darkness." At least for the time being, he also wrote of his "first sleep," although that too would pass.¹²²

Today, we inhabit a nonstop culture characterized by widespread electric lighting both within and outside homes and businesses. Besides boasting all-night television and radio, twenty-four-hour service stations and supermarkets, evening has become the primary time of employment for a growing portion of the Western work force. Thomas Edison's dictum, "Put an undeveloped human being into an environment where there is artificial light and he will improve," has carried the night as well as the day. The Russian government has even made attempts (so far unsuccessful) to

¹²¹ William Mountfort, *The Successful Strangers* (London, 1690), 22; *A Manual of Prayers for the Use of the Scholars of Winchester College* . . . (London, 1695), 33, my italics.

¹²² Charles Lamb quoted in Deverson, *Journey into Night*, 107; The Journeymen Engineer, *The Great Unwashed* (London, 1868), 199; George Sturt, *Change in the Village* (1912; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, 1984), 8, 121; A. Alvarez, *Night: Night Life, Night Language, Sleep and Dreams* (New York, 1995), 21; O'Dea, *Social History of Lighting*, passim; Peter Clark and R. A. Houston, "Culture and Leisure 1700–1840," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, Peter Clark, ed., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 2000–), 2: 590; Wolfgang Schivelbursh, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, Angela Davies, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1988).

launch an experimental "space mirror" designed to transform night into twilight in selected locations with the aid of reflected light from the sun.¹²³ Not only has widespread lighting created a hostile environment for segmented sleep, but sleep itself has come under increasing assault from the hurried pace and busy schedules of modern life. In the United States today, perhaps 30 percent of adults average six or fewer hours of sleep a night, with that number rising as more persons stretch their waking hours. Many teenagers, reportedly, now disdain sleep as a "waste of time" or, worse still, "boring."¹²⁴

Not that segmented sleep suddenly passed beyond all modern memory. As late as the first half of the twentieth century, references to "first sleep" still appeared in random works of literature. Whether, however, contemporary devotees of such novelists as James Joyce, Willa Cather, and Paul Nizan or poets like Charles Montagu Doughty and Robert Laurence Binyon ever grasped the expression's significance is doubtful, for, by then, segmented sleep had already become a curious echo from times past.¹²⁵ Even modern linguists have been misled by this cultural remnant. Often, when the term "first sleep" has been converted from other European languages into English, translators have substituted such expressions as "beauty sleep," "early slumber," or "first moments of sleep."¹²⁶ Virtually every twentieth-century translation of the *Odyssey* has similarly misconstrued, in the fourth book, Homer's description of the "first sleep" of Poseiden's servant, Proteus.¹²⁷ Historians have fared no better, either misinterpreting the meaning of first sleep or ignoring the term altogether after stumbling across it in documents.¹²⁸

¹²³ Dagobert D. Runes, *The Diary and Sundry Observations of Thomas Alva Edison* (New York, 1948), 232; Warren E. Leary, "Russians to Test Space Mirror as Giant Night Light for Earth," *New York Times*, January 12, 1993; Terrence Dickinson, "Plan for Space Mirrors Is Cracked," *Toronto Star*, June 28, 1998; "Russian Space Mirror Reflector Prototype Fails," *Boston Globe*, February 5, 1999; Murray Melbin, *Night as Frontier: Colonizing the World after Dark* (New York, 1987).

¹²⁴ Patricia Edmonds, "In Jampacked Days, Sleep Time Is the First to Go," *USA Today*, April 10, 1995. See also Avi Sadeh, et al., "Sleep Patterns and Sleep Disruptions in School-Age Children," *Developmental Psychology* 36 (May 2000): 291–301. Ironically, we might be less willing to shortchange our time in bed were the quality of modern sleep worse. Despite periodic complaints of insomnia, our sleep today far excels the fitful slumber characteristic of past centuries. At least in the Western world, no longer does the sleep of such large numbers of people fall prey to periodic pain, frigid temperatures, and voracious pests, among other early modern maladies. But if not the quality, then the quantity of our sleep continues to diminish.

¹²⁵ James Joyce, *Dubliners*, Hans Walter Gabler and Walter Hettche, eds. (New York, 1993), 189; Willa Cather, *Early Novels and Stories* (New York, 1987), 842; Paul Nizan, *The Conspiracy*, Quintin Hoare, trans. (London, 1988), 154; Charles Montagu Doughty, *The Dawn in Britain*, 6 vols. (London, 1906), 1: 65, 3: 24, 4: 224; Robert Laurence Binyon, "Awakenings," in *Collected Poems of Laurence Binyon* (London, 1931), 1: 287. See also Marie-Jeanne Durry, *Gérard de Nerval et le mythe* (Paris, 1956), 93; Drieux la Rochelle, *Rêveuse bourgeoisie* (1937; rpt. edn., Paris, 1975), 179.

¹²⁶ Compare, for example, the following English translations with the same works in their original languages: Denis Diderot, *The Indiscreet Jewels*, Sophie Hawkes, trans. (New York, 1993), 174; Prosper Mérimée, *Colomba and Carmen*, Lady Mary Loyd, trans. (New York, 1901), 120; "February," in *The Months of the Year: Twelve Sonnets by Folgore da San Gimignano*, Thomas Caldecot Chubb, trans. (Sanbornville, N.H., 1960); *Tales and Novels of J. De La Fontaine* (London, n.d.), passim; *La Fontaine's Bawdy: Of Libertines, Louts, and Lechers; Translations from the Contes et Nouvelles en Vers*, Norman R. Shapiro, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 6–7, 124–25; Henrik Wergeland, *Poems*, G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, et al., trans. (Westport, Conn., 1970), 137.

¹²⁷ Compare the *Odyssey's* reference to "first sleep" in Greek, either classical or modern, and the correct early seventeenth-century English translation by George Chapman (Nicoll, *Chapman's Homer*, 73) with twentieth-century translations, either in verse or prose, by A. T. Murray, T. E. Lawrence, E. V. Rieu, Ennis Rees, Albert Cook, Walter Shewring, Robert Fitzgerald, Allen Mandelbaum, and Robert Fagles.

¹²⁸ In addition to Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (see above, p. 366), see, for example, Silvia Mantini,

One remarkable implication of segmented sleep is that our pattern of seamless slumber for the past two hundred years has been a surprisingly recent phenomenon, the product of modern culture, not the primeval past. From the standpoint of scientists on the front lines of research, this discovery may lead to a better understanding of common "sleep disorders," a misnomer, perhaps, arising from the "natural pattern of human sleep . . . breaking through" into today's "artificial world." Of greater historical relevance is whether, as Thomas Wehr speculates, "this arrangement provided a channel of communication between dreams and waking life that has gradually been closed off as humans have compressed and consolidated their sleep." But rather than originating after "prehistoric times," this transition, the pre-industrial experience of England and other Western societies strongly suggests, occurred very recently. Ever since the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the Herculean efforts of the nineteenth-century Romanticists and Freud, we have continued to lose touch with our dreams, due in part to scientific and cultural transformations in fields ranging from anthropology to aesthetics. Attested Joseph Lawson, author in 1887 of *Progress in Pudsey*, "Society is now influenced more by facts of art and science than dreams" and superstition. Although a current estimate posits that 10 percent of our lives are devoted to dreaming, with the average person experiencing between 100,000 and 200,000 dreams in a lifetime, the overwhelming majority of these are forever lost. Unlike the experience of non-Western cultures that have institutionalized their dreams, our assimilation of nocturnal visions has gradually waned, and with it, a better understanding of our deepest drives and emotions. If not the "royal road" to the unconscious posited by Freud, dreams nonetheless afforded innumerable generations a well-traveled if winding path to self-awareness. It is no small irony that, by turning night into day, modern technology, while capable of exploring the inner sanctums of the brain, has also helped obstruct our oldest avenue to the human psyche. That, very likely, is the greatest loss, to paraphrase Thomas Middleton, of having been "disannulled of our first sleep, and cheated of our dreams and fantasies."¹²⁹

"Per un'immagine della notte," in *La notte: Ordine, sicurezza e disciplinamento in età moderna*, Mario Sbriccoli, ed. (Florence, 1991), 592; L. Gowing, "Secret Births and Infanticide in Seventeenth Century England," *Past and Present* 156 (August 1997): 100; Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999), 78, 272.

¹²⁹ Wehr, "Impact of Changes in Nightlength," 283; Wehr, "'Clock for All Seasons,'" 339; Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey during the Last Sixty Years* (Stanningley, Eng., 1887), 73; Thomas Middleton, "The Black Book," in *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, A. H. Bullen, ed., 8 vols. (1885; rpt. edn., New York, 1964), 8: 14; Dotto, *Losing Sleep*, 36. Roger Bastide has written, "In our Western civilization, however, the bridges between the diurnal and nocturnal halves of man have been cut. Of course, people can always be found—and not only in the lower classes of society—who consult dream books, or who at least examine their dreams and assign to them a role in their lives. But such vital functions of the dream remain personal and never become institutionalized. On the contrary, far from constituting regularized norms of conduct they are considered aberrant; they are classed as 'superstitions'; sometimes it is even suggested that people who look for significance or direction in dreams are not entirely all there." Bastide, "The Sociology of the Dream," in Gustave Von Grunebaum, ed., *The Dream and Human Societies* (Berkeley, Calif., 1966), 200–01.

A. Roger Ekirch is a professor of history at Virginia Tech, where he has taught since 1977 after working with Jack P. Greene at Johns Hopkins University. His interest in transatlantic research originated while a Paul Mellon Fellow in American History at Cambridge University (1981–1982). Previous publications include *“Poor Carolina”: Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729–1776* (1981) and *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies, 1718–1775* (1987). He is currently completing a study of nighttime in the Western world from the late medieval era to the Industrial Revolution.

Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign to Free the Scottsboro Boys, 1931–1934

JAMES A. MILLER, SUSAN D. PENNYBACKER,
and EVE ROSENHAFT

ON MARCH 25, 1931, LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN Paint Rock, Alabama, arrested nine black youths on a freight train after receiving word about a fight between blacks and whites on the train. They discovered two white women (Ruby Bates and Victoria Price) dressed in men's overalls on the same train and subsequently charged the nine young men with rape. Four of the "Scottsboro Boys," Roy and Andy Wright, Eugene Williams, and Heywood Patterson, had grown up in Chattanooga, Tennessee; the Wrights were the sons of Ada Wright, a widow and a domestic servant in Chattanooga. Ozie Powell, Clarence Norris, Olen Montgomery, Charlie Weems,

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and Willie Roberson came from different towns in Georgia and encountered the others for the first time on the train. Olen Montgomery was completely blind in one eye and could barely see out of the other; Willie Roberson suffered from untreated syphilis and could hardly walk. Presiding judge Alfred E. Hawkins assigned all seven members of the Scottsboro bar to defend the young men, but all of them found excuses not to involve themselves except for seventy-year-old Milo C. Moody. In Chattanooga, sixty miles away, members of the local Interdenominational Colored Ministers' Alliance raised funds to retain Stephen R. Roddy, a white lawyer from Chattanooga. On April 9, 1931, after four separate trials conducted over a four-day period before four different all-white juries in the mountain town of Scottsboro, eight of the defendants were found guilty as charged. Judge Hawkins promptly sentenced them to death. The case of the ninth defendant—thirteen-year-old Roy Wright—ended in a mistrial after a majority of the jury refused to accept the prosecution's recommendation that he be spared the death penalty because of his extreme youth.¹

The Scottsboro case has been called one of the great defining moments of the twentieth century, providing a vocabulary and constellation of images not only for its own time but for subsequent generations as well—each of which has been compelled to reinterpret and reappropriate Scottsboro for its own purposes. The mythic power of the case did not derive from the fact of injustice alone. It depended on the way the case was publicized—and its outcomes shaped—by the campaign on behalf of the defendants organized by the international Communist movement.² At the height of the campaign, workers and activists rallied in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, across Europe and the United States, in parts of the British Empire and its dominions, and in the farming collectives of Russia, in an unprecedented attempt to create sympathy for the victims of racial injustice—and, at the same time, to oppose imperialism and foster interracial solidarity on a global scale. Only the antislavery struggle of the nineteenth century had enjoyed such global orchestration and empathy. The fact and resonance of the campaign demand acknowledgment in their international as well as their American dimensions. Satisfying as it may be, however, to add a Scottsboro chapter to the story of global struggle against injustice, to do so in a purely recuperative or celebratory spirit

¹ The two standard histories of the case are Dan T. Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South*, rev. edn. (Baton Rouge, La., 1979); and James Goodman, *Stories of Scottsboro* (New York, 1994). Each offers extensive bibliography, but neither pursues the international defense campaign, or its archival sources, which are discussed in Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African Americans, 1917–1936* (Jackson, Miss., 1998), parts 2 and 3. Our chronology draws on Carter, 16–20, 22–54, 71; Goodman, 6–9, 24–25; Solomon, 193–94; and the following documents in the NAACP Papers: P. A. Stephens to Walter White, April 2, 1931; White to Stephens, April 20, 1931; Statement of Roy Wright, *et al.*, April 23, 1931; White to “Lud,” April 29, 1931; White to Bob and Herbert, May 3, 1931; White to Herb and Bob, May 5, 1931; Notes, “Scottsboro, Ala-Case” [1931], Library of Congress, NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6. We note the new narrative presented in Barak Goodman and Daniel Anker’s film, *Scottsboro: An American Tragedy*, Social Media Productions (New York, 2001).

² The Scottsboro case continues to be routinely invoked by contemporary writers in significantly different contexts. See, for example, Abigail Thernstrom and Henry D. Fetter, “Race and the O.J. Trial: From Scottsboro to Simpson,” *Public Interest* 122 (Winter 1996): 17–27.

would be to sidestep the complexities of interwar "racial politics" and "internationalism."³

We seek to document and reinterpret the dynamics of the international Scottsboro campaign as a central episode in the global racial politics of the 1930s. This essay contends that the case and its defense cannot be properly understood without an explicit reckoning with the involvement of the defendants' families, in this instance represented by the figure of Mrs. Ada Wright, nor without freeing its interpretation from the confines of the North American context. The challenge to the notion of the case as solely a chapter in African-American history has methodological as well as empirical implications. Scottsboro was an episode that "intruded" on various "national" histories, and a study of its international dimensions demands that we, too, "intrude." Our effort to reconstruct "race" as a category of language and action in the wider Euro-American context and beyond, especially in ways that acknowledge blacks as historical agents rather than simply as objects of scrutiny, thereby offers a new perspective on several national histories. Ours is an exercise in recovering a black presence in Europe before the onset of global conflict, in reconsidering the American case in the light of it, and vice versa. But here, where global racial politics also encounters "proletarian internationalism," historians need to find new ways of seeing and accounting for individuals and movements, in terms of identities that are complex and open-ended, and sometimes contradictory. This approach is not that of the "transatlantic" or the "diasporic," in the sense in which these terms are often currently used, nor "comparative" work in its conventional mode. It does not argue that Scottsboro *transcended* the boundaries of national political cultures, or managed to evade differences of spoken and read languages, for example. It does not trace the migrations back and forth of peoples of color in ways that free "race" from specific historical locations within those national cultures. It does, however, disrupt a comparison of "nations" that assumes a national identity as the sole defining identity for any historical actor. It invites a historically grounded reconsideration of the issues of "authenticity" that often bedevil both racial politics and accounts of international Communism in the twentieth century.

This essay places the pursuit of an international constituency at the heart of an investigation that *crosses* borders and languages, holding constant the people of the story and the episode they are involved in: whites and blacks interact and lead the

³ For the international campaigns outside Europe, too extensive to be covered here, see, for example, RGASPI 500/1/16: 88–89; 539/2/474: 77–86, 97–100; 539/2/488: 85–86, 100, 114; 539/9/501: 4; 542/1/46: 1–2, 7–10; 542/1/51: 101. (The reader will note that individual documents from RGASPI are cited most often by folder and page numbers within the folder. In some instances, a document is titled instead. Where a folder number appears alone, the *general contents* of the folder are being cited as relevant.) J. Manley, "Document: The Canadian Labour Defense League and the Scottsboro Case," *Bulletin of the Committee on Canadian Labour History* 4 (Autumn 1977). On antislavery, see, for example, Richard Blackett, *Building an Anti-Slavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983); Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1987); Claire Midgley, *Women against Slavery* (London, 1992); Thomas Bender, ed., *Antislavery Debate: Capitalism and Abolitionism as a Problem in Historical Interpretation* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Leroy Hopkins, "'Fred vs. Uncle Tom': Frederick Douglass and the Image of the African-American in 19th-Century Germany," *Etudes germano-africaines* 9 (1991). Paul Gilroy, "The Jubilee Singers and the Transatlantic Route," in Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1993), 87–96, cites a case occurring in the period between antislavery and Scottsboro.

narrative, which centers on the journey of Ada Wright through Europe in 1932. We suggest that there *is* a way to write about an international political culture in the 1930s that is different from either the “history of the communist movement” or “the history of the colonial other.” Europeanists and Americanists both need to rethink issues of “race,” not simply in terms of imperial presences and interactions but also in terms of the bedrock history of metropolitan political cultures. As a problematic, it is here to stay. The search for tools to map its contours is assisted immeasurably by the availability of newly released documents of the Communist International (Comintern) in Moscow; frequently deployed in the past decade to provide support for a renewed demonizing of the Comintern and its activists, they also afford insight into the ambiguities of a movement that captured the imagination of a generation. These and other sources have provoked our new version of this story, in which Scottsboro mother, Ada Wright, is our first emissary.⁴

Communist Party organizers in the South closely monitored the Scottsboro case from the beginning. James Allen and Helen Marcy, editors of the Communist Party (CPUSA)’s *Southern Worker*, based in Chattanooga, alerted the New York office of the International Labor Defense (ILD). Marcy and Lowell Wakefield, an ILD organizer recently assigned to Chattanooga, attended the pretrial hearings. Wakefield and Douglas McKenzie, a black organizer from the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, attended the trials. Even before the verdicts were issued, they sent a telegram to Judge Hawkins and Alabama Governor B. M. Miller calling for an end to the “legal lynching” of the Scottsboro Boys and demanding that the defendants be protected from lynch mobs. On April 10, 1931, right after the verdicts, the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA published a lengthy statement on behalf of the Scottsboro Boys in the *Daily Worker*; on the same day, the ILD voted to defend them. In the meantime, on April 2, 1931, Dr. P. A. Stephens, secretary of the Chattanooga Ministers’ Alliance, wrote to the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), requesting assistance. Walter White, the

⁴ Two histories that concern other periods, and sustain similar methodological frameworks, are Penny Von Eschen, *Race against Empire* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra* (Boston, 2000). What many other existing studies share is a commitment to an exploration of the contact between “Europeans” and colonial or ex-colonial subjects, or between North Americans and “others” in analogous relationships. Despite a variety of theoretical alternatives and differing interpretations of the notion of a global order, the central axis of this literature remains the exchanges deriving from the exploitative core. “Non-western” histories of “non-white” agency are posed against a racist or anti-racist portrayal of groups of white Europeans, or those of European descent. When African Americans abroad are considered, it is most often as expatriate bohemians, such as the itinerant jazz artist. There are also histories involving “non-whites” who were resident in European contexts during the period prior to 1945. See, for example, Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Ithaca, 1994); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, 1996); Katharina Oguntoye, May Opitz, and Dagmar Schultz, *Farbe bekennen* (Berlin, 1986), trans. as *Showing Our Colors: Afro-German Women Speak Out*, Anne V. Adams, trans. (Amherst, Mass., 1991). While we do not suggest that the central locus of racial antagonism, or of racial terror (prior to 1933), was to be found in the European (even as distinct from the North American) theater of politics, racial interaction, interracial alliances, and the shaping of attitudes, both sympathetic and humanitarian, did occur in some important ways in those theaters. For a highly selective group of documents, placed in a particular interpretive framework, and drawn from the recently opened Russian Federation archives, including many from RGASPI, see Harvey Klehr, John Earl Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Klehr, Haynes, and Kyrill M. Anderson, *The Soviet World of American Communism* (New Haven, 1998). Haynes and Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven, 1999), interprets and cites other newly released Russian documents.

NAACP secretary, responded immediately, asking for more information, but the NAACP proceeded with caution in considering its role in the case.

In the immediate aftermath of the Scottsboro verdicts, mass protests—some carefully planned and orchestrated by the Communist Party, others more spontaneous—broke out in cities across the United States and abroad. The ILD dispatched attorney Allan Taub to Chattanooga, and he and Douglas McKenzie located the families of the defendants there; they were later joined by the ILD's chief lawyer, Joseph Brodsky, who interviewed the nine defendants in the Birmingham jail where they were being held. The ILD also secured the services of George W. Chamlee of Chattanooga, a former county attorney general and the grandson of a decorated Confederate veteran, to handle the appeal. After a series of equivocal and contradictory public statements, the NAACP officially entered the case on May 4, 1931, when Walter White visited the Scottsboro Boys in Kilby Prison, seeking to persuade them to give the NAACP control of their defense.⁵ In the context of the Communist International's "Third Period," of intensified class struggle and anticipation of imminent socialist revolution, the Communists cast the NAACP in the dual role of class-and-race traitor, adopting the vocabulary hitherto reserved for "reformists" and "social fascists" within the labor movement. As James S. Allen, one of the CPUSA's key theoreticians on the "Negro Question," proclaimed: "The main political significance of the earlier stage in the Scottsboro struggle rested in the fight between revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party and reformist forces represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The struggle went far beyond the question of who shall carry through the legal defense of the Scottsboro boys. It was a struggle between two opposing class forces."⁶ The conflict between the CPUSA, the ILD, and the NAACP, and the rhetoric it generated, would have a decisive impact on the conduct of the campaign in its early years.

This rapid sequence of events secured the status of the Scottsboro case as perhaps the most infamous and celebrated racial spectacle of the 1930s, a decade in which the world press regularly reported on lynchings and racial violence in America.⁷ The defendants languished in their jail cells throughout the 1930s, through two major Supreme Court rulings, through the endless and vituperative wrangling over their defense, through the dramatic recantation of one of the accusers' original testimony, and Judge James E. Horton's courageous decision to

⁵ See note 1, above.

⁶ James S. Allen, "The Scottsboro Struggle," *The Communist* (May 12, 1933): 440. "Third Period" was the phrase used by N. I. Bukharin at the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern Executive in 1926 to denote an impending epoch of international ferment and revolutionary struggles. See Kevin McDermott and Jeremy Agnew, *The Comintern: A History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin* (London, 1996), 68–119; McDermott, "Stalin and the Comintern during the 'Third Period,' 1928–33," *European History Quarterly* 25 (1995): 409–29. The NAACP and other organizations dealing with racial issues had decisive ties to the parties of the Second (Socialist) International, a contributing factor in their inclusion in the list of "reformist" and "social fascist" organizations by Comintern-affiliated parties.

⁷ On the CPUSA and the case, see, for example, Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (New York, 1983), chaps. 3–5; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), 77; and Solomon, *Cry Was Unity*, 300–01. On the case as racial spectacle, see, for example, Gilbert Osofsky, *The Burden of Race: A Documentary History of Negro-White Relations in America* (New York, 1967), 359.

set aside the second conviction of Haywood Paterson and order a new trial—before the eventual release of Roy Wright, Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson, and Eugene Williams in 1937. Charlie Weems was paroled in 1943 and Ozie Powell in 1946. Clarence Norris and Andy Wright were released in 1944; Haywood Patterson escaped from Kilby Prison in 1948. It was not until 1976, however, when Clarence Norris, the “last of the Scottsboro Boys,” was officially pardoned of parole violation and freed by Governor George Wallace of Alabama that the case could be said to have come to an end. It spanned more than four decades, and the defendants, taken together, served 130 years in prison.

This reassessment of Scottsboro is concerned primarily with the construction of the Scottsboro case by the ILD and its international sister organization, Red Aid, and addresses the role of Communist work “among Negroes” through the lens of the case. It also begins to address the involvement of American black organizations through its references to the NAACP and the NAACP’s international contacts.⁸ It is especially concerned with the various forms of “representation” of the Scottsboro Boys and the quest for racial authenticity that often motivated their use.⁹ The international campaign’s use of shared propaganda and its attempt to deploy a common translation of vernaculars (the spoken and read idioms obtaining in varied national and regional cultures) demands a method that can interpret both local and “universal” rhetorical strategies. The problems of imagery and rhetoric are not simply propagandistic or sentimental trappings of the Scottsboro campaign but keys to its vernacular meanings. The campaign defied existing parameters of racial etiquette at the same time that it paradoxically drew on and reified racial imagery drawn from the endemic features of predominantly white political cultures. This paradox posed a fundamental dilemma for the project of radical social transformation. In their attempts to navigate their shifting relationships with the wider discursive and political settings in which they had been raised, and in which they lived their everyday lives, to what extent did radical activists, in the United States, Europe, and globally, challenge the existing racial wisdom?

IN THE NATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE RACIAL TERROR that shaped American southern life for the first half of the twentieth century, the Scottsboro case was more routine than perhaps most readers wish to recall.¹⁰ Nor did it occur in an organizational or political vacuum, for it coincided with the moment when the CPUSA had elevated the struggle for black liberation to a high place on its national agenda. The “Resolution on the Negro Question,” passed by the Sixth Congress of the

⁸ See Hugh T. Murray, “The NAACP versus the Communist Party: The Scottsboro Rape Cases, 1931–32,” *Phylon* 28 (1967): 276–87; and “Aspects of the Scottsboro Campaign,” *Science and Society* 35 (Summer 1971): 177–92. On Walter White, see Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909–50* (Philadelphia, 1980), 100; White, “The Negro and the Communists,” *Harper’s Monthly* 164 (December 1931); White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (Athens, Ga., 1995). See also Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York, 1982).

⁹ On “authenticity,” see, for example, Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, Wis., 1997), 3–23; and Charles Taylor, *The Ethics of Authenticity* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 28–29, 41.

¹⁰ See esp. James R. McGovern, *Anatomy of a Lynching: The Killing of Claude Neal* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982).

Communist International in 1928, which proposed “the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states where the Negroes form a majority of the population,” prefigured Scottsboro.¹¹ This resolution, and its subsequent slogan, “The Right of Self-Determination for Negroes in the Black Belt,” signaled a new stage in the development of the Communist Party USA in its international profile. But it also introduced new problems, particularly in its equation of the condition of black communities in the United States and South Africa with national minorities in the Soviet Union; the USSR was offered up as the example of a harmonious interracial society that had solved its national minorities question. Nevertheless, the “Negro Question” was now placed at the center of the CPUSA’s work:

It is essential for the Communist Party to make an energetic beginning now—at the present moment—with the organization of joint mass struggles of white and black workers against Negro oppression. This alone will enable us to get rid of the bourgeois white chauvinism which is polluting the ranks of the white workers in America, to overcome the distrust of the Negro masses caused by the inhuman barbarous Negro slave traffic still carried on by the American bourgeoisie—in as much as it is directed even against all white workers—and to win over to our side these millions of Negroes as active fellow-fighters in the struggle for the overthrow of bourgeois power throughout America.¹²

During the early years of the Great Depression, the party’s campaigns against white chauvinism had reached such a peak that white comrades were enjoined to recognize their own skin privilege, even as they suffered from the ravages of the economy.¹³ In 1930, party leader Earl Browder pointed to a disturbing tendency among the rank and file: “The existence of 2 million Negro workers and the further industrialization of the Negroes demand a radical change in the work of the party among the Negroes . . . White chauvinism has manifested itself even in open antagonisms of some comrades . . . In Gary, white members of the Workers Party protested against Negroes eating in the restaurant owned by the Party. In Detroit, party members, yielding to pressure, drove Negro comrades from a social given in aid of the miners’ strike.”¹⁴

The party also began to follow more cases of criminal assaults on blacks, as if to police “white chauvinism” in mainstream America in anticipation of its intense involvement in the Scottsboro campaign. There were also international interventions into the American situation, partly in response to ongoing factional warfare. Comrade John Ballam, visiting Russia in 1929, made the mistake of raising some questions about the self-determination line, “revealing an attitude unworthy of a Communist.” He was accused of saying in Comintern sessions: “You fellows *over here* look at the question with European eyes . . . the Negro people in America have no distinctly separate language, culture, territory or traditions upon which to base a

¹¹ *The Communist* 9 (February 1931): 153–67, cited in Philip S. Foner and Herbert Shapiro, eds., *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1930–34* (Philadelphia, 1991), 36–50. See Mark I. Solomon, *Red and Black: Communism and Afro-Americans, 1929–35* (New York, 1988), 153–67.

¹² *The Communist* 9 (February 1931), cited in Foner and Shapiro, *American Communism*, 50. On analogies between Russian minorities and “racial and ethnic minorities” in other contexts, see, for example, RGASPI 515/1/2338; 539/2/488: 291: “[all over the world] the coloured races are coming to recognize only in the Soviet Union have their problems been solved”; Hélène Carrère d’Encausse, *The Great Challenge, Nationalities and the Bolshevik State, 1917–1930* (New York, 1992).

¹³ See, for example, Solomon, *Red and Black*, 180–81.

¹⁴ “Some Experiences in Organizing the Negro Workers,” *The Communist* (January 1930): 51–52.

struggle for national liberation and the establishment of a separate Negro State within the borders of the USA.”¹⁵ Under the pressure of correspondence from back home, Ballam recanted: “I realize that the attitude toward the NEGRO QUESTION is the ACID TEST for every communist, especially in America, and with the help and guidance of the Comintern, I PLEDGE MYSELF to work to uproot EVERY VESTIGE OF WHITE CHAUVINISM in our Party, wherever it appears.”¹⁶ The highlight of the campaigns against white chauvinism in the United States was the elaborate, highly orchestrated, and well-publicized trial of the Finnish Communist August Yokinen, at the Harlem Casino on Sunday, March 1, 1931. Yokinen was found guilty of using racist language, by a mock jury observed by hundreds of spectators.¹⁷ Browder subsequently observed: “If we had not previously had the experience of the Yokinen trial, probably the Scottsboro boys would have become merely another item in the long list of Negro lynchings which disgrace America daily . . . But because the Communist Party had been politically armed and prepared, this made it possible to seize upon the Scottsboro case for a national mobilization of protest and struggle which aroused large masses throughout the country, and even throughout the world.”¹⁸

In the international movement, the spirit of the CPUSA internal and public critique of white prejudice spread, often forming the groundwork for the rhetorical flourishes of the Scottsboro campaign. In England, there existed a fledgling black Left among maritime workers in the port cities, among colonial students and expatriate Caribbean, African, and Indian trade unionists and intellectuals, and in a very few indigenous black organizations, notably the Negro Welfare Association (NWA), promoted by the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and led by West Indian activist Arnold Ward and his allies, such as fellow traveler and former Colonial Office official Reginald Bridgeman. The CPGB had among its leading comrades Rajani Palme Dutt, the Indian Member of Parliament Shapurji Saklatvala, and a number of younger Indian members.¹⁹ Yet Saklatvala concluded that the party had utterly failed to reach most potential recruits:

¹⁵ RGASPI 495/154/425, “Resolution of Eastern Secretariat—Statement of Comrade Ballam,” September 11, 1930; “Ballam’s Statement,” December 21, 1929.

¹⁶ RGASPI 495/154/425: 49–51. Ballam survived these charges. See Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 33–34, 177–78.

¹⁷ “For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!” *The Communist* 11 (March 1932), cited in Foner and Shapiro, *American Communism*, 185–86. In a typical white chauvinism case, a party member was charged in Chicago: “Mrs. Estran had for some time expressed herself that the bringing in of Negro workers to the Jewish Workers Club headquarters will spoil the business of the Club [Restaurant] and drive away the children of the schools (schools where the little children are being taught in Jewish).” RGASPI 515/1/2021: 22. She was ultimately rehabilitated.

¹⁸ “For National Liberation of the Negroes!” 187; Solomon, *Red and Black*, 222–24.

¹⁹ See Francis Beckett, *Enemy Within: The Rise and Fall of the British Communist Party* (London, 1995), 1–89; Kevin Morgan, *Against Fascism and War: Ruptures and Continuities in British Communist Politics, 1935–41* (Manchester, 1989), esp. chap. 1; and Stuart MacIntyre, *A Proletarian Science: Marxism in Britain, 1917–33* (Cambridge, 1980). On black Left circles, see Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 1984), chap. 10; Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London, 1998); *Black and Asian Studies Association Newsletter* (Institute of Commonwealth Studies), entire run; and especially Stephen Howe, *Anti-Colonialism in British Politics: The Left and the End of Empire, 1918–64* (Oxford, 1993). On Saklatvala, see Joyce M. Bellamy and John Saville, eds., *The Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 6 (London, 1982), 236–41; Sehri Saklatvala, *The Fifth Commandment, Biography of Shapurji Saklatvala* (Salford, England, 1991), esp. chap. 24; Mike Squires, *Saklatvala, A Political Biography* (London, 1990). On the NWA and Arnold Ward, see, for example, RGASPI 542/1/66: 1–43; on Bridgeman, see Bellamy and Saville, *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. 7 (1984), 26–40.

In places like East London, Cardiff, Swansea, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dundee, New Castle [*sic*], Hull and other seaports, there is always a number of Asiatic and African seamen or hawkers employed or unemployed. There are also colonial students almost in all universities in Great Britain. There is no healthy contact between them and Party members in the various localities . . . Many things happen among the coloured seamen in the East End of London and members of the Party and of the unemployed workers' movement, living right in the locality know nothing about it, can give me no information and have no plans of even private friendly contacts or any desire to learn of the situation. There is a tendency to treat the colonial problem as a mere side issue and as nobody's business in particular.²⁰

The CPGB called for a battle against white chauvinism in its ranks, though without the public rituals of accusation and redemption that took place in the United States. In Britain, and in the empire in general, the 1930s witnessed new systems of labor discipline, institutionalized racial coding in employment, and a legacy of popular violence following on the 1919 race riots in the English port cities. Events in Jamaica, Trinidad, Nigeria, and Gambia warranted special party attention alongside protests of "increasing discrimination against Negroes in England."²¹ But plans to carry out this agenda rarely met with success. The South African Party, in many respects a stepchild of the CPGB, was riven by charges of white chauvinism and a condescending attitude toward Native political movements.²² Activism among CPGB youth and within the circles of intellectuals who supported forms of anti-imperialism was nevertheless influenced in the 1930s by the presence of Trinidadian George Padmore, by Palme Dutt's deep editorial preoccupations with imperial questions in the CPGB theoretical organ, *Labour Monthly*, and by the fleeting contacts with black and Indian radicals like those around Bronisław Malinowski at the London School of Economics, including Eric Williams, Jomo Kenyatta, and Ralph Bunche.²³

Padmore provided a crucial link between Anglo-American black radicalism, the Comintern, and the anti-imperialist and anti-racist movement on the European continent. He also had individual connections with non-party black intellectuals, like his boyhood friend, C. L. R. James. He and the German activist Willi Münzenberg were the early Scottsboro campaign's most important international agents. Their lives and travels crisscrossed with Ada Wright's, and, like hers, their

²⁰ RGASPI 495/100/938: 206–07.

²¹ RGASPI 495/154/425, "Letter to the CPGB," August 16, 1930; 495/100/710: 142.

²² See, for example, RGASPI 495/100/938. On the South African Party, see, for example, RGASPI 495/100/91; 495/155/83: 38–52, 56–67; 495/155/86: 440–45; Colin Bundy, *The History of the South African Communist Party* (Capetown, 1991), 19.

²³ See Fryer, *Staying Power*, 298–321. Dutt was resident in Vienna during most of the events of the early Scottsboro campaign; see John Callaghan, *Rajani Palme Dutt: A Study in British Stalinism* (London, 1993). On Padmore, see James R. Hooker, *Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism* (London, 1967), chap. 3. On Kenyatta, see Jomo Kenyatta, *Suffering without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation* (Nairobi, 1968), 33–43, 192; Woodford McClellan, "Africans and Black Americans in the Comintern Schools, 1925–1934," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26 (1993); P. Mockerie, *An African Speaks for His People*, with a foreword by Julian Huxley (London, 1934), 11–21. On Kenyatta and Malinowski, see the Archives of the London School of Economics, British Library of Political and Economic Science, IAI 629, 39/129; and Malinowski Africa I, 15/496, Malinowski Students 5 (538). See, for example, Ralph Bunche Papers, "General Correspondence," Box 10b, Schomburg Center, New York Public Library, for his associations with Padmore. An important strand of anti-racist organization existed among the Quakers (Friends) in Britain.

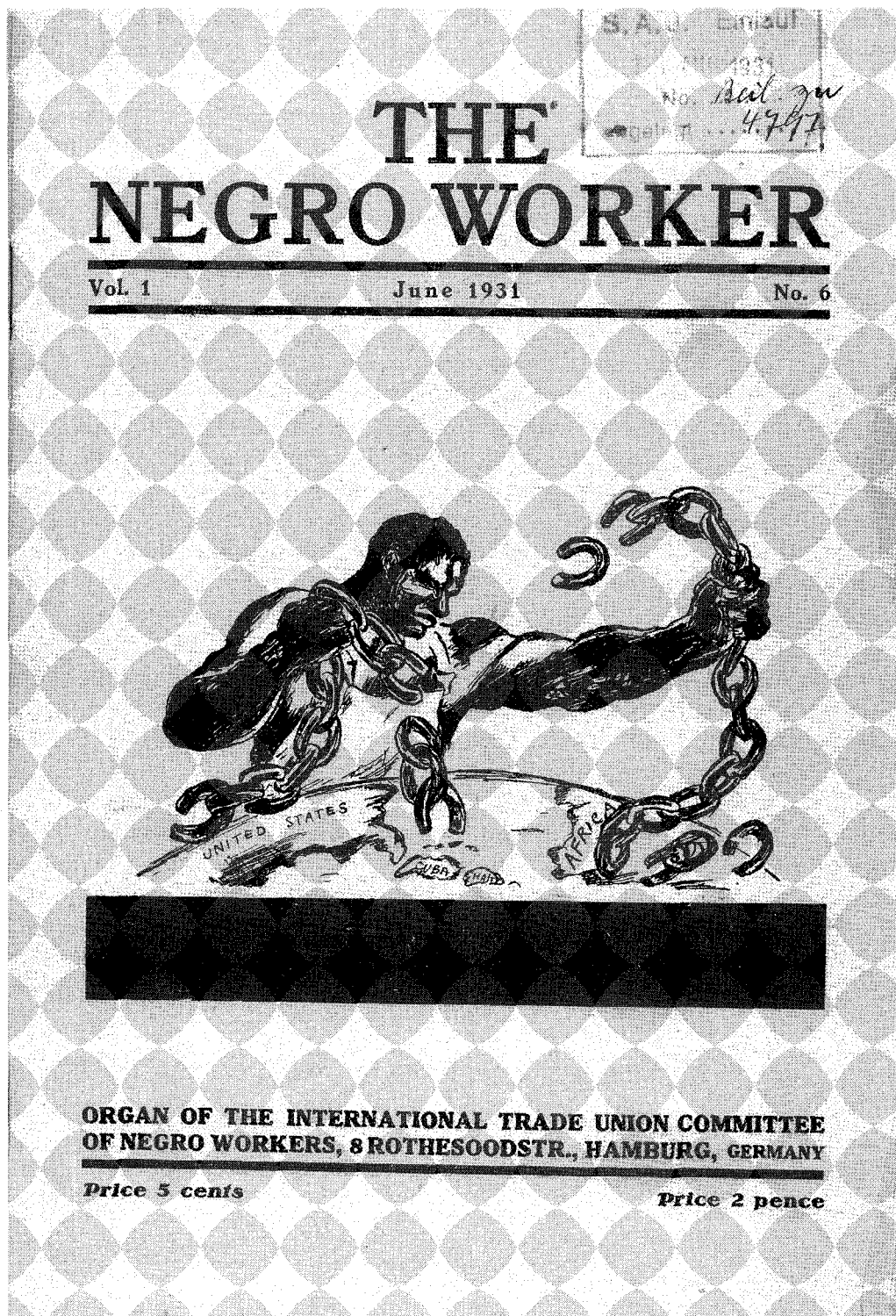
roles had a direct influence on the kinds of support the campaign received, the hostility it encountered, the terms in which it was depicted, and even the inhibitions that some potential supporters felt.²⁴ Central to this influence was the new emphasis on race in Comintern policy that was institutionalized in the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUCNW), briefly directed from early 1931 by Padmore in Hamburg, German Communist leader Ernst Thälmann's stronghold and the center of a black presence in the maritime shipping industry of Europe. From there, its English-language journal *The Negro Worker* was carried to readers in Europe, Africa, and the Americas by seamen and students, trade unionists and intellectual smugglers. Hamburg was also the center for the activities of the Comintern-sponsored International Union of Seamen and Harborworkers, which presented itself as an alternative to majority trade-union reformism and as a focus for the collective self-assertion of a labor force that was by its nature global, international, and multiracial.²⁵

The ITUCNW was able to draw on the experience and personnel of an older organization, the League Against Imperialism (LAI), formed in 1927 under the leadership of Münzenberg. With its headquarters in Berlin, the league developed as a classic front organization, sustaining sympathy for the Communist movement by building on liberal and humanitarian opposition to colonial oppression and attempting to organize and agitate in the colonies themselves. Initially successful in attracting some leading names to its letterhead (including many who would figure in the Scottsboro campaign), the league was systematically boycotted by the Socialist Second International; the LAI leadership admitted by 1930 that it had failed either to consolidate its support among intellectuals or to develop significant popular momentum. It continued, however, to organize propaganda and agitation around colonial struggles, insistently bringing conflicts in the British and Dutch colonies to the attention of urban audiences in Germany.²⁶ In Berlin, the LAI's ambit encompassed, among other international figures such as the American radical

²⁴ When Arnold Ward approached the CPUSA, asking for help in London Negro work, he was referred by William Patterson to Padmore as the leading figure in this work in Europe (see RGASPI 515/1/3373: 30). Padmore (Malcolm Nurse) was born in 1902 in Trinidad, the grandson of a slave. He worked and lived in the United States in the late 1920s, traveled to Russia, and edited *Negro Worker* briefly from Hamburg thereafter, was deported to Britain in 1933, and he mainly resided in London until his departure for Ghana in 1957, two years before his death (in the UK).

²⁵ On the ITUCNW, see RGASPI 495/155/87, "First International Conference," August 14, 1930; 534/3754: 1; 534/3/744: 92, 149; Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, 26. Its roots lay in the LAI and the Red International of Labor Unions (Profintern), and it was founded at Hamburg in 1930, after Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald barred it from meeting in London. The Executive included African-American trade unionists, the Senegalese activist Garan Kouyatté, and the trade union leaders Frank Macauley of Nigeria and Albert Nzulu of Johannesburg. *Negro Worker* claimed 4,000 colonially based supporters, despite imperial bans against its sale, and was sold in many U.S. cities. The ITUCNW was disbanded by the Comintern in August 1933, but *Negro Worker* continued to be published out of Brussels, Copenhagen, and Harlem from Paris in 1936.

²⁶ The humanitarian roots of Comintern anticolonialism lay in the LAI's forerunner, the League Against Colonial Atrocities and Oppression, founded in Berlin in 1926. LAI presidents included the German physicist Albert Einstein, the French writer Henri Barbusse, and Mme. Sun Yat-Sen, American-educated widow of the first leader of the Chinese republic; its letterhead boasted the writers Upton Sinclair and Maxim Gorky, and the artist Diego Rivera, as well as political activists Augusto Sandino, Georgi Mikhailovich Dimitrov, Harry Pollitt, Jawaharlal Nehru, Shapurji Saklatvala, and Reginald Bridgeman. The British Labour Party left the LAI in 1927 and barred its members from affiliation in it from 1929 on.



Cover of *The Negro Worker* 1, no. 6 (June 1931). Courtesy of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Agnes Smedley (whose Indian partner, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, was a co-worker of Münzenberg), a circle of Indian students, a loose collection of pan-Islamist activists, and a handful of Afro-Germans. Chattopadhyaya's German ties were forged in the Indian nationalist movement's murky relations with Germany at the outset of the Great War; he and others had drifted toward the LAI and Communist circles during the 1920s. The Afro-Germans were in turn linked to networks of people of African descent who were resident in Germany.²⁷

Organizations with a more familiar profile and a wider brief than the ITUCNW or the LAI began to incorporate the anti-racist message into their anticolonialist rhetoric, and to popularize images of Negro life in America. Chief among these was the International Red Aid (also known by its Russian initials MOPR), an affiliate of the American and British ILD branches, the most successful of the Comintern mass organizations on the Continent, because it concentrated on work that was essentially humanitarian: collecting money to pay for soup kitchens for the families of striking workers, offering legal aid to victims of political justice, organizing peoples' tribunals to investigate miscarriages of justice or notorious cases of police brutality.²⁸ In Britain, the ILD's predecessor had claimed thousands of members in the late 1920s and raised substantial funds for its Class-war Prisoners Campaign. When the secretariat of the International Red Aid formally confirmed in 1930 that it was adopting the fight against the persecution of the toiling Negro masses, it was with a characteristic emphasis on suffering as a focus for mobilization: "The Negro masses are beginning to awaken. In America they fight shoulder to shoulder with white workers in strikes and political demonstrations. In the black Colonies the revolutionary wave is rising ever higher and growing ever more intense . . . In East, West and South Africa the blood of the Negro masses has flowed in rivers . . . In the United States 36 horrific lynchings were carried out on Negroes in the first nine months of 1930."²⁹ German Red Aid invoked images of racial harmony in its mobilization for the International Jamboree of Worker and Peasant Children in Berlin; it published photographs of lynching scenes juxtaposed with those of European victims of police repression, suggesting links between the interracial labor struggles of American workers and the concerns of German workers. Workers from the strike at Gastonia, North Carolina, visited a home set up by the German

²⁷ See RGASPI 542/1/37: 8–10; 542/1/49: 150–51; 542/1/39: 101–02; 542/1/39: 142–43; 542/1/40: 119–23; 542/1/44; 542/1/54: 1–4; GehStA 77/4043/221: 9–17, 29–31. For a tendentious but detailed account of Comintern Negro and anticolonial work, see Rolf Italiaander, *Schwarze Haut im roten Griff* (Düsseldorf, 1962), 21–72. Willi Münzenberg (1889–1940) was a skilled organizer, propagandist, and political operator whose death by strangulation in southern France in 1940 was probably the work of Soviet agents. See Tania Schlie, ed., *Willi Münzenberg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1995); Stephen Koch, *Double Lives: Spies and Writers in the Secret Soviet War of Ideas against the West* (New York, 1994), published in Britain as *Stalin, Willi Münzenberg and the Seduction of the Intellectuals* (London, 1995). On Smedley and Chattopadhyaya, see Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), esp. 69–117; Jawaharlal Nehru, *Jawaharlal Nehru: An Autobiography* (London, 1936), 148–55.

²⁸ See *10 Jahre Internationale Rote Hilfe: Resolutionen und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1932); Hartmann Wunderer, *Arbeitervereine und Arbeiterparteien: Kultur- und Massenorganisationen in der Arbeiterbewegung (1890–1933)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1980), 98–105; José Gotovitch, *Du rouge au tricolore: Les communistes belges de 1939 à 1944* (Brussels, 1992), 15.

²⁹ Resolution of the Secretariat of the International Red Aid on IRA work among Negroes (November 3, 1930), in *10 Jahre Internationale Rote Hilfe*, 193–98.

Red Aid for the children of political prisoners and victims of police terror, and their story was told in press reports and slide shows.³⁰

By the time Scottsboro broke, the networks and the individuals whose business it was to represent racial politics in Europe were in place, as were the components of a common discourse, in which different empires and different black territories and communities were portrayed as possessing a common element of racial violence and the usurpation of liberties. Yet, however insistently some Communists looked to develop the political potential of a black or colonial presence in key European cities, "Negro work" was hard going, treading on boundaries of etiquette and intruding on local cultures. In the seamen's bars of Hamburg, racial animosities could make themselves felt. When African-American CPUSA leader James Ford arrived in Germany to take over some work for Padmore, he was aghast at the party's treatment of the "colonial work," writing to say that there was little money extended for it by the German Party comrades there: "And, finally, we never get anything properly done until we break down the bourgeois inference that Negroes, Chinese and Indians are nothing but niggers' coolies and one must confess that this is a general impression."³¹

Padmore's description of the 1930 conference of Negro workers at Hamburg was typical: some of the African delegates became so desperate that they threatened to go to the police for food and assistance. A comrade referred to the conference as the "Negro Drama." It was, Padmore wrote, "conducted poorly and with unsatisfactory representation . . . [and featured] the refusal of visas, lack of civil rights, arrest of delegates from Panama, losing of delegates from South Africa by what methods we do not as yet know, the banning of the conference by the British Labor Government, the Jim Crow practices on steamships resulting in [the] late arrival of the American delegation, the backward[ness] and isolation of the Negro organizations from the International Labor movement."³² "Racial progress," even within the Communist movement, was limited by prejudice and other preoccupations; this would affect the shape and efficacy of the Scottsboro campaign. The presence of blacks in the campaign, and of Ada Wright in particular, would offer an implicit challenge to the habituated behaviors of the white-dominated Communist Party formations and front groups.

Press and propaganda campaigns were not enough to sustain anticolonial and anti-imperial gestures in Europe; survey after survey showed that even activists hardly ever read the carefully composed journals of the mass organizations.³³ What could close many of these gaps was a campaign that honored victimized black workers, exposed American capitalism and its courts to view, and united white

³⁰ *Tribunal* (Berlin) VI/7 (July 1930): 6; VI/8 (August 1930): 2; VI/11 (September 15, 1930): 2; VII/7 (April 1931): 12; "Gastonia-Arbeiter in Barkenhoff," *Tribunal* VI/9 (August 15, 1930): 18. See also *Bezirksmitteilungsblatt des Bundes der Freunde der Internationalen Arbeiter-Hilfe*, Hamburg-Schleswig-Holstein 4 (October 1929), SAPMO RY1/12/8/87 (Flugblattsammlung der KPD); *Lichtbildstreifen Faschismus: Rote Hilfe; Amnestie*, SAPMO RY1/14/4/23 (Rote Hilfe Deutschlands), 347–59. The Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike occurred during 1929 at the Loray Mills, which had a work force of 3,500. See Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven, Conn., 1942).

³¹ RGASPI 534/3/668: 56, 56b. On the Hamburg bar scene and the International Union's work, see RGASPI 534/3/668: 87.

³² RGASPI 495/155/86: 290, 294.

³³ See, for example, the remarks of Willi Budich, RGASPI 539/3/525: 49–52.

workers around a plausible and supportable black cause that mirrored descriptions of the sharecropper/landlord/bossist South—a struggle that could simultaneously address white chauvinism and labor, and Negro “fakers” and “reformists” in the spirit of the drive against social fascism. In this post–World War I era, in which Europe was experiencing a heightened “Americanization,” ranging from the adoption of industrial management techniques to the ubiquity of Hollywood imagery, the negative racial reputation of the South was a ready draw. Robert Minor, the white point man for many aspects of the CPUSA’s “Negro Work,” was on the lookout for such an issue. He searched for a case, in one instance proposing that an incident he had just heard about “could be Sacco and Vanzettized to the ends of the earth.” He reasoned: “We should absolutely not forget the Negro race angle . . . the remarks of Rep. Green of Florida who wants to deport all the Negroes with the ‘REDS’: Surely, this is an opportunity.” Minor succinctly stated the party’s regional task as that of “making the South a part of the main territory of the Party, not as a sort of outlying missionary territory, as the Catholic Church would express it.”³⁴ The CPUSA sent white and black comrades into the South to build organizations in targeted areas, especially in Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Alabama. When the Scottsboro case broke, the region that was led from a base in Chattanooga was already witnessing a miners’ strike in Harlan County, Kentucky.³⁵

Southern regional organizer Tom Johnson immediately ordered Mary Dalton and other Chattanooga comrades to seek out the defendants’ families. But black southerners constituted only one dimension of the party’s national concerns; perceptions in New York and Chattanooga could diverge. In fact, Johnson protested to the Politburo that “the great publicity of the whole trial and of the purported [*sic*] confessions has created an idea in the minds of even many Negro workers that at least some of them [the accused] may be involved in the alledged [*sic*] crime [but] certainly the trial was a framed up lynch law trial.” He sent white Alabamian contacts to check the stories, until he was satisfied that the defendants were indeed innocent.³⁶ When the ill-fated freight train riders set out on their journey into the Alabama night on March 25, 1931, they could not have known of all those who waited for them—not just their accusers were poised but their defenders as well. Once the decision was made to provide the Scottsboro Boys with

³⁴ RGASPI 515/1/1966: 31, 53; 515/1/2734: 39. Robert Minor (1884–1952), a former Socialist and editor of the *Masses*, wrote, “many of the present generation of Negroes learned by the historic Scottsboro struggle that the CP was the ship, and all else was the sea.” *The Heritage of the Communist Political Association* (New York, 1944), 43–44.

³⁵ “Bloody Harlan County,” Kentucky, was the scene of a major strike in the U.S. mining industry in 1931 and disputes in 1932. See Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, eds., *Encyclopedia of the American Left* (Urbana, Ill., 1992), 753, 815, 873. An anti-lynching conference had been held in Chattanooga in 1925. See James W. Livingood, *A History of Hamilton County, Tennessee* (Memphis, Tenn., 1981), 341–44, on the earlier Chattanooga lynchings of Alfred Bloun and Ed Johnson. Jail terms were served in Washington, D.C., by the local authorities accused of negligence in the Johnson case. This regional episode may have predisposed the Scottsboro and Paint Rock authorities to bring the defendants to trial in 1931, preventing a lynching episode on the night of their seizure. (Livingood Interview with Susan Pennybacker, Chattanooga, February 1998). On the Johnson case, see Mark Curriden and Leroy Phillips, Jr., *Contempt of Court: The Turn-of-the-Century Lynching That Launched 100 Years of Federalism* (New York, 1998).

³⁶ See RGASPI 515/1/2285: 6; see also 515/1/2285: 22–24, 26–30, 34a, 35–40, for the Johnson/Browder/Hathaway exchanges of 1931. Harry Jackson replaced Tom Johnson in Chattanooga later in 1931; Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 25.

basic assistance over the coming years, the party, through the means of the ILD and International Red Aid outside the United States, plunged the defendants and their families into the world of proletarian internationalism.

WITH THE DEFENDANTS' EXECUTION SET for July 10, 1931, Berlin transport workers sent the first telegram from Europe on April 24; the Red Aid executive issued the first international appeal from Moscow in May. During the summer, as more European letters and telegrams reached the Alabama authorities and the White House, demonstrators broke windows at the U.S. diplomatic and trade delegations in Berlin, Bremen, Dresden, Leipzig, and Cologne.³⁷ A global wave of protests ensued, "reaching from California to Sydney, from Montreal to Cape Horn, from Shanghai to Buenos Aires," which Red Aid, the ILD, and many American observers credited with pressuring the Alabama Supreme Court to agree to hear the defendants' appeal. Ada Wright herself was known to have said for years thereafter, even until her death, that it was the Russians who had saved her sons.³⁸ In the USSR, a collective farm established "Brigade Eight" to honor eight of the defendants: "To the eight Negroes of Scottsboro—'Dear comrades, we, workers of the West Siberian Regional Counsel [*sic*] of People's Economy, are all greatly indignified [*sic*] by the intention of the American bourgeois court to carry out your death sentence on April 6th . . . We know perfectly well that your only fault is your Negro origin and your being unemployed workers. Comrades, don't lose courage. The end of capitalism is rapidly approaching.'"³⁹

When the verdicts were confirmed by the court in March 1932, with the executions set for May 13, the ILD sent Ada Wright, then in her thirties, on a speaking tour of Europe; born in rural Tennessee, Wright had never traveled outside the South until the case broke.⁴⁰ Accompanied by Louis Engdahl, general

³⁷ See the appeal of May 6, 1931, in *10 Jahre Internationale Rote Hilfe*, 124b; *Negro Worker* 3 (April/May 1933): 12, and 1 (June 1931): 11; *Die Rote Fahne* (KPD newspaper), April 19, 1931; Polizeidirektion Nachrichtenstelle Bremen, Lagebericht, Number 5/31 (July 8, 1931), StABr 4,65-IV.i.c.11; *Arbeiterstimme* (Dresden), June 9, 1931; *Vorwärts* (June 10, 1931), late edition; *Die Rote Fahne*, July 2, 1931; *Chemnitzer Tageblatt*, July 12, 1931. Louis Engdahl reported to Moscow that a German worker and Scottsboro demonstrator was later murdered by the police in Chemnitz; RGASPI 539/3/1096, May 17, 1932.

³⁸ RGASPI 539/2/488: 58. For an example of U.S. press coverage, see "The World Looks at Scottsboro," *Newport News Star*, July 23, 1931, NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 8, Frame 282. On Wright's remarks, see interview material in the possession of Susan Pennybacker.

³⁹ RGASPI 539/9/501: 23. The African-American writer Lloyd Brown, a CPUSA youth leader in the 1930s, resided in the USSR for part of the 1930s. He wrote Scottsboro pamphlets for the Soviets and recalls traveling widely to collective farms with a young translator, in order to speak about the case (Brown Interview with Susan Pennybacker, London, April 18, 1998).

⁴⁰ Wright was born close to 1890, the granddaughter of a slave. She also had two daughters: Lucille (who toured in the campaigns as a child) and Beatrice (Emma Maddox). After her tour, Wright remained a domestic, and her employers were fully aware of the case. She had no outstanding political connections, although she remained in contact with various campaign figures and continued to tour in the United States after 1932. She died in 1965. Those who knew her attested to her forcefulness of commitment, depth of character, and her oft-stated desire to "go all the way for her boys" (interview material, 1996–99; in the possession of Susan Pennybacker). For her visit to New York before her departure for Europe and an encounter with the NAACP, see Naison, *Communists in Harlem*, 60–61.



Ada Wright and Louis Engdahl arrive in Hamburg, 1932. Courtesy of the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (RGASPI), Moscow. A railroad porter stands on the far right.

secretary of the ILD, Wright disembarked at Hamburg on May 7.⁴¹ Their tour was wide-ranging and adventurous, made strenuous by the fact that once they arrived in

⁴¹ See RGASPI 539/4/54, Louis Engdahl, "Scottsboro in Germany"; Elizabeth Lawson, "Scottsboro's Martyr: J. Louis Engdahl" (New York, [ca. 1933]).

Europe the American visitors were dependent on the willingness of governments to grant them visas and the goodwill of the local authorities once they had crossed a border. In Germany, the Foreign Office alerted the regional authorities to the campaign; at the prompting of the Interior Ministry, the police in most major German cities barred Ada Wright from speaking under the same public-order regulations that harried radical activists. She often stood outside a hall for as long as three hours, while Engdahl and German supporters spoke on her behalf: "She burst into tears. It was heartbreaking to witness the desperation of the mother whom they want to deny the right to risk all to save her sons from the electric chair."⁴² Engdahl was nevertheless convinced of the campaign's success in Germany: "The total result . . . has been to set all Germany thinking about the Scottsboro case to the extent that on trains, in streetcars, and even on the public highways, the Negro mother, her likeness being made familiar by pictures and publicized everywhere, was continuously asked by those interested, 'What can we do to help?'"⁴³

Wright visited Austria, Switzerland, and Paris. She and Engdahl sneaked over the French border into Belgium. They were greeted in Brussels by a large crowd of demonstrators and expelled; only Engdahl was allowed to return.⁴⁴ After a visit to the Netherlands and a second trip to Paris, the tour shifted to Britain, where Engdahl was denied entry.⁴⁵ Wright arrived in London in June 1932, and was met by Shapurji Saklatvala, Bob Lovell, head of the British ILD, and "a large number of white and colored workers." She looked forward to working in the United

⁴² *Hamburger Volkszeitung*, May 6–7, 1932; *Die Rote Fahne*, May 13, 1932; "Abt. IA PKD, 13.5.32," GehStA 219/19, 107b. Wright and/or Engdahl were able to speak in eastern Saxony, the Ruhr, and Darmstadt and were banned from speaking in Berlin, Altona, Hamburg, Hannover, Stuttgart, and Leipzig. See "Die Scottsboro-Kampagne in Europa," *MOPR* (journal of International Red Aid) VII, 8 (November 1932); J. Louis Engdahl, "Die Scottsboro Europa-Tournee: Eine Großtat," *MOPR* VII, 12 (December 1932); correspondence between the German Foreign Office, Interior Ministry, and Bremen authorities, StABr 4,65-XXIII.5; Saxon Ministry of the Interior to police authorities, May 21, 1932, Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (Bautzen), AH Löbau, Sig. 2227: 126; Protest Resolution of RHD Bezirk Hessen-Frankfurt to Prussian Interior Ministry, May 4, 1932, GehStA 77/4043/386: 32.

⁴³ RGASPI 539/4/54: 99. Pressed by the ILD to defend the costs of his presence, he wrote, "As for Mrs. Wright, I am having her write her own statement, as best she can, stating her own viewpoint. My own opinion is that it would have been a catastrophe to have sent her alone," adding that no English was spoken in, for example, southern Saxony. RGASPI 515/1/3017: 130.

⁴⁴ See RGASPI 539/5/126: 146–52; *Protokoll des 1. Weltkongresses der Internationalen Roten Hilfe* (Moscow, 1933). On Austria, see *New York Herald Tribune*, May 24, 1932; *New York Times*, May 27, 1932; *New York World Telegram*, May 25, 1932. On Belgium, see *New York World Telegram*, June 10, 1932; poster for the Brussels meeting, "Une Nouvelle Affaire Sacco-Vanzetti. Au Secours . . .," ILD Papers, Schomburg Center, Reel 3; J. Ludwig [sic] Engdahl, "Scottsboro, Vandervelde und Belgisch-Kongo," *MOPR* VII, 8 (August 1932), 13–15.

⁴⁵ On France, see, for example, Magdeleine Paz to Walter White, June 25, 1932, on Wright's speech in the Salle Wagram, Paris: "Ada's presence and speech produced great feeling . . . In a general sense, this affair has revived a live interest in the race question": NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 5, Frames 893–94; RGASPI 515/1/3016: 66–70; "French Municipality Demands, 'Free the Scottsboro Boys,'" *Daily Worker* (London), August 13, 1932. The British government's Foreign Office file for Ada Wright indicates that officials felt that the government ought not to register an official protest to the American government, despite trade union demands, because protests so lodged for Sacco and Vanzetti had been unsuccessful, implying that such government protests in the Scottsboro case might backfire. "A negress named Wright" was on her way to Britain; one official wrote, "I told the HO [Home Office] that I did not think there was any special ground necessitating instructions for her to be refused admission" (25.5 and co-signed 25.6). The CPGB claimed responsibility for fighting the government to victory on this issue, but the file surely indicates a more complex situation. Public Record Office, Foreign Office, FO 371/15875, paper 3038.

Kingdom without an interpreter. After three stays of execution, the U.S. Supreme Court was scheduled to review the case in four months' time, a reprieve that Wright attributed in her speeches to the international and American campaigns. She spoke in London, Manchester, Dundee, Kirkaldy, Glasgow, and Bristol, along with ILD organizers.⁴⁶ Prime Minister Eamon De Valera prohibited Wright from entering Ireland.⁴⁷ She traveled instead to Scandinavia, where 10,000 people reportedly demonstrated in Copenhagen alone.⁴⁸ Wright and Engdahl again crossed the Belgian border illegally to visit the coal district of Wallonia in late August 1932. She addressed audiences of women in Charleroi and in Gilly, the heart of the "moving and often murderous arena" of the Borinage. When she was arrested in Charleroi, a crowd of mothers with babes in arms accompanied her to the police station.⁴⁹ She was again arrested in Kladno, Czechoslovakia, on suspicion of spreading Communist propaganda with the intent to interfere in local politics: "I answered that I don't know anything about local conditions in Kladno, that I'm not trained enough to give a political speech and I don't know enough about Communism yet to be a good Communist." She spent three nights in a cell before she and Engdahl were expelled.⁵⁰

At the end of 1932, Engdahl wrote: "In spite of all obstacles, sixteen countries were traversed in six months. Nearly half a million people took part in almost 200 meetings and demonstrations, while the press campaign made itself felt in hundreds of millions of copies of the daily press and journals of all political tendencies."⁵¹ He and Ada Wright ended their tour in Moscow, at the World Congress celebrating the tenth anniversary of International Red Aid. In Red Square, tens of thousands of Russian workers crowded the streets with banners, calling for freedom for the sons of Ada Wright and the collapse of the world imperial order. But both travelers

⁴⁶ *Daily Worker* (London), (July 29, 1932): 2; (June 30): 1-2; (July 2): 2; (July 4): 2; (July 5): 2. The coverage afforded Ada Wright's British tour by Nancy Cunard's *Negro* seems to have been directly lifted from the *Daily Worker* (London). See Nancy Cunard, ed., *Negro: An Anthology* (New York, 1969), 245-69, for a narrative in the self-same words, yet without attribution. *Negro* was originally published by Lawrence and Wishart in London in 1934. Cunard was not in Britain during the Wright visit.

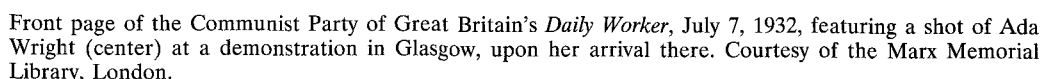
⁴⁷ Engdahl wrote to the Red Aid office in Berlin, stating that both De Valera and Irish nationalist James Larkin, Jr., had been approached about the tour; RGASPI 515/1/3017: 288-89. De Valera wished to preserve his American connection and to maintain a policy of anti-Communism. See Tim Pat Coogan, *Eamon De Valera: The Man Who Was Ireland* (New York, 1995), 414, 424-26, 433, 722 n. 80. Reginald Bridgeman wrote to Padmore: "Valera refuses to allow Mrs. Wright to visit the Irish Free State in order to win a little credit with the United States Government at the expense of the Negroes." RGASPI 534/3/756: 90.

⁴⁸ See "The Scottsboro Campaign in the Scandinavian Countries," ILD Papers, Schomburg Center, Reel 3; "Über die Scottsboro-Kampagne," *MOPR* VII, 11 (November 1932), 24-25; "Mor till två dödsdömda barn" (Swedish newspaper clipping, NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 8, Frames 801-02). The attendance figures published in the Comintern press were certainly inflated.

⁴⁹ "Über die Scottsboro-Kampagne," 24-25; Robert Lejour, "Die Aktion der Roten Hilfe während des belgischen Bergarbeiterstreiks," *MOPR* VII, 12 (December 1932), 16-18; *Die Rote Fahne*, August 24, 1932. The phrase "moving and often murderous" is that of Camille Lemonnier (1888), cited by Patricia Penn Hilden, *Women, Work and Politics: Belgium 1830-1914* (Oxford, 1993), 90.

⁵⁰ Ada Wright, "Ich gehe ins Gefängnis für meine beiden Söhne," *MOPR* VII, 11 (November 1932), 23. On her visits to Hungary and Bulgaria, see RGASPI 539/3/1096: 152-54b; 539/2/474: 114, 120, 134; 515/4/7: 41; Engdahl, "Die Scottsboro Europa-Tournee," 11. Wright stated that she was unable to enter Italy, Romania, Poland, Greece, and Finland.

⁵¹ Engdahl, "Die Scottsboro Europa-Tournee," 11. Engdahl wrote to Padmore of his fear of sending papers to the Hamburg office, as it was under surveillance and had been raided; RGASPI 534/3/754: 128.



arrived exhausted. Wright had stomach surgery and could not appear on the platform. Louis Engdahl collapsed on the third day of the congress and died of pneumonia.⁵² Ada Wright carried his ashes back to his family in the United States, where the New York police used tear gas and clubs to break up the demonstrations called to greet her in Harlem.⁵³ She spent several more years campaigning in America and eventually returned to her job with an Irish-American family in Chattanooga, making regular visits to Andy in the Alabama jail.⁵⁴

⁵³ See "Story of Scottsboro," March 17, 1934, New York, Richard B. Moore Papers, Schomburg, 6 (14), 11/22. A Bronx Coliseum meeting in 1932 mourned Engdahl's death and was attended by 12,000 people and addressed by Ada Wright and Mother Mooney (see note 96 below). Naison, *Communists in Harlem*, 74; RGASPI, 539/3/1096: 52.

⁵⁴ Adva Wright material in possession of Susan Pennybacker. Richard B. Moore, for example, wrote about Adva Wright to John P. Davis of the National Negro Council: "The appeal of a mother is very effective, as you know, and her appearance will help greatly to stimulate that united action." Moore Papers, 6 (14), 6/2, October 6, 1937.

"IF WE ARE TO BELIEVE the majority of writers of Negro dialect and the burnt-cork artists, Negro speech is a weird thing, full of 'ams' and 'Ises.' Fortunately, we don't have to believe them. We may go directly to the Negro and let him speak for himself . . . nowhere can be found the Negro who asks 'am it?' nor yet his brother who announces 'Ise uh gwinter.' He exists only for a certain type of writer and performer."⁵⁵

"Boys" they were at the beginning of the campaign, "boys" they were forty-five years later when Clarence Norris was finally pardoned, even though, at the time of their arrests, they ranged in age from thirteen to twenty. This appellation, adopted internationally in various translated forms, served a dual function and significantly shaped the discourse that emerged around them. It invoked the racist southern slang term for black men of any age, reinforcing the image of the South as a region where Jim Crow practices kept black men permanently infantilized, locked into a fixed subordinate status in the racial caste system. But the term also conferred both the presumption of innocence (including sexual innocence) and victim status upon the defendants; it partially separated them from the widespread racial mythology of black men as savages with irresistible sex drives, as instinctive rapists with an insatiable desire for white women. In the final analysis, the success of the Scottsboro campaign would depend on the extent to which it could portray them as casualties of southern justice.⁵⁶

From the very beginning, the rhetoric surrounding the case pitted the youthful innocence of the Scottsboro Boys against the savage menace of southern life. Helen Marcy wrote of the "nine young Negro boys" as "terrified youngsters," and—equally important—as "starving and wretched Negro workers."⁵⁷ The *Daily Worker* characterized them as "nine young Negro workers."⁵⁸ This vocabulary remained consistent throughout the 1930s, and the discourse of the national black press and the mainstream media often replicated it.⁵⁹ The image of the Scottsboro Boys was carefully crafted by Communist Party strategists, slogan writers, and orators. Consider the following:

⁵⁵ Zora Neale Hurston, "Characteristics of Negro Expression," in Cunard, *Negro*, 46.

⁵⁶ Lloyd Brown stated that the use of the term "boys" had only belatedly aroused controversy; for those involved in the campaign, the usage was not pejorative, and he recalled that the party's involvement with the defendants was as "cases, not individuals." Brown described them as at the bottom "economically and culturally," members of "the Lumpenproletariat" (Brown Interview). See Trudier Harris, *Exorcising Blackness: Historical and Literary Lynching and Burning Rituals* (Bloomington, Ind., 1984), 23–24; Sandra Gunning, *Race, Rape and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890–1912* (New York, 1979). On the psycho-sexual origins of the image of blacks as primitives and potential rapists, see, for example, Winthrop Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968). On the impact of these images on American popular culture and the mass media, see Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films* (New York, 1989). On D. W. Griffith's film *The Birth of a Nation* as a key source of these images, see Thomas Cripps, *Slow Fade to Black: The Negro in American Film, 1900–1942* (New York, 1977); Michael Rogin, "The Sword Became a Flashing Vision: D. W. Griffith's 'The Birth of a Nation,'" *Representations* 9 (Winter 1985).

⁵⁷ Helen Marcy, "Whip Up Lynch Mobs against Nine Negroes in Alabama," *Southern Worker*, April 4, 1931, cited in Foner and Shapiro, *American Communism*, 250.

⁵⁸ "Nine Negro Workers Face Lynch Mob in Alabama as Trial Opens on Horse-Swapping Fair Day," *Daily Worker* (New York), April 7, 1931, cited in Foner and Shapiro, *American Communism*, 251.

⁵⁹ Kelley characterizes the black press as describing the defendants as "poorly-trained . . . primitive when we think of intelligence"; *Hammer and Hoe*, 80.

THE NEGRO WORKER

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Vol. 2



"Democracy" For Negroes in America

Down with Lynch Law! Free the Scottsboro Boys!

Price 2 pence
5 cents

Annual sub: 2/- British Empire
50 cents U.S.A. and Foreign

On the front cover of *The Negro Worker* for November–December 1932 (vol. 2, nos. 11–12), opposition to lynching is linked to the Scottsboro campaign. American lynching photographs were widely disseminated in Europe by Comintern-affiliated publications. Courtesy of the Tamiment Library, New York University.

i Wont you all to Rite to Me and tell Me how is things Going on a bout this Case of us 9 Boys Bee Cause i am in here For SomethinG i know i did not do . . . i Was on My Way to Memphis on a oil tank By My Self a lone and i Was Not Worred With any one untell i Got to Paint Rock alabama and they Just Made a Frame up on uS Boys Just Cause they Cud . . . Oh, to think of what I am charged with. If there is a god as they say he knows I am not guilty of such hideous crime . . . You know I pray every night of my life. Maybe he knows that I know

nothing of that crime . . . To think there is people so unjust that they put things on people they don't know anything about. Well, nevertheless the good lord don't like ugly things so I'll trust in him for those that try to punish me for a deed I didn't commit.⁶⁰

These excerpts from letters evidently written by Olen Montgomery and Roy Wright stand in noticeable contrast to the appeal issued in the name of the Scottsboro defendants in the May 1932 issue of *The Negro Worker*:

From the death cell here in Kilby Prison, eight of us Scottsboro boys is writing this to you. We have been sentenced to die for something we ain't never done. Us poor boys been sentenced to burn up on the electric chair for the reason we is workers—and the color of our skin is black. We like any one of you workers is none of us older than 20. Two of us is 14 and one is 13 years old . . . What we guilty of? Nothing but being out of a job. Nothing but looking for work. Our kinfolk was starving for food, we wanted to help them out. So we hopped a freight—just like any one of you workers might a done—to go down to Mobile to hunt work. We was taken off the train by a mob and framed up on rape charges . . . Only ones helped us down here been the International Labor Defense and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. We don't put no faith in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They give some of us boys eats to go against the other boys who talked for the I.L.D. But we wouldn't split. Nohow. We know our friends and our enemies. Working class boys, we asks you to save us from being burnt on the electric chair. We's only poor working class boys whose skin is black. We shouldn't die for that. We hear about working people holding meetings for us all over the world. We asks for more big meetings. It'll take a lot of big meetings to help the I.L.D. and the L.S.N.R. to save us from the bossman down here. Help us boys. We ain't done nothing wrong. We are only workers like you are. Only our skin is black.⁶¹

The Scottsboro Boys were illiterate or barely literate. Ozie Powell had three months of schooling. Clarence Norris completed the second grade, Heywood Patterson the third, Olen Montgomery and Charlie Weems the fifth, and Andy Wright the sixth.⁶² Any attempt to render their voices and their outlook required considerable tactical and rhetorical sensitivity. The various voices within which the defendants, and subsequently, their mothers, spoke—or were spoken for—reflected attempts to convey black vernacular speech through written dialect, some, to be sure, more accurate and authentic-sounding than others. These attempts to render black “authenticity” go to the heart of the strategic and rhetorical decisions that shaped the Scottsboro campaign. They were highly charged, carrying with them the possibilities of the international, multilingual replication of deeply entrenched racial stereotypes derived from the legacy of minstrelsy in American culture.⁶³ To

⁶⁰ Goodman, *Stories*, 5, 91.

⁶¹ “Scottsboro Boys Appeal from Death Cells to the Toilers of the World,” *Negro Worker*, May 1932, cited in Foner and Shapiro, *American Communism*, 292–93.

⁶² Goodman, *Stories*, 92, 94, 235, 237.

⁶³ On minstrelsy in Britain, see, for example, Harry Reynolds, *Minstrel Memories: The Story of Burnt Cork Minstrelsy in Great Britain from 1836 to 1927* (London, 1928), 39, 15; Ernest Henry Short and Arthur Compton Rickett, *Ring Up the Curtain, Being a Pageant of English Entertainment Covering Half a Century* (London, 1938), 21; Michael Pickering, “Race, Gender and Broadcast Comedy: The Case of the BBC’s Kentucky Minstrels,” *European Journal of Communication* 9 (September 1994). The issue of how African Americans should be represented in speech, literature, the visual arts, and popular culture has long been central to black cultural politics. Most black artists and critics have recognized, or assumed, a connection between these issues of representation and public policy, that is, that there is an integral connection between how black people are seen, heard, perceived, portrayed in various art

appropriate Scottsboro was to lurch into the mainstream of American southern experience and to link the defendants' plight to the economic hardships and racial discontent of northern black communities. It was to join the outcry against lynching and racial injustice with the sentiments of Jews and Gentiles, liberals and radicals, domestics and dockworkers, meatpackers and lawyers. It was, above all, to try to find a language that would forge solidarity among these various audiences. Making the case comprehensible to a global audience meant making the plight of the defendants a part of the vocabulary of social injustice and police terror in a multiplicity of accents and relying on the existing reputation of the South abroad.⁶⁴

There was considerable initial behind-the-scenes discussion in the CPUSA about the terms within which the campaign would be presented, some of it shaped by concern about the racial and gender dynamics of the legal charges against the Scottsboro defendants. One week after the first trials, Clarence Hathaway, on behalf of the Politburo, wired a number of slogans to Tom Johnson, who opposed their call to "DEMAND NEW TRIAL BEFORE JURY COMPOSED OF WORKERS AT LEAST HALF TO BE NEGROES," arguing that this was a meaningless plea in Tennessee; instead, he proposed the slogan "DEMAND A NEW TRIAL BEFORE A NEGRO JURY."⁶⁵ As for the "10,000 [whites] who shouted for blood," Johnson observed, "These were not bosses, they were all misled, half-starved white mountaineers and croppers." The bosses and landlords were not concerned about the virtue of white women; the party should want to stress the long hours inflicted on white and black women in the textile mills while "croppers and their families are left to starve."⁶⁶ But two weeks after their

forms and how they are treated by their fellow citizens. For important early twentieth-century statements on this issue, see the symposium moderated by W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro in Art: How Shall He Be Portrayed?" *The Crisis* (1926), all issues; "Criteria of Negro Art," *The Crisis* 32 (October 1926); Sterling A. Brown, "Negro Character as Seen by White Authors," *Journal of Negro Education* 2 (April 1933), cited in Mark A. Sanders, ed., *A Son's Return: Selected Essays of Sterling A. Brown* (Boston, 1996), 149–83; Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes*. On minstrelsy and American culture, see, for example, Joseph Boskin, *Sambo: The Rise and Demise of an American Jester* (New York, 1986); David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York, 1991). Debates about the attempts to recreate African-American vernacular speech have flared up periodically in twentieth-century African-American cultural politics. For a thoughtful recent discussion, see "Black Vernacular Representation and Cultural Malpractice," in Tommy L. Lott, *The Invention of Race: Black Culture and the Politics of Representation* (Malden, Mass., 1999), 84–110. For two excellent studies of the ways in which the literary Left grappled with these issues during the 1920s–1940s, see James Edward Smethurst, *The New Red Negro: The Literary Left and African American Poetry, 1930–1946* (New York, 1999); and William J. Maxwell, *New Negro, Old Left: African-American Writing and Communism between the Wars* (New York, 1999).

⁶⁴ The Scottsboro propaganda material used by the "official" (Red Aid) Scottsboro committees—most of it originating with the CPUSA—was literally translated into the principal languages of the Comintern (French, German, Spanish, and Russian) in the Comintern offices and reissued for use internationally. The national sections deployed this material in combination with locally edited text to produce their own leaflets and reports for circulation to the party and non-party press (see, for example, the annual report of German Red Aid for 1932, in GehStA 77/4043/386: 52–54). The Comintern files include numerous examples of this process. Translated versions of texts attributed to the defendants and to Mrs. Wright take no account of the peculiarities of Negro diction highlighted in the American originals, even allowing for the fact that there was not necessarily "authenticity" to the American "originals."

⁶⁵ RGASPI 515/1/2285: 26. See also 28–30, 34b, 35–40, 59–60. On the half-Negro jury debate, see 515/1/2222: 7–8.

⁶⁶ RGASPI 515/1/2285: 28: "The bosses and landlords incite the white workers and croppers . . . but

conviction, it was the defendants who were cast as victimized black workers: "They are typical honest and innocent hardworking lads of tender age and absolutely not of the hardened sort that could possibly be conceived to have committed the crime of violent attack upon women . . . These boys . . . are too simple and direct, as well as too young to be able to dissimulate under the pressure of a case of this kind."⁶⁷

The allusions to gender and the sexual in the rhetoric of the campaign, in what was, after all, a *rape* trial, betray the preoccupations of party strategists. They reveal Communist inexperience, naïveté, discomfort, and ambivalence about interracial mixing. Typically, a district party leader responded sharply to a press photo in which a white female comrade was portrayed standing with a black comrade, referring to the "cheap sex publicity on the part of the Negro comrade. Such a picture appearing in the capitalist newspapers will drive away millions of American workers from the Party."⁶⁸ During the Gastonia strike, bosses or their agents distributed an anti-Communist Party leaflet that asked, "would you want your sister to marry a Negro?"⁶⁹ There was extensive discussion about not replying to the leaflet, as this might compromise the party in relationship to its white southern worker constituency. On the surface, a national and increasing global awareness of lynching created space for a critique of the prevailing race and gender coding in American culture, particularly with regard to anxieties about interracial sex. As Roger N. Baldwin of the Scottsboro Defense Committee would put it in 1937: "whatever the evidence, no Negro can be acquitted when a white woman, even of the lowest character, accuses

they make women and children, white and black, slave long hours in their mills for starvation wages." Johnson would also explain: "Well, these 10,000 whites [mob at the trial], were ragged, many of them had not had a square meal for days. They were poor farmers from the state of Tennessee and yet they constituted a real potential force of fascism because we had never approached these poor farmers with our propaganda, our agitation, and because we have never organized them for the struggle against their present conditions." RGASPI 515/1/2222: 32. Elizabeth Lawson wrote, typically, in contradistinction to Johnson's language: "On April 6, in response to the call of the landlords' newspapers, the little town of Scottsboro held ten thousand mountaineers. The boss-incited lynch-mob of the most backward people packed the court-house and surrounded it." "Scottsboro's Martyr," 3.

⁶⁷ RGASPI 515/1/2586: 7, draft, "Letter from B. D. Amis to *The Liberator*," April 21, 1931.

⁶⁸ RGASPI 515/7/2023: 19. See also Naison, *Communists in Harlem*, 36–37, 136–37, 259–60. Ann Snitow observes: "the party's allegiance to the Soviet Union, with its sexually repressive policies, fostered a suspicion of any sexual questioning as a symptom of bourgeois degeneracy. Instead, the CP often viewed sexual conservatism as a cultural bridge to the masses." Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York, 1983), 19. See also Van Gosse, "To Organize in Every Neighborhood, in Every Home": The Gender Politics of the American Communists between the Wars," *Radical History Review* 50 (1991); Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*, 79; and "Afric's Son with Banner Red": African-American Communists and the Politics of Culture," in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York, 1994), 103–21. The issue of rape in relation to the Scottsboro case has its most insightful critic in Jacqueline Dowd Hall. See *Revolt against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching* (New York, 1979), 197–206; and "'The Mind That Burns in Each Body': Women, Rape and Racial Violence," in Snitow, Stansell, and Thompson, *Powers of Desire*, 328–49. The elimination of a debate on guilt or innocence in the Scottsboro case presumably served to diffuse incipient tensions among the defendants' supporters. But we cannot assume that debate on this issue necessarily subsided entirely, in or outside the Communist movement. (On the methodological contentions, see, for example, Gunning, *Race, Rape and Lynching*, 3.) In involving the mothers in the case, the CPUSA/ILD/Red Aid campaign obviously sought to soften the image of a "negative" male blackness by promoting "appealing" and "non-sexual" mothers and children.

⁶⁹ Sol Harper reported on this to the Negro Department of the CPUSA's Trade Union Unity League in 1930 (RGASPI 515/1/2024: 16), and claimed that he complained of this practice to a party strike leader, who replied that "the Klan is working with us"; 19.

him . . . [S]o deep-rooted is southern prejudice, in favor of the word of any white woman, whatever her character, that no defense can overcome it.”⁷⁰ In practice, though, the rhetoric adopted for the Scottsboro campaign tacitly accepted that attacking white womanhood was bad; it simply argued that the Scottsboro Boys “did not do it.” At best, it made white women complicitous in the oppression of black men,⁷¹ and this judgment was eased by the identification of Ruby Bates and Victoria Price as prostitutes; if any white women were worth defending, these two were certainly not among them: “Two notorious prostitutes were the only witnesses against them, but the slave driving landlords of the South forced through the death sentence to terrorize the Negro masses into accepting still lower wages and worse conditions.”⁷² The option of defending Ruby Bates and Victoria Price as unemployed textile workers was there from the outset and not taken up, until Bates recanted her testimony in January 1933, whereupon she was finally embraced as a “worker.”⁷³

The Scottsboro campaign depended as much on the distinction between rape and prostitution as it did on the issue of innocent black youngsters being framed. And this strategy was clearly reassuring to many of the campaign’s supporters across the globe: it appealed to what was confidently conveyed as an implicit Euro-American consensus on the impossibility of “rape” in the context of proven prostitution and a shared intercultural “fact” that could blunt and transcend a “purely racial” interpretation of the case. A typical British trade union motion emphatically protested against such brutal and unjust treatment and explained, “the very fact that the two white girls were prostitutes proves the whole case to be unfounded.” Alfons Goldschmidt, chairman of the German Scottsboro defense committee, was one of very few for whom the guilt of the girls was not a necessary correlate to the innocence of the boys: “These children have been accused of raping two prostitutes. But that isn’t true, and even if it were true, and even if they weren’t prostitutes, where is the human justice that would sink to such dreadful cruelty?”⁷⁴

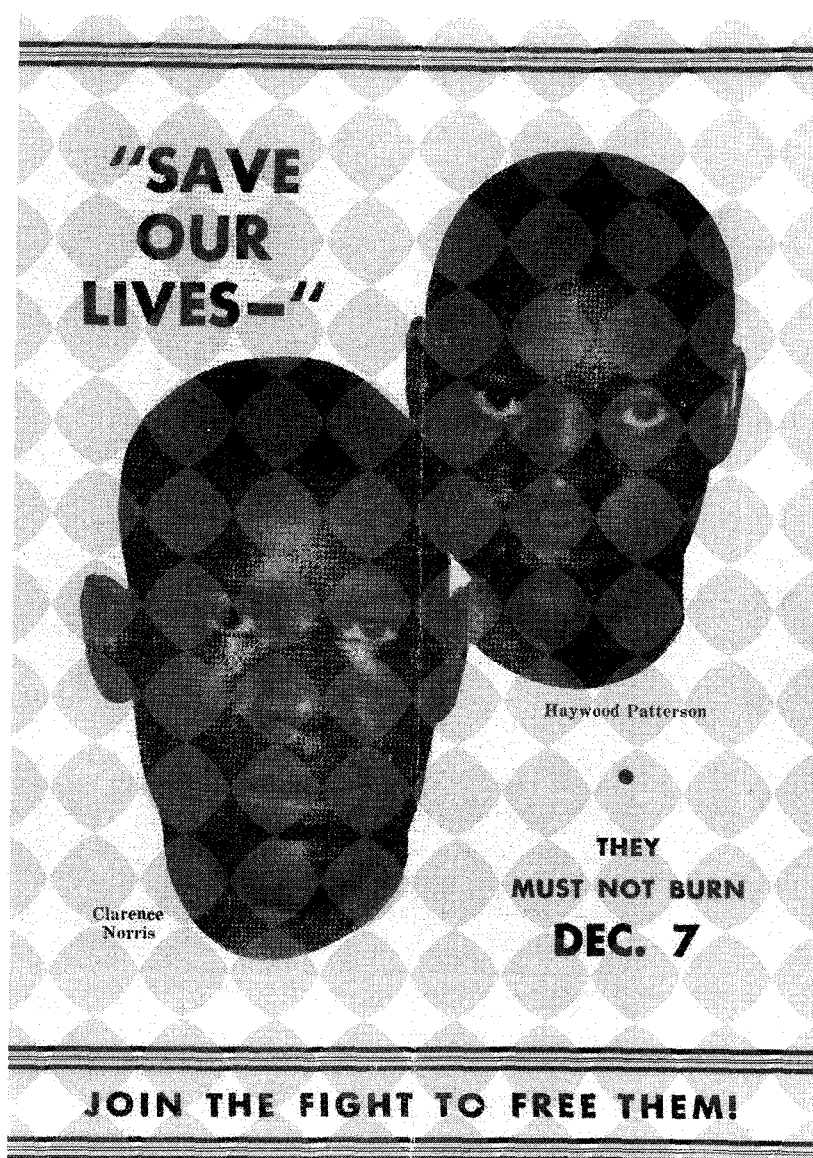
⁷⁰ RGASPI 515/1/4074: 33, citing *Labor Defender* (July 1937): 6.

⁷¹ On the key white anti-lynching organization in the South, whose philosophy accommodated a range of assumptions about white womanhood and rape, see Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry*. Lady Simon, Kathleen Manning Simon, the Liberal leader of antislavery work, corresponded with Jesse Ames and with the NAACP, hosting Walter White and others in England. See Ames to Simon, February 14, 1935; White to Simon, November 7, 1934, Rhodes House Library, Brit. Emp. MSS S25 K22; and White, *Man Called White*, 96–97.

⁷² RGASPI 515/1/3016: 48, “Negro and White Workers . . . Save the 9 Scottsboro Boys” (a leaflet from Akron, Ohio, 1932). Lloyd Brown recalled meeting Ruby Bates during the campaign, after she had joined forces with the ILD and the mothers. He said that he was “not impressed by her.” He described her as “ignorant . . . uncultured . . . not an admirable person” (Brown Interview with Pennybacker). Walter White succinctly recalled: “tough hard-boiled Victoria Price, a cotton mill worker and part-time prostitute, and a younger mill worker, also free with her favors for a price, Ruby Bates”; White, *Man Called White*, 126. See Goodman, *Stories*, 19–23.

⁷³ See Ruby Bates to Richard B. Moore, July 8, 1933, written after the recantation of her earlier testimony and her absorption by the ILD campaign: “I received your letter frieday [sic] and was very glad to hear that you was having good meetings . . . I am at Unity [camp] and I try to read but some how or other I can’t get interested in reading but I read the daily worker every day . . . I am going to help carry the fight on here for the freedom of the boys not only the Scottsboro boys but for all other class war prisoners . . . Give my love and best regards to Lester and Mrs. Patterson. I hope our struggle for the boys will be successfull. I close with my love . . . and best wishes for the meetings. Comradely greetings, Ruby Bates.” Moore Papers, 6 (14), 6/2.

⁷⁴ RGASPI 542/1/53: 75–78; Alfons Goldschmidt, “Richter Lynch,” *Die Weltbühne* 28/17 (April 26,



Cover of a pamphlet published and circulated by the American International Labor Defense, circa 1935, featuring photos of two of the defendants, Clarence Norris and Haywood Patterson. Courtesy of the Tamiment Library, New York University.

The campaign orchestrated elaborate and multi-tiered roles for women, following a convention of using the mothers of political prisoners in their sons' campaigns. In the United States, there were tours with Mother Mooney, mother of imprisoned anarchist Tom Mooney; the Scottsboro mothers' tours (including, after her recantation in 1933, the reformed Ruby Bates); and the children's tours, including Lucille Wright, Ada's daughter. But the mothers were the key and provided a

1932): 639–40. In its discussion of the attitudes of the Ku Klux Klan, this article contains the only reference within the German campaign to the affinity between racism and anti-Semitism.

universal motif.⁷⁵ A party leader recalled: "we knew we had in our hands a weapon with which we could break down the illusions of the white liberals and petty bourgeois reformist Negroes by utilizing these mothers to help build this mass movement."⁷⁶ Like the architects of the antislavery movement, party strategists were wed to certain notions of African-American authenticity; they needed the actual physical presence of black people and, ideally, vernacular black voices to showcase their political claims. While Ada Wright's vernacular speech underscored her southern, rural roots, it also left her vulnerable in some quarters to accusations of ignorance. In a comment on her arrest in Belgium, Alabama's *Birmingham Post* remarked with characteristic venom, but not without percipience, of the nature of the international campaign: "Ada Wright does not and cannot represent any issue of human rights. She has no real knowledge of the guilt or innocence of her boy. She knows little of the meaning of legal rights or of the Communist doctrine of her sponsors. Her sole qualification is that she speaks strange racial dialect which permits of whatever translation a designing interpreter may wish to give."⁷⁷

Wright and her supporters adopted an equally modest attitude toward the degree of her political sophistication, but this was to prove a special allure of the campaign. In Providence, Rhode Island, at a gathering at an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, a promise was made to the people: "Mother Wright will tell you in simple words a story that will touch your heart and win your support if you are a fair play human."⁷⁸ In Berlin, a German protester wrote: "The mother of one of the Negro lads was here in Germany and told us about the way the Negro lads are suffering in the death cell. A mother who is suffering herself is traveling the world to save her child—that should make us think!" French Scottsboro material recalled "a *mama* mad with grief and yet calm . . . She had only to leaf through the memories of a black mother who had lived in the poor districts where Negroes live in the United States."⁷⁹ London's *Daily Worker* described Mrs. Wright as "a toil-worn woman from far away Tennessee, who had undertaken this long journey of suffering in order to save the lives of her sons . . . she spoke quietly in the soft, pleasant drawl of the South. The audience strained to catch every word. Intense interest and sympathy was written on every face and tears welled into many eyes. The Negro mother told her story as only a mother can. Just a simple story of life at home, the departure of the boys in search of work and then—prison, the menace of the electric chair." Tellingly, Wright added a plea for support in the rhetoric of the Third (Communist) International; her boys, she said, were linked to "class war prisoners all over the world."⁸⁰ She, too, referred to Bates and Price as prostitutes,

⁷⁵ See Goodman, *Stories*, 83, 84, 153, 199, 237. On the use of "motherhood" as a locus of political mobilization in labor, socialist, internationalist, and rightist political movements, see, for example, Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago, 1993), 38, 235, 243; and Diana Taylor, "The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo," in Alexis Jetter, Annelise Orleck, and Diana Taylor, eds., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover, N.H., 1997), 189, 192.

⁷⁶ RGASPI 515/1/2222: 15.

⁷⁷ Editorial, *Birmingham Post* (Alabama), August 24, 1932 (clipping in NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 8, Frame 724).

⁷⁸ RGASPI 515/1/2586: 16, "Interacial Protest Meeting," May 30, 1931.

⁷⁹ Children's protest letter from Wiesbaden-Biebrich, RGASPI 539/3/528: 122; "Les blancs contre les nègres: Le procès de Scottsboro," MS dated March 2, 1936, RGASPI 539/5/195: 16.

⁸⁰ *Daily Worker* (London) (June 30, 1932): 1.

in the fields for a quarter a day. Her grandmother had been sold for three hundred dollars and lashed with a whip on the auction block.⁸¹ In Scotland, "Cries of indignation rent the air as she told in simple, poignant language of the brutal savagery of the drunken, lynching mob outside the Court House, demanding death for the boys . . . The Dundee workers will not quickly forget the visit which has forged new bonds of unity between British workers and their colored comrades."⁸² The appeal to mothers underlined the emphasis on the youth of the Scottsboro Boys, and hence their presumptive innocence. "Stop the Lynching of Nine Negro Boys," demanded the Silvertown and Woolwich Cooperative; "Eight Negro Children to the Electric Chair," declaimed a German Red Aid booklet; "American lynch-law is thirsting for the blood of nine innocent working-class boys," explained the Dutch Red Aid.⁸³ The German campaign allotted special responsibility to the youth and children's (Pioneer) sections of Red Aid who wrote letters to the defendants, entire schools giving their support.⁸⁴

SCOTTSBORO BEGAN AS A COMINTERN CAMPAIGN, but it did not end there. Its multiple purposes and the multiple associations that were deliberately invoked to reinforce sympathy with the defendants' case allowed the campaign to exceed the intentions of its originators and to generalize the antagonisms between Communism and reformism. The Communist Party's pervasive demonization of the NAACP went far beyond American borders. A group of "American Negro Cotton Specialists," sent by the CPUSA to work in Tashkent, wrote: "We condemn the role played by the leaders of the NAACP in the Scottsboro case . . . The Negro reformists are the most dangerous element of the Negro masses . . . We look upon this condemnation as a legal lynching and as a concession to white chauvinism."⁸⁵ NAACP Field Secretary William Pickens summed up the NAACP's public response with this dyspeptic comment: "Throwing brickbats at an American in Dresden, Germany, won't do anything for a black boy in an Alabama jail except to hang him."⁸⁶ The NAACP shadowed the campaign through an active mobilization of its own networks and contacts in the United States and abroad; during 1932, Pickens traveled through Europe explaining the NAACP's perspective on the case.⁸⁷

In Europe, the groundswell of popular support crossing both class and organizational divides also transformed the character of the campaign in ways that its originators had not foreseen. In the Netherlands, Ada Wright broadcast her

⁸¹ *Daily Worker* (London) (June 30, 1932): 1.

⁸² *Daily Worker* (London) (July 5, 1932): 2.

⁸³ "Stop the Lynching of Nine Negro Boys," *Anti-Imperialist Youth Bulletin*, May-June 1931, RGASPI 542/1/53: 75; 8 *Negerkinder auf den elektrischen Stuhl* (Berlin, 1931); *Strijdt met de Roode Hulp voor de Negers van Scottsboro* (Amsterdam, 1933). On the appeal of the mothers, see RGASPI 539/2/474: 119-23.

⁸⁴ See RGASPI 539/3/528: 113-30; *Sturmplan der RHD Bezirk Mittelrhein*, July-September 1931, GehStA 77/4043/385: 211-38; letter from RHD Berlin to RH-Pioneers in Cannstatt (Württemberg), April 8, 1932, GehStA 77/4043/386: 28-31.

⁸⁵ RGASPI 539/9/501: 30. See also White, *Man Called White*, 68.

⁸⁶ "Scottsboro 'Mother Sympathy' Hoax Pulled Off Again," *Omaha Guide*, August 1, 1931, NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 8, Frame 307; and again as William Pickens, *Seattle Enterprise*, July 24, 1931.

⁸⁷ RGASPI 515/1/3017: 268.

message from a Social Democratic radio station. In Belgium, the former president of the Second Socialist International, Emile Vandervelde, joined her on the platform. Communists complained that the Social Democrats were stealing their thunder in Sweden. In France, the campaign was substantially snatched from the hands of the Communists by a broad-based coalition, spearheaded by French friends of the NAACP, in which Socialists and liberal intellectuals, including Léon Blum, played prominent roles.⁸⁸

The British Labour Party forbid its members from involvement in official Communist work, but Labour supporters were found in every ostensibly popular body associated with the campaign; George Lansbury offered support to the campaign, and Wright visited with Labour Members of Parliament at the House of Commons.⁸⁹ Two hundred signed the resolution of the Barry Colonial Social Club in Cardiff, where Saklatvala addressed a meeting of "Negro Indian, Spanish and British workers."⁹⁰ The Amalgamated Engineering Union contributed generously to campaign funds. The London Scottsboro Defense Committee in various incarnations included Kenyatta, Vera Brittain, Naomi Mitchison, Eleanor Rathbone, and Julian Huxley, and was later led by the energetic Nancy Cunard, estranged daughter of the shipping magnate.⁹¹ Three hundred students and faculty at the London School of Economics—including Harold Laski, R. M. Tawney, and Eileen Power—sent a petition to the U.S. ambassador.⁹²

In Germany, the Communist movement maintained its hegemony over the campaign. No other major party or political organization was publicly committed to the cause; the Social Democratic and trade-union press all but ignored the case. Yet a German "Committee to Rescue the Scottsboro Victims" was formed in 1931. It indisputably carried out its work under the aegis of the Communist movement while operating in a distinct political-cultural milieu that overlapped with the network of Communist organizations and tapped a still-wider reservoir of sympathy and interest.⁹³ This committee represented an authentic political impulse outside the

⁸⁸ On the Netherlands, see *De VARA rede van Ada Wright: Wat de negermoeder in het engelsch sprak en waarom de VARA valsch vertaald heeft* (Amsterdam, 1932). On Belgium, see Engdahl, "Scottsboro, Vandervelde und Belgisch-Kongo." On Sweden, see "The Wright-Engdahl Tour," ILD Papers, Schomburg Center. On France, see Magdeleine Paz to Walter White, June 25, 1932, and clippings from *Le populaire*: NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 5, Frames 901–07. See *Protokoll des 1. Weltkongresses der Internationalen Roten Hilfe*, 82, 164. The Executive of the International Red Aid urged "the necessity of ensuring that the leadership of the campaign did not pass into the hands of the Social Democratic and petty bourgeois liberal elements"; RGASPI 539/2/474: 69.

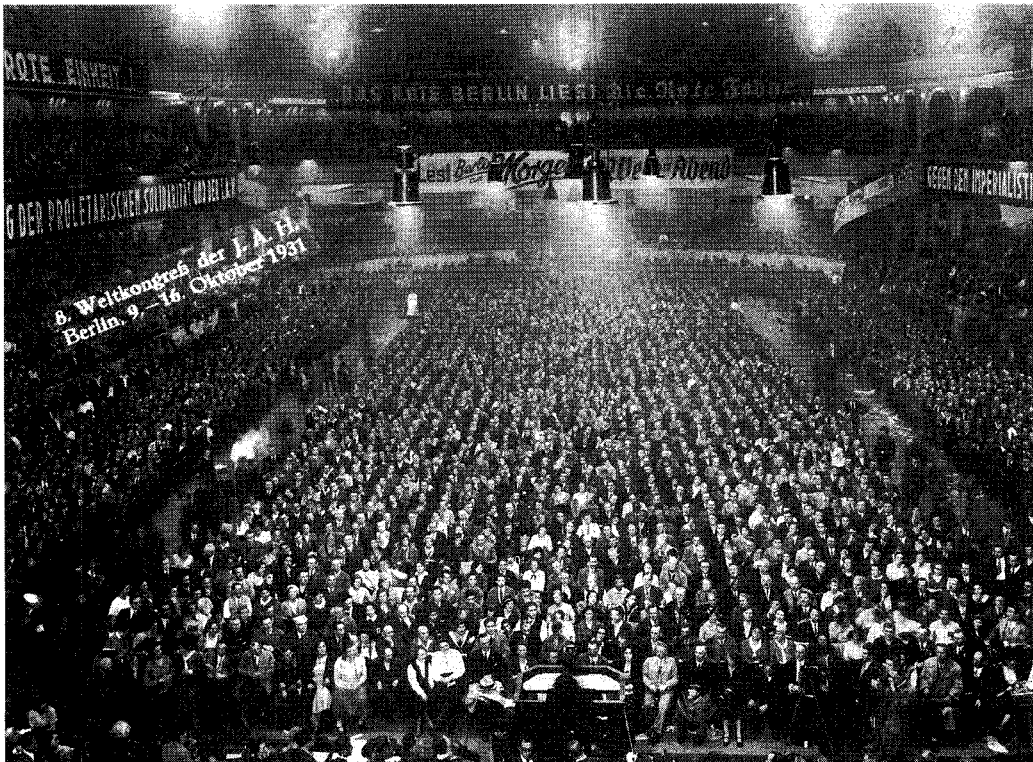
⁸⁹ See "Scottsboro Special," *Anti-Imperialist Youth Bulletin*, September 1931, RGASPI 542/1/53: 57 (13); *Daily Worker* (London) (July 1, 1932): 2; Gillies-Morrison Correspondence, NMLH ID/CI/8; NMLH ID/CI/10; William Gillies, *The Communist Solar System*, NMLH ID/CI/8/44. In 1931, thirty-three Labour MPs signed a protest letter in support of the defendants.

⁹⁰ *Daily Worker* (London), (July 7, 1932): 2.

⁹¹ RGASPI 542/1/43. See David Abercrombie to Lonsdale (November 14, 1991): 2, in possession of John Lonsdale. Nancy Cunard played an increasingly active role in the campaign after 1932, although all accounts indicate that she never joined the CPGB. In early 1933, she went to London, and in that period, her Scottsboro defense organization emerged.

⁹² *Daily Worker* (London) (July 4, 1932): 2. Power was a professor of economic history; Laski taught political science; Tawney was a reader in economic history. See the Oxford "Boar Hill" petition, in *Weekend Review*, October 8, 1932, signed by Hugh Walpole, H. G. Wells, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Stephen Spender, Louis Golding, and Bertrand Russell, who subsequently wrote to William Gillies, "I am a Socialist and as much opposed to Communism as you are. I do not intentionally associate myself with any movement inspired by the Communists." September 18, 1933, NMLH ID/CI/39/16.

⁹³ Associated Press report of July 4, 1931 (NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel



Audience of the Eighth World Congress of International Workers' Relief (International Arbeiterhilfe, or IAH), in Berlin, October 9–16, 1931. The youth section of the IAH in Germany was active in the Scottsboro campaign. Courtesy of the Russian State Archives of Social and Political History, Moscow.

leading parties, which appeared in campaigns concerning humanitarian or civil rights issues throughout the years of the Weimar Republic, even as it was systematically blocked in the political sphere. That this impulse was not confined to a metropolitan circle of “fellow-traveling” intellectuals is reflected in the wide range of locations and social types represented by the signatories to the committee’s protests. In 1932, Alfons Goldschmidt cited 1,500 letters of support whose signatories included men and women lawyers, civil servants, physicians, professors, teachers, and professionals from German cities of every size.⁹⁴ A Leipzig protest letter initiated by children included men and women signatories who were artists, housewives, pensioners, white-collar, skilled, and manual workers.⁹⁵ The German protests that flooded the American authorities were too numerous to deny their sincerity and spontaneity.

8, Frame 248); RGASPI 539/2/474: 27–29. For examples of public interest from the “bourgeois press,” see reports in *Hamburgischer Correspondent* (May 7, 1932), late edition; *General-Anzeiger* (Dortmund), May 17, 1932; *Berliner Tageblatt* (June 2, 1932), morning edition, and April 11, 1933; *Vossische Zeitung* (October 11, 1932), morning edition.

⁹⁴ Alfons Goldschmidt, *8 Menschen in der Todeszelle* (Berlin, 1932); RGASPI 539/3/524: 129–37. On Goldschmidt and the independent Left milieu in which he operated, see Kurt Hiller, *Köpfe und Tröpfe: Profile aus einem Vierteljahrhundert* (Hamburg, 1950), 273–79; István Deák, *Weimar Germany’s Left-Wing Intellectuals: A Political History of the Weltbühne and Its Circle* (Berkeley, Calif., 1968).

⁹⁵ RGASPI 539/3/528: 113–16, 122. Mass signatures were also gathered in the USSR.

Nor was the impulse to unite around Scottsboro limited to either active Communists or to those articulate members of German society who could see themselves as standing above politics. On a visit to Germany in 1932, William Pickens received a sympathetic hearing from the Committee to Rescue Mooney and Billings, which was independent of the Communists' own campaign. An alliance of groups located between the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the German Communist Party (KPD), it included the principal socialist, communist, and syndicalist splinter parties as well as student, sporting, and cultural organizations. They wrote to the New York ILD office: "the task of proletarian solidarity must not be held back by party political and tactical differences . . . In the whole capitalist world white and colored people are being thrown into prison, executed or lynched by the tools of the bourgeoisie. The victims belong to all different political groupings. Just as we are trying to bring about a united front of all sympathizers . . . , you too must give up your narrow partisan attitude."⁹⁶

FROM THE START, the Scottsboro campaign was linked rhetorically and organizationally with other Communist campaigns in the United States, such as that of Angelo Herndon, a black Communist Party militant arrested in Atlanta in 1932 and charged with subversion.⁹⁷ By Ada Wright's very presence in Europe, the agony of black America—her personal agony—was brought into dialogue with that of ordinary people all over a continent torn by economic and political crisis. This largely explains the choice of her tour's venues. In the national and regional capitals, a cosmopolitan audience awaited her. At the meetings and conferences of Comintern-sponsored organizations, her presence signaled the essential unity of the multiple causes championed by the international movement. In May 1932, Ada Wright addressed the Congress of the International Union of Seamen and Harborworkers in Hamburg, which passed a resolution calling for a Scottsboro committee on every ship and in every port, and she appeared on the podium at the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam.⁹⁸ In the Belgian Borinage, an unofficial miners' strike supported by the Communists had recently widened into a general strike

⁹⁶ Komitee zur Rettung von Mooney und Billings to ILD New York, September 12, 1932 (copy in NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6, Reel 6, Frames 69–72); "Internationale Hilfs-Vereinigung," *Die Weltbühne* 28/1 (January 5, 1932): 40. Tom Mooney (1892–1942) was the object of a celebrated labor "frame-up" case. He and Warren Billings (1893–1972) spent 1916–1939 in prison on homicide charges stemming from a bomb explosion in San Francisco. See Esolv Ethan Ward, *The Gentle Dynamiter: A Biography of Tom Mooney* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1983). After a long campaign, partly involving his mother, who died in the course of it (and whose image and persona were heavily marketed by the Comintern), he was freed in 1939, his health broken. See Buhle, *Encyclopedia*, 485–87. Mrs. Mooney traveled in the United States with the Scottsboro Mothers. See also Mooney to Engdahl: "[I] highly appreciate efforts on my behalf. However—I object [to] using [my] Mother in factional disputes"; and Mooney to Magdeleine Paz, March 1932, in which he refers to "the nine small young colored (Negro) boys of Scottsboro, Alabama, USA." RGASPI 515/1/3017: 67, 93.

⁹⁷ See, for example, RGASPI 539/2/474: 274–75. See Charles Martin, *The Angelo Herndon Case and Southern Justice* (Baton Rouge, La., 1976); Angelo Herndon, *Let Me Live* (1937; rpt. edn., New York, 1969). Herndon was a nineteen-year-old CPUSA member who organized a hunger march in Atlanta involving blacks and whites and was jailed until 1937 for the capital offense of "attempting to incite insurrection." Buhle, *Encyclopedia*, 307; RGASPI 515/1/3754: 64–65; 70–72; 515/1/3933.

⁹⁸ See *Der Weltkongress der internationalen Wassertransportarbeiter und seine Beschlüsse* (Hamburg, 1932), 4; *Hamburger Volkszeitung*, May 21–22, 1932. Police correspondence and reports on the meeting

provoking extreme police repression and a national solidarity campaign. Similar conditions prevailed in the English and Scottish industrial towns that she visited, as well as in Kladno, Czechoslovakia, and the Scandinavian coastal settlements where she spoke.⁹⁹

The first protest meetings in Berlin promised that a veteran of the Bavarian Soviet Republic brutally suppressed in 1919 would join a "Negro worker" on the platform, an early signal of the strategy of linking local and remote struggles in Germany. In the overheated crisis atmosphere that was developing in Germany in 1931 and 1932, Berliners attending public enquiries about the shooting of two policemen in the city center and the repressive measures it had precipitated far outnumbered those buying tickets for Scottsboro meetings. In early 1932, a new public-order decree threatened four youths on trial for killing a Nazi in Essen with the death penalty; it was not always easy for readers to distinguish which young workers the Communist press headlines were urging them to rescue from the executioner.¹⁰⁰ Yet the foregrounding of police repression or systemic injustice, rather than Nazism, as the local point of reference for Scottsboro was characteristic of the campaign in Germany as elsewhere, in spite of the fact that the German Communists' most alarming adversary in the political arena was openly racist. The possibility of an analogy between Nazi anti-Semitism and American racism was largely ignored (Padmore's *Negro Worker* excepted), not only in campaign rhetoric but also in individual statements about Scottsboro, although it seems likely that the heightened visibility and respectability of anti-Semitism in public and institutional life that coincided with the Nazis' political success made people who were already committed to human rights issues receptive to the Scottsboro message.

Ada Wright's tour placed her personally at the center of other "workers' struggles": in Berlin, had she been allowed on the platform, she would have shared it with the wife of a Communist murdered in a Nazi ambush the previous June, who greeted the meeting in the name of the wives of proletarian prisoners. While Mrs. Wright waited outside, the meeting descended into disorder and was broken up by the police when the last speaker, Erich Mühsam, denounced the Berlin police chief as an ally of the American murderers.¹⁰¹ In Manchester, Ada Wright was introduced on the platform to Mrs. Knight, a founding member of the CPGB, and the mother of Lester Hutchinson, one of the prisoners still in jail in Meerut, India,

do not mention Ada Wright; GehStA 77/4043/427: 52–56. On the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress, see "Über die Scottsboro-Kampagne," 119.

⁹⁹ Keesings Contemporary Archives, entries for July 21–22, August 6–8, and September 6–7, 1932; "Der Ausstand in Belgien," *Gewerkschaftliche Monatshefte* 42, no. 31 (July 1932): 485–87. On Kladno, see *The Times* (London), March 26, 30, and 31, April 2 and 14, 1932; J. Steiner, "Uhelné dolování na kladensku za první republiky," *Slezský Sborník* 79 (1981): 1–27. On Scandinavia, reports refer to "the strike area of Söderhamn [Sweden]." See "Scottsboro Campaign in the Scandinavian Countries."

¹⁰⁰ *Die Rote Fahne*, June 4, 1931. The veteran of the Bavarian Soviet Republic was either Erich Mühsam or Ernst Toller; both regularly appeared on Scottsboro platforms. The 1931 murders were those of the police captains Anlauf and Lenk, a crime for which Erich Mielke, minister for State Security of the German Democratic Republic from 1957 until 1989, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in 1993. See Eve Rosenhaft, *Beating the Fascists: The German Communists and Political Violence 1929–1933* (Cambridge, 1983), 113–14; and Heribert Schwan, *Erich Mielke: Der Mann, der die Stasi war* (Munich, 1997), 159.

¹⁰¹ Abt. IA PKD 13.5.32, GehStA 219/19: 107–08; "Die Scottsboro-Kampagne in Europa," 14–16.

awaiting trial for treason.¹⁰² In London, Mrs. Wright's send-off rally at the Shoreditch town hall followed a march that boasted Tom Mann. Communist Party leader Harry Pollitt emphasized the link with youth unemployment in the United Kingdom, stating that part of Mrs. Wright's story could be told by thousands of mothers in the shipbuilding, textile, and mining centers of Britain. He alluded to press attempts to foment anti-Americanism in its coverage of the case, but he reserved his own hatred expressly for the American imperialists and especially for the British imperialists' savagery in South Africa and Nigeria.¹⁰³

The internationalist, humanitarian vision of a world of connected causes and struggles was not simply that of proletarian internationalism. The Scottsboro campaign appealed to those who saw a principled global struggle for human rights as their metier. In North America, Scottsboro was understood in the context of anti-Jim Crow and anti-lynching mobilizations. These campaigns reflected an indigenous history of race relations going back to slavery and its abolition. In Europe, too, nineteenth-century campaigns against slavery and lynching had reached and moved audiences across class boundaries.¹⁰⁴ The allure of the campaign lay in the presence of people who, in flesh and blood, were direct descendants of American slaves, who seemed to speak as if their cultural connection was unbroken, whose physiques bore marks of manual labor, of service. Goldschmidt published extracts from letters received by the committee in a 1932 pamphlet that depicted Roy Wright behind bars on its cover: "Man is man, whether black, yellow or white, at least in my eyes. Hasn't the white race committed serious crimes, especially against the Negroes? Weren't they enslaved? Wasn't it Christians, preaching a merciful God, that ripped children and parents, or husband and wife apart and sold them?"¹⁰⁵ In London, Lady Kathleen Simon, secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, who had lived in the American South as a child, was scandalized by Jim Crow and maintained ties with NAACP

¹⁰² *Daily Worker* (London) (July 7, 1932): 2. Hutchinson's mother, Gladys Knight, also spoke at the Anti-War Congress, in Amsterdam, as did Wright (RGASPI 495/72/218: 37–39). The celebrated conspiracy trial was held at Meerut, a rural seat outside Delhi, in order to isolate its defendants. Thirty-three trade union and Communist leaders were on trial for treason, charged with conspiring to deprive the king of his sovereignty by overthrowing British rule in India. English trade unionist and Communist Ben Bradley of the Amalgamated Engineers, a member of the CPGB, and Hutchinson were two of three British defendants (RGASPI 495/100/938). The Comintern organizations and the LAI were named as parties to the conspiracy. In 1933, twelve of the defendants received transportation sentences; one received life imprisonment and others, two-year terms. The appeal of the decisions was ultimately successful. The British Meerut National Appeal Committee was part of an international Comintern campaign, very often linked with Scottsboro. Chattopadhyaya, Bob Lovell, Willi Münzenberg, Harry Pollitt, Saklatvala, Agnes Smedley, Einstein, Romain Rolland, and Rabindranath Tagore were Meerut campaign signatories. See the letter signed by Wells, Laski, and Tawney, *Manchester Guardian*, December 8, 1929; RGASPI 542/1/51: 55, 64–72; 495/100/717: 17–20; 495/100/911: 42–43. For an irreverent critique of the campaign, the largest such in Britain until those around Spain and the German refugees, see *Left Review* 2 (July–December 1931): 161. See Devandra Singh, *Meerut Conspiracy Case and the Communist Movement in India, 1929–35* (Meerut, 1995); Lester Hutchinson, *Conspiracy at Meerut* (London, 1935), dedicated to Gladys Knight; and Philip Spratt, *Blowing Up India: Reminiscences and Reflections of a Former Comintern Emissary* (Calcutta, 1955).

¹⁰³ *Daily Worker* (London) (July 8, 1932): 4. Mann led the 1889 London Dock Strike and was a founder of the CPGB in 1920, along with Pollitt, general secretary and chair from 1929. Pollitt addressed the Red Aid World Congress (RGASPI 538/1/12). See Kevin Morgan, *Harry Pollitt* (Manchester, 1993), 60–88.

¹⁰⁴ For a related argument, see Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*, 71, 89.

¹⁰⁵ Goldschmidt, *8 Menschen*, 10.

and anti-lynching circles in the United States. In 1934, she and her husband, Foreign Secretary John Simon, celebrated the "William Wilberforce centenary" of the act abolishing slavery in the empire by worshipping at St. Paul's Cathedral with thousands of others, reliving the moments when the great bells rang. Some of London's black residents joined them, and took the parts of their ostensible forebears who had screamed hallelujah a century before.¹⁰⁶ The Scottsboro defendants, in such a context, were "slaves who needed to be freed."

The plight of black Americans was insistently linked to anticolonialism in the campaign for the defense of the victims of European empires. The American case was made synonymous on occasion with the racial violence of empire, in sharp contrast to the depiction of American blacks as entertainers and musicians, or even as cotton pickers. Meerut conspiracy trial propaganda linked Scottsboro and China with India in a "common struggle for colonial liberation" and referred to the pogroms in czarist Russia (against which the Bolsheviks had stood) as "the Russian counterpart of lynching bees."¹⁰⁷ In Germany, Josef Bilé sketched a lurid catalog of abuses and atrocities in Cameroon, his homeland, to introduce his argument that the oppression of American Negroes was a reflex of the global white backlash against rising Negro consciousness. Germany's loss of its African possessions under the Versailles Treaty had reduced the German public's receptiveness to anticolonialist discourses, while encouraging the foregrounding of contradictory visions of the United States. The European public was fascinated with its unique fusion of democratic and imperialist power. Louis Engdahl made this connection: "It is particularly fitting that a Negro Mother should have been the first to be invited by the German International Red Aid, raising sharply the actual picture of class oppression and mass misery in the US against the usually accepted and rainbow-hued glories of the land of prosperity and democracy."¹⁰⁸ In Britain, pride in imperial achievement could be checked by concerns of empire reformers who did not wish to be compared with the gratuitous and violent American apologists for lynching. The combination of glamour and horror that America represented gave a *frisson* to Scottsboro rhetoric and imagery. In "Niggers on a Train," published in the *City and East London Observer*, radical novelist Louis Golding wrote of the two white girls "who certainly had no nodding acquaintance with Caesar's wife . . . [C]an you wonder—should not every American citizen choke over his national anthem?"¹⁰⁹ These reproaches challenged the popular view of America as a land of prosperity and optimism, underscoring instead backwardness and hypocrisy as the all-American roots of Scottsboro. The vision of the United States as the vanguard of a menacing new world order—dollar imperialism—was particularly resonant in

¹⁰⁶ See "Commemoration of Negro Emancipation, 1834," for the midnight service of July 12, 1934, held at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate: "All Coloured People, British Citizens, are cordially invited." Rhodes House Library, Brit. Emp. MSS S25 K13/1.

¹⁰⁷ RGASPI 539/3/1096: 140. See also, for example, *Moord: Redt de jonge negers van Scottsboro* (Amsterdam, 1932); "Justice pour les huites nègres innocents de Scottsborough!" *Le populaire*, June 23, 1932. India overshadowed all other imperial issues addressed by the CPGB.

¹⁰⁸ Josef Bilé was a protégé of Münzenberg and a frequent speaker for the LAI; see Abteilung I, A.D. II2, Berlin, 21.1.1932, GehStA 219/19: 45–48; RGASPI 534/3/754: 179b, 186; Katharina Oguntsoye, *Eine afro-deutsche Geschichte: Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950* (Berlin, 1997), 67, 98–99.

¹⁰⁹ (July 9, 1932): 3, a syndicated piece. Golding was a fellow traveler of the CPGB.

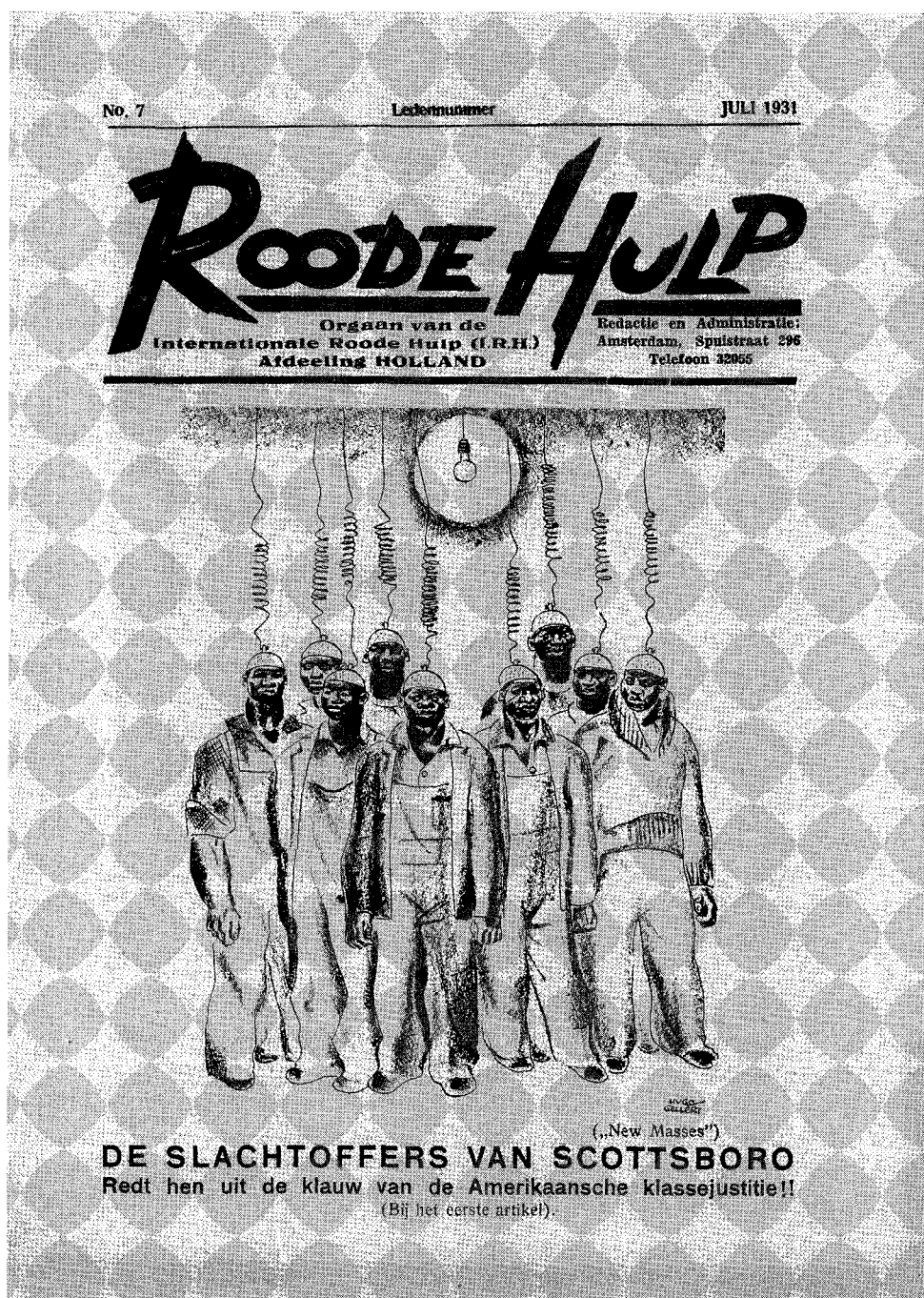
Germany. Activists regarded the rhetorical claim that Germany under Versailles was itself a colony among colonies as a spurious excuse for avoiding serious anticolonial work. But the notion clearly had some appeal at a time when the KPD had climbed onto the anti-Versailles bandwagon.¹¹⁰

THE SCOTTSBORO CAMPAIGN relied heavily on a project of imagining and re-imagining blacks, both as Americans and as members of an internationally victimized, racially defined people. But it also involved the self-conscious mobilization of black people on a significantly new scale. Both black icons and black agency were present. As the campaign unfolded in the international arena, it did so within a rhetorical framework that ran the gamut from the Victorian melodramatic conventions of the antislavery movement to the Hollywood “darkie” movies to the “advanced” flourishes of Comintern circles. There was a tension in the campaign between the portrayal of the black masses, including the Scottsboro Boys, and the pointed presence of leading non-white Communists. Keeping the case before the European public meant making a variety of black people visible. The Communist press continuously ran images of the defendants, of Ada Wright, and of anonymous black agents and victims. Roy Wright’s face appeared on Red Aid fund-raising stamps, alongside “victims of the antifascist struggle” in Germany and abroad, while Ada Wright appeared on German and Czech postcards.¹¹¹ Scottsboro personalities were represented by surrogates, nearly all of whom were black, or by blackface performers. In Copenhagen and Vienna, Scottsboro demonstrations featured floats bearing young men in blackface who represented the defendants.¹¹² One of the star

¹¹⁰ See, for example, *8 Negerkinder auf den elektrischen Stuhl*, esp. p. 6, which makes pointed use of jazz imagery. For LAI attitudes to the notion of Germany as a colony, see RGASPI 542/1/49: 150, 202; 534/3/546. On the KPD and reparations in the “Third Period,” see “Resolution des ZK der KPD zum Kampf gegen den Young Plan,” October 1929, rpt. in *Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, vol. 8 (East Berlin, 1975), 902–10. On German post-World War I Americanism and anti-Americanism, see, for example, Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1985); Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994); Alf Lüdtke, Inge MarBolek, and Adelheid von Saldern, eds., *Amerikanisierung: Traum und Alptraum im Deutschland des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, 1996). See also Lawson, “Scottsboro Martyr,” 4: “As they stood there and gave their message, the curtain of ignorance and illusions concerning America was rent asunder and millions of European workers saw the Black Belt! They saw that Uncle Sam was a twentieth-century slave-driver—a modern Simon Legree.”

¹¹¹ See “Sondernummer Leben und Kampf der schwarzen Rasse,” in *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* 26 (1931); *Die Rote Fahne*, August 25, 1932; RGASPI 539/5/835. See the covers of *Moord: Redt de jonge negers van Scottsboro, Strijdt met de Roode Hulp voor de Negers van Scottsboro*. The International suggested to the American ILD “the creation of postcards incorporating gramophone records with the demands of Negro workers, possibly of relatives of the young Negro workers and prominent personalities in the Scottsboro and Harlan cases.” RGASPI 539/3/1094: 5.

¹¹² See *Protokoll des 1. Weltkongresses der Internationalen Roten Hilfe*, 191; *New York Times*, May 27, 1932. On the Continent, black men often spoke for Ada Wright, but never in terms or from a position that could claim the moral authority of a struggling parent; occasionally, they presented their accounts of colonial atrocities in childhood memories. See, for example, notices of meetings in Paris (*Le populaire*) and Chemnitz (*Der Kämpfer*, August 20 and 25, 1931). At the Anti-War Congress in Amsterdam, a “Dutch colonial worker” told the story of Scottsboro, although Wright was on the platform (“Über die Scottsboro-Kampagne”). In Britain, these practices pertained, but non-white CPGB members and supporters did speak, including Saklatvala, Padmore, and Ward. Ward also stated that he could not convince blacks to speak on the platforms for Scottsboro. See RGASPI 534/7/50:



Cover of *Roode Hulp* (Red Aid), the Amsterdam journal of Dutch Red Aid, no. 7, July 1931. The caption reads, "THE SCOTTSBORO VICTIMS / Save them from the clutches of American class justice!!" Courtesy of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

138–41. He accused Lovell of keeping black supporters in the background when money-raising was the goal of an event; RGASPI 534/7/50: 93, 93b.

turns of the extraordinary Red Aid Pioneers of Wiesbaden-Biebrich was a show that included a drama in two acts entitled "Eight Negro Children to the Electric Chair": "the audience went wild; if they couldn't help laughing at the blacked-up Pioneers in American prison uniforms when the show started, they soon grasped what the story was about, and many a sympathetic tear rolled down their pale cheeks. And the adoption of a resolution to the President of America and a letter to the eight Negro children proved to us that it had been understood."¹¹³ When Ada Wright arrived in Berlin, the Nazi paper *Der Angriff* attacked her tour as a "coup de théâtre."¹¹⁴

What did black participants themselves think of all of this? Not only whites addressed colonial or racial issues. Yet the force of black agency is too easily dismissed as impossible or weak in the face of the racism of the era. Comintern files reveal what common sense suggests was another world: black life in the 1930s, with its conflicts, gossip, its own racial stereotypes, egos, power plays, sexual innuendo, and its humanity. Predictably, Ada Wright's visit was a focus of black observation and speculation as well as of active participation. In 1932, Padmore and the West Indian London organizer Arnold Ward corresponded. Ward wrote that the Negro Welfare Association had "appointed a delegation to go to the 'Indian Workers'" asking, "what are they doing for the nine boys?"¹¹⁵ From Hamburg, Padmore was struggling to get Scottsboro literature into Africa; he also visited London, speaking in Poplar shortly before Wright's visit.¹¹⁶ Yet Ward bemoaned the fact that only five blacks showed up at the 50,000-strong May Day demonstration, London's largest to date.¹¹⁷ "For the last week the press here is giving plenty of publicity to Nancy Cunard and the Negroes here are like a lot of lost dogs hoping that this rich white woman will deliver them out of 'Bondage,' a useless God forsaken bunch of fools, instead of coming in with us and help to raise some funds to help the woman in her endeavor in pushing the case to the state Supreme Court."¹¹⁸ Padmore rejoined, "I am sending you a Negro newspaper with news about Nancy. Also a clipping from the *New York Times* . . . [and Padmore says of Cunard], What's wrong with her? She certainly makes herself cheap with all this newspaper notoriety."¹¹⁹ Ward wrote: "The mother of one of the boys is coming over here . . . so they are all trying to make a good showing when she comes to say what they have done for her son. By the by, have you seen her, and what about your conference and was it a success—how is the fight in America? Nancy wrote that Ford is going South raisin hell with the crackers the fight I like to be in . . . don't bother about Nancy. She is rich and don't know what to do with herself."¹²⁰ When Ada Wright arrived, the NWA was not invited to meet her. Ward admonished that there were bad effects for

¹¹³ Modotti, "Die deutschen Kindergruppen und Scottsboro," *MOPR* VIII, 1 (January 1933): 21–22.

¹¹⁴ "Politik im Flüsterton / ein sensationeller Theatercoup / Unfug um eine Negermutter," *Der Angriff* (May 1932).

¹¹⁵ RGASPI 534/3/754: 200.

¹¹⁶ On African distribution, and the bans imposed, see RGASPI 534/3/754: 27–29, 171, 186, 197, 200; 534/3/755: 2–3, 53, 68–69, 110, 200. James Maxton, ILP, took the case of bans in Trinidad to the floor of the House of Commons in 1932 but failed to overturn the ban (RGASPI 534/3/755: 100–100b, 169–169b). Maxton and Padmore became close allies in the mid-late 1930s. On Padmore in London, see RGASPI 534/3/754: 9, 9b, 30.

¹¹⁷ RGASPI 534/3/756: 28.

¹¹⁸ RGASPI 534/3/755: 73.

¹¹⁹ RGASPI 534/3/755: 89.

¹²⁰ RGASPI 534/3/755: 101.

the NWA with "coloured" workers. White activists dictated to blacks, using them when they wanted them, discarding them when they did not.¹²¹ But the Wright visit still inspired. As Ward relayed it to Padmore: "Since Mrs. Wright been here the International Solidarity has taken on a deeper and greater hold on the workers. Here more than I have ever seen before and I think it is for the best. Boy we are moving. Cheerio." In a second account to Padmore: "the Scotsboro [sic] campaign was a big success overflowing meetings everywhere, Bob Lovell the Swine He work Mrs Wright like a Slave but this woman is a Good woman and will do anything for the party cause and Her two Children comes next. I really think that the party should take her in hand and train her because she is a gallant Fighter."¹²²

There were let-downs for Ward:

all through the . . . campaign not one Negro Toiler was sold and hundreds ought to be sold [referring to Padmore's book, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*]. Look here Padmore, you have to face the Situation as it is these people don't like us and they only use us for a tool . . . but as long as we always have to be running to them cap in hand like a little lap dog, there [sic] will treat us like one . . . the Scotsboro Campaign was great—Bob Lovel [sic] worked Mrs. Wright like a Slave but poor woman She is Good and the white comrades the Women did all they could for Her. She had a better send off from Here than the Royal family.¹²³

By August, Ward had softened on Cunard: "I like [Nancy]—she is a fighter . . . [Y]ou will soon experience how it is impossible to work with Negroes over here you think London is New York. So you would soon find out."¹²⁴

Such tensions did not abate. Saklatvala complained in 1934 that he had wanted a prominent Indian lawyer brought in to help with the Reichstag Fire trial campaign, another Communist mobilization. He had suggested the lawyer's name and offered advice about how to prepare him for participation in the campaign:

However nothing happened and purely European Communism was got up and it has become the object of derision among certain colonial circles. The Indians and Africans naturally feel that the example of such an additional popular trial might be used as a wholesome check against British imperialist trials in their own countries, but they are kept out of contact with such international activities. These small things have a big effect and in India among a certain section of Indian youth internationalism has come to be disbelieved in, and Italian and German fascism are taken as good examples of intense nationalism.¹²⁵

Of his own doubts, Saklatvala wrote that he had wondered if it was an overtly nationalistic tendency in himself, reflecting on England as compared to his last tour of the Soviet Union:

¹²¹ See RGASPI 534/3/755: 148–148b, "Ford to Padmore."

¹²² RGASPI 534/3/756: 6–7.

¹²³ RGASPI 534/3/756: 29; George Padmore, *The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers* (London, 1931).

¹²⁴ RGASPI 534/3/756: 58.

¹²⁵ RGASPI 495/100/938: 208. On the Reichstag Fire campaign, see *The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror and the Burning of the Reichstag* (London, 1933); *The Reichstag Fire Trial: The Second Brown Book of the Hitler Terror* (London, 1934); Simone Walther, "Dokumente der internationalen Solidaritätsbewegung zum Reichstagsbrandprozess," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 30 (1988). Koch, *Double Lives*, 45–74. Anson Rabinbach (Princeton University) is currently engaged on a study of the Reichstag fire case. In 1934, the mothers of both Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Torgler, the defendants in the case, were asked to ally themselves with the Scottsboro Mothers campaign and the Mooney case.

I had heard free adverse comments about Negroes and Indians [in England], but on the whole I have always felt that it was want of due ability and right conception on their part that was responsible. After traveling international and autonomous regions [in the USSR], I find that the party policy in Great Britain ought to have been different, and the resentment of the colonials, though exaggerated and unnecessarily hostile, is one that is natural and has to be foreseen by good Communists.¹²⁶

In the United States, a party leader had to take his comrades to task for not treating the Scottsboro mothers correctly in their homes:

Mrs. Powell . . . was placed with the rankest sort of white chauvinist who put her to work washing dishes, scrubbing floors, washing dyties, etc . . . If our enemies had found out that we handled the mothers like we did, what would have been the result? Take it another way. If we knew these mothers were handled like this by the NAACP, would we not jump at their throats in meetings, conferences, etc? . . . [W]e have a special question and we cannot treat this question like we treat the ordinary question and like we treat the white workers.¹²⁷

THE GERMAN "BOURGEOIS" PRESS continued to report on Scottsboro during 1933, but the Nazi takeover led to a rapid elimination of the conditions for public debate and the brutal interruption of the work of the people and organizations that had sustained the campaign in Europe. Some of the imagery of Scottsboro and of lynching persisted, now appropriated by the Hitler regime as a retort to American protests about Nazi anti-Semitism.¹²⁸ Despite large Scottsboro protests that included the West African Students Union and the League of Coloured Peoples, the British ILD collapsed in 1934, never to be reconstituted in the form in which it existed at the time of Ada Wright's tour. The Labour Party continued its surveillance of its leftist members and its prohibition of Communist front groups from Labour Party affiliation.¹²⁹ But the collapse of German democracy and the crises that followed it introduced a new point of reference for the campaign in the form of the fight against fascism. For some, sympathies for the Scottsboro defendants and the anti-lynching movement would become wedded to the campaign against the Italian invasion of Abyssinia and responses to it, in both the British and U.S. contexts, as an attack on an African nation. Padmore would respond as an independent; his time with the Comintern had been short-lived. His expulsion from the Communist movement in 1933 occurred in tandem with the moves to abandon anti-imperial work orchestrated by the Comintern Seventh Congress, and was accompanied by Comintern charges leveled against him for African nationalist

¹²⁶ RGASPI 495/100/938: 208.

¹²⁷ RGASPI 515/1/2222: 15.

¹²⁸ See, for example, *Weser-Zeitung* (Bremen), April 8, 1933; *Berliner Tageblatt*, April 11, 1933. For the Nazi use of imagery after 1933, see clippings from *Der Schwarze Korps* (1935) and *Neues Volk* (1939), NAACP Papers, Anti-Lynching Series, Part 7A, Reel 21, Frames 411–15 and 436–42.

¹²⁹ See RGASPI 495/100/911; 495/100/658; 539/3/309: 42. On CPGB attitudes toward WASU, see RGASPI 495/100/985. On the League of Coloured Peoples, a respectable, liberal black organization headquartered in London and led by Harold Moody, see Fryer, *Staying Power*, 326–34, 357–58, and Moody to White, November 4, 1931, and December 12, 1931, NAACP Papers, Scottsboro Series, Microfilm Part 6. On Labour Party proscriptions, see William Gillies, *The Communist Solar System*, NMLH ID/CI/8/44.

deviations; he believed that the USSR was seeking bourgeois allies and that his earlier writings on Liberia had given the Soviets a ready pretext to expel him at a point when his work had become too costly politically.¹³⁰

In Britain, the German refugee crisis began to supplant many other causes and to harness the energies of a wide spectrum of British activists, some of whom would also lend their names and voices to the support of the Spanish Republic. Many Scottsboro signatories were among the first to sign petitions for German refugees in 1933, including Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Winifred Holtby, Vera Brittain, and H. G. Wells. The Anglo-American National Committee to Aid Victims of German Fascism included Saklatvala, Havelock Ellis, Sylvia Pankhurst, Franz Boas, Langston Hughes, Louis Lozowick, Lincoln Steffens, and its chairman, Adam Clayton Powell—a classic interracial, “popular front” committee.¹³¹ Manifestos on China and Abyssinian refugee petitions circulated; committees of many of the same members formed and were continually reconstituted. But as the horrors of fascism transmogrified into the threat of war, the problems of white Europeans abruptly became more urgent and their interpretation more controversial. Both the international Left and America’s black communities experienced sharp divisions over the attitude to be taken toward German fascism and the impending imperialist (or was it to be anti-fascist?) conflict. Albert Einstein and others would withdraw from political activity. The *Manchester Guardian* was not alone in suggesting that the Communist Scottsboro defense had perhaps prolonged the defendants’ jail terms rather than abated them.¹³² This charge referred not simply to the involvement of the CPUSA but of the Communist International, whose greatest popular Scottsboro symbol had been Mother Wright.

As the end of the decade approached, the Scottsboro campaign shuffled along awkwardly beside these other mobilizations, sometimes as an integral issue, sometimes not. As an inspiration, the plight of the young black men had its moments; as a millstone of bureaucratic and organizational snafus, as a seemingly endless web of legal moves carried out by a large and changing cast of lawyers, Scottsboro floated in and out of public view. Ada Wright’s European tour is now a faded memory, a historical footnote, but at the time it portrayed in broad outline the possibilities and pitfalls, the contradictions and the ironies of interracial alliances, nationally and internationally, during the 1930s. Her visit informed her and those she knew of the presence of solidarities that they could not have

¹³⁰ On the campaigns around Abyssinia/Ethiopia, see, for example, RGASPI 495/100/985; 495/100/1069; 495/30/1034: 50–51; and Naison, *Communists in Harlem*, 155–58, 174–76, 195–96, 262. In 1932, Padmore wrote about the need to begin to decentralize the LAL, mentioning comrades who were ready to go to Liberia and Haiti; RGASPI 542/1/54: 80. This plan may have been at variance with Comintern objectives. Padmore’s departure from the Communist movement is a subject of protracted debate among historians and activists. See Hooker, *Black Revolutionary*, 31–36; Howe, *Anti-Colonialism in British Politics*, 209–10.

¹³¹ On the Relief Committee of Victims of Fascism, see RGASPI 495/100/911. On the CPUSA’s 1935 United Anti-Nazi Conference, the Thälmann campaign, and the aid to concentration camp victims campaign, see, for example, RGASPI 515/1/3754: 48–51, 114–16, 200–07; 515/1/3939: 1–6. On the Popular Front, see, for example, McDermott and Agnew, *The Comintern*, 120–57; Helen Graham and Paul Preston, eds., *The Popular Front in Europe* (Basingstoke, 1987); David Blaazer, *The Popular Front and the Progressive Tradition* (Cambridge, 1992), 147–92; Morgan, *Against Facism and War*, 33–302, esp. 51–52; and Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996).

¹³² *Manchester Guardian*, August 22, 1932.

previously imagined; she electrified Europeans, whose images of black American life now encompassed more than those offered by Paul Robeson or Josephine Baker or the forlorn victims of horrible, unstoppable lynchings. The case provided a concrete way for ordinary Europeans to act against racial injustice without dismantling empires or promoting revolution. In the time that elapsed between the first moments of news flashing out of northern Alabama to the first guns fired in the Allied war effort, Scottsboro captured and redefined for many, however imperfectly, what it meant to be broadly anti-racist, and reconfigured the meaning of being an international humanitarian; it altered the image of America abroad in the era of isolationism, in turn lending credibility to elements of an interracial European Left. The case and the campaign around it served as the occasion for the testing of many racial understandings; these in turn marked the racial landscape of the 1950s and 1960s in the Euro-American world of the Marshall Plan, McCarthyism, and the Civil Rights movement, in which survivors of the Scottsboro campaign and of wartime death and repression would, in many instances, participate.¹³³ Their story poses a profound challenge to nationally limited interpretations that ignore the global antecedents of more contemporary events, and it is a far more significant story than touristic histories of Americans abroad. In sheer legal terms, the case set one of several precedents in the American courts for the notion of the unconstitutionality of all-white juries trying black defendants. We cannot know the precise impact of the international protests on the legal outcomes, but the Justice Department monitored U.S. embassy reports about the European and global campaign, and Franklin D. Roosevelt ultimately attempted to intervene, in part based on a Justice Department report done expressly for him.¹³⁴

The presence of family members clearly altered public perceptions of the campaign as strictly and simply involving Communists. Ada Wright presented herself, and was presented. She was watched, and she spoke. She read others' words and her own. She had to use her own imagination in order to navigate the interwoven languages of Communism and of antislavery, assorted "black vernaculars" and terse Comintern slogans and signifiers. She was a member of a Primitive Baptist congregation in Chattanooga for most of her life, a devout and fervent sect on the extremes of the Baptist movement whose members exercised both discipline and physical rituals of religiosity and redemption. Privately, she had to render her fierce religious beliefs compatible with the kind of internationalist politics for which she had first been trained in Birmingham and New York City, and with which her many tours afforded such graphic encounters. She had to be shrewd. A white man

¹³³ See, for example, the list of the members of the October 9, 1935, Scottsboro Joint Committee that met in Benjamin Kaplan's offices in New York, including Robert Minor, Walter White, and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. Wilkins later became a leader of the modern Civil Rights movement (RGASPI 515/1/3933: 17).

¹³⁴ See Goodman, *Stories*, 252; William G. Ross, "The Constitutional Significance of the Scottsboro Case," *Cumberland Law Review* 28 (1997); Gerald B. Horne, *Powell versus Alabama: The Scottsboro Boys and American Justice* (New York, 1997). See, for example, "Report initialled FAK," on the "Meeting held at the Aubette, Strasbourg, called by the International Red Aid on August 19, 1932," in which Ada Wright is described as speaking in English with a translator to a crowd of 250 mostly workmen. Engdahl's speech in German is described at some length. U.S. National Archives, Dept. of Justice Central Files, No. 158260, Sub. 46. On Roosevelt's attempt to intervene, see Carter, *Scottsboro*, 392, 392 n. 55, 394, 397 n. 67.

who knew her in Tennessee commented, "Ada didn't know a communist from an elephant."¹³⁵ But African Americans who knew her say that she reported to them, "there are people she met over there, white people, who treated her better than some of her own kind ever had at home." And there are her letters posted from Chattanooga, asking after "the comrades" and sending greetings, penned in a literate, rather delicate hand. These letters ask for food, money, a winter coat, and children's shoes, and were written through the late 1930s, and all through the war years, when she sought practical assistance, so well-deserved, from the white Communist Party ladies up in New York City.¹³⁶ The words of her black ally Londoner Arnold Ward have yet another ring when he describes her as a woman of courage and advises Padmore that the party ought to "train her."¹³⁷

When we reinvestigate what it meant to be a Communist, or a fellow traveler in the 1930s, when we seek to develop an analysis that flows from "a sensitivity to racial understandings"—we now see Ada Wright walking proud on Fleet Street. Must we not admit her to the canon of "anti-racist struggle," of "internationalism" and "humanitarianism"? The record of her visit, briefly presented here, engages and unsettles the national histories of the countries that she crossed and the people that she met, and widens the terrain of "African-American experience" so that this experience confronts and resounds anew in the orthodox histories of European political culture. Wright's sojourn in the Scottsboro campaign exemplified "motherhood," even as it refused the silent constraint of the category. Her presence defied European racial and, indeed, Communist convention, even as it assuaged racial guilt. It posed a redefinition of the African-American presence even as it deployed a more comfortable, preexisting imagery. It set an indelible marker in the face of fascism's triumph, even though Ada Wright never again crossed the great Atlantic waters or ventured so far from Tennessee.¹³⁸ Without her and without the involvement of other family members, the campaign could not have forged the sympathies that it did; with her, Communists and other supporters could not behave or speak as the sole, authentic advocates of the defendants. Ada Wright enhanced the languages of the campaign and transformed its spirit. If her journey did not in

¹³⁵ Interview material in the possession of Susan Pennybacker. When Wright was interviewed at a London press conference chaired by Reginald Bridgeman, a *Daily Herald* journalist asked if she "had ever spoken before," meaning, before her tour. She replied, "No, not even in church. I does the best I can." "Scottsboro Lads' Mother Interviewed," *Weekly Worker* (July 9, 1932): 7.

¹³⁶ Interview material in the possession of Susan Pennybacker; "Wright Family Correspondence," ILD Papers, Schomburg Center, Reel 6, Box 5, 0303.

¹³⁷ See note 122, above.

¹³⁸ In 1933, Ward wrote wistfully to William Patterson of the CPUSA: "I don't get the *Liberator* no more and I am isolated over here. The ILD here seems to drop the Scottsboro campaign and they are all such a stir in the colonies at the moment and we can't get a single thing going . . . so comrade where do I come in comrade write us a line and cheer us up. Let's know about Scottsboro and also Ada Wright." RGASPI 534/3/895: 122. See also the notice: "United Aid for Peoples of African Descent, Inc., Present Mrs. Ada Wright, Mother of Scottsboro Boys, Andy and Roy Wright. Monday evening, September 20, 1937. St. James Presbyterian Church. Richard B. Moore, Boston Scottsboro Defense Committee, Rev. Wm. Lloyd Imes, Chairman. Be Sure to Hear of the Chain-Gang 'Sufferings' of the Scottsboro Boys. Organization Meets Every Monday Night." Moore Papers, 6 (14), 6/1, September 20, 1937.

and of itself "save her boys," her talk and her presence altered racial understandings, even as the next global conflict drew near.

James A. Miller is a professor of English and American Studies and director of Africana Studies at George Washington University. His publications include *Harlem: The Vision of Morgan and Marvin Smith* (1998), *Approaches to Teaching Wright's "Native Son"* (editor, 1997), and numerous articles and reviews on African-American literature and culture. A literary historian with a longstanding interest in the relationship between American writers and social and political movements, Miller wrote his dissertation on Richard Wright. This article is an outgrowth of his research on African-American cultural politics during the 1930s. His current project, *Moments of Scottsboro*, examines the impact of the Scottsboro case on American culture.

Susan D. Pennybacker is an associate professor of history at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, where she has taught European history since 1983. She also serves as the director of the college's Hartford Studies Project. Pennybacker is the author of *A Vision for London: 1889-1914* (1995) and received her PhD from the University of Cambridge in 1984, where she studied with Gareth Stedman Jones. Her work on racial politics in the transatlantic world of the 1930s focuses on Britain and will be published as *From Scottsboro to Munich: Racial Politics in Britain* (Princeton University Press). Her paternal grandfather was a leader of juvenile court reform in Chattanooga.

Eve Rosenhaft is a Reader in the Department of German at the University of Liverpool, where she teaches German and European social and cultural history. She has done research in the history of labor and the Communist movement, women's and gender history, and the German experience of ethnic and racial difference, on all of which she has published widely. Rosenhaft is currently engaged in book projects on the Nazi persecution of Sinti and Roma ("Gypsies") and the origins of life insurance as gendered cultural practice in eighteenth-century Germany. The Scottsboro project represents the intersection of her longstanding research interests with memories of growing up as a pink-diaper baby in New York City in the 1950s and 1960s.

“A New World for Women”? Abortion Law Reform in Britain during the 1930s

STEPHEN BROOKE

“ABORTION MUST BE THE KEY TO a new world for women,” wrote the British feminist Stella Browne in 1935. Browne believed that the public emancipation of women in such areas as politics and the economy demanded and was dependent on their emancipation in the private sphere of sexual and reproductive practice: “freedom of choice and deliberate intention are necessary for [women] in their sexual relations and their maternity, if they are to make anything of their status and opportunities.” Toward this end, she advocated abortion as an “absolute right” spanning public and private realms.¹

Browne evoked modern visions of femininity through abortion and emphasized the issue’s liminality between public and private. These are themes also reflected in recent historical studies of abortion in North America and Europe. In work on post-1960 abortion in the United States, for example, Celeste Michelle Condit notes the intersection between changing discursive understandings of abortion and those of femininity, “a negotiated transformation of women’s own private discourses” in public and private spheres, a view also adopted by Jane Jenson in her examination of abortion in France.² Other studies of abortion have emphasized its role in problematizing the private female body in the context of the public sphere after World War I.³ This is particularly true of work on the controversies surrounding Article 218 in interwar Germany and the 1920 *loi scélérate* in France, as Cornelia Osborne, Atina Grossmann, and Mary Louise Roberts have shown.⁴

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¹ Stella Browne, “The Right to Abortion,” in F. W. Stella Browne, A. M. Ludovici, and Harry Roberts, *Abortion* (London, 1935), 29, 31, 45.

² Celeste Michelle Condit, *Decoding Abortion Rhetoric* (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 14–15; Jane Jenson, “Changing Discourse, Changing Agendas: Political Rights and Reproductive Policies in France,” in Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol McClung Mueller, eds., *The Women’s Movements of the United States and Western Europe* (Philadelphia, 1987), 64–88.

³ See, for example, Kathleen Canning, “Historicizing the Linguistic Turn,” *Signs* 19 (1994): 396.

⁴ See Cornelia Osborne, *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women’s Reproductive Rights and Duties* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992); Atina Grossmann, “Abortion and Economic Crisis: The 1931 Campaign against Paragraph 218,” in Renate Bridenthal, Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds., *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany* (New York, 1984), 66–87; Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control and Abortion Reform, 1920–1950* (New York, 1995); Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics*

Abortion has also been used as a means of understanding the relationship between public and private spheres in twentieth-century political culture. Leslie Reagan's history of abortion law reform in the United States illustrates how the "private invaded the public" in a dynamic of "ambiguity and interaction," while Donna Harsch's examination of the question in Communist East Germany reflects on the engagement between the private behavior of the individual and the demands of the state in a socialist society.⁵

The history of abortion law reform in Britain similarly offers a valuable site for considering the place of femininity in the public sphere during the twentieth century. The 1861 Offences Against the Person Act made it illegal to procure an abortion under any circumstances. The Infant Life (Preservation) Act of 1929 modified this somewhat, allowing medically administered abortion "for the purpose only of preserving the life of the mother."⁶ But the definition of "life" excluded social, economic, or psychological considerations. With the exception of insanity, only physiological conditions justified legal abortion. The successful parliamentary and extraparliamentary campaign for the 1967 Abortion Act opened up access to legal and safe abortion on a variety of grounds and established freedom of choice as a cornerstone of "second wave" feminism.⁷

While the debate on abortion is largely associated with the 1960s, the issue had also elicited wide discussion thirty years before. In 1937, an official report on maternal mortality noted that the practice of abortion was "common" and a significant contributing cause of puerperal mortality.⁸ The 1930s saw the formation of a feminist pressure group dedicated to the legalization of abortion (the Abortion Law Reform Association, hereafter ALRA), the establishment of an official enquiry into the question in 1937, and, in 1938, the well-publicized trial of a prominent gynecologist for performing an illegal abortion. This interest in abortion did not, however, extend into the political sphere. Unlike in Germany in the same period, abortion was never the focus of a popular campaign by parties of the British Left.⁹ Indeed, until decriminalization in 1967 (passed under a Labour government, but by means of a private member's bill sponsored by a Liberal), abortion was a divisive issue within the British Labour Party.¹⁰

(New York, 1987). For France, see Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994), chap. 4.

⁵ Leslie J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867–1973* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 2–3; Donna Harsch, "Society, the State, and Abortion in East Germany, 1950–72," *AHR* 102 (February 1997): 53–84. For the United States, see also Kristin Luker, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* (Berkeley, 1984).

⁶ The Infant Life (Preservation) Act (19 and 20 George 5, c. 34), Section 1, Sub-section 1.

⁷ On the campaign for the 1967 Act, see Barbara Brookes, *Abortion in England 1900–1967* (London, 1988); Keith Hindell and Madeleine Simms, *Abortion Law Reformed* (London, 1971); Joni Lovenduski, "Parliament, Pressure Groups, Networks and the Women's Movement: The Politics of Abortion Law Reform in Britain 1967–83," in Lovenduski and Joyce Outshoorn, eds., *The New Politics of Abortion* (London, 1986), 231–56; Madeleine Simms, "Abortion: The Myth of the Golden Age," in Bridget Hutter and Gillian Williams, eds., *Controlling Women: The Normal and the Deviant* (London, 1981), 165–86.

⁸ *Report of an Investigation into Maternal Mortality* (London, 1937), Cmd. 5422, 197, 208.

⁹ On Germany, see Usborne, *Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany*; and Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*.

¹⁰ See Pamela Graves, *Labour Women: Women in British Working-Class Politics, 1918–1939* (Cambridge, 1994); Harold Smith, "Sex vs. Class: British Feminists and the Labour Movement,

The present article uses abortion law reform in Britain during the 1930s to explore changing ideas of femininity in the early twentieth century and the relationship of motherhood and female sexuality to distinctions of public and private. These themes will be examined primarily through the work of the official Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion between 1937 and 1939, discussing, in particular, the testimony and evidence presented to this committee by middle-class and working-class abortion reformers. Two arguments run through this analysis: that the discussion of motherhood and female sexuality in the abortion debate demonstrated the instability of the distinction between public and private, and that abortion reformers offered a radical, even subversive, vision of femininity and women's rights through arguments that drew on maternalism. We must first discuss the broader context of abortion in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain as it touched on three areas: the relationship between gender and ideas of public and private, the role of motherhood as a social category of femininity, and the place of class in these considerations.

WITH THE 1861 OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON ACT, public law became more clearly involved in the private sexual and reproductive practice of women, occluding the distinction between public and private promoted by the separate spheres ideology. It has become a truism that this distinction was always powerful but illusory: whether as social or economic beings, women never really absented themselves from the public sphere; within the private sphere, women and femininity were the subject of often unrelenting public scrutiny; and, lastly, notions of the private determined and shaped categories of the public and vice versa.¹¹

The criminalization of abortion in the late nineteenth century also coincided with growing interest in motherhood as a public issue. Between the 1870s and the end of World War I, concerns about national strength increasingly brought motherhood

1919–29," *Historian* 47 (1984): 19–37; Pat Thane, "The Women of the British Labour Party and Feminism, 1906–45," in Harold Smith, ed., *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century* (Amherst, Mass., 1990), 124–43; Amy Black and Stephen Brooke, "The Labour Party, Women and the Problem of Gender, 1951–66," *Journal of British Studies* 36 (1997): 447–49.

¹¹ For a general discussion of this, see Leonore Davidoff, "Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales': Public and Private in Feminist History," in Joan B. Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (Oxford, 1998), 164–94. For historical treatments, see Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (London, 1985); Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes* (Chicago, 1988); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Development: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988); Philippa Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment* (Oxford, 1990); Poovey, "Domesticity and Class Formation: Chadwick's 1842 Sanitary Report," in David Simpson, ed., *Subject to History: Ideology, Class, Gender* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 65–83; Carol Smart, "Disruptive Bodies and Unruly Sex: The Regulation of Reproduction and Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," in Carol Smart, ed., *Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality* (London, 1992), 7–32; Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class* (Cambridge, 1992); Sonya Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Philippa Levine, "Consistent Contradictions: Prostitution and Protective Labour Legislation in Nineteenth-Century England," *Social History* 16 (1994): 17–35; Sonya Rose, "Protective Labor Legislation in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Gender, Class, and the Liberal State," in Laura L. Frader and Rose, eds., *Gender and Class in Modern Europe* (Ithaca, 1996), 193–210; Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (London, 1995).

within the ambit of state and voluntary social reform.¹² The recurring figure in this landscape was the working-class mother, who had to be both supported and disciplined for the good of the nation.¹³ As Seth Koven and Sonya Michel have suggested, this not only allowed state and voluntary agencies to shape ideas of the private, it established “women’s public relationships to politics and the state, to community, workplace, and marketplace.”¹⁴ Motherhood became a valid social category of femininity, a borderland between public and private spheres. Travelers through this territory mapped it in disparate ways. Feminists deserve particular attention. Susan Pedersen’s work has shown how some feminists saw the new emphasis given to motherhood as legitimating a “citizenship function” for women. According “mothers the economic and social recognition they deserved” would not only usher women into the public sphere as citizens but improve their position within the home (with reforms such as children’s allowances, for example).¹⁵ This was a double-edged sword: while such feminist maternalists cast women as citizens equal to men, the accent on their civic equality through the role of motherhood perpetuated the “division of the world’s work along sex lines.”¹⁶ As Carole Pateman has argued, the meaning of motherhood was often fixed or constructed as subordinate and dependent.¹⁷ However paradoxical, even dangerous, this feminist maternalism might be for promoting women’s rights, it was an important legacy for abortion reformers in the 1930s.

Concerns about working-class femininity transected discussions about abortion. Middle-class observers indeed often identified abortion as a specific problem of working-class women. To some degree, abortion was accepted within working-class communities. While all strata of society in Britain witnessed a general trend toward family limitation in the late nineteenth century, differences of income and access between classes left an uneven pattern of contraceptive practice. Compared to other forms of contraception, access to abortion was relatively easy within working-class communities. Despite its potential physical risk, it was seen by working-class women as an effective and economical means of family limitation.¹⁸

¹² See Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood,” *History Workshop Journal* 5 (1978): 9–66; Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, eds., *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of European Welfare States 1880s–1950s* (London, 1991); Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (London, 1993).

¹³ See Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900–39* (London, 1980), chaps. 2–3; Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870–1914* (New York, 1993), chap. 7; Caroline Rowan, “‘Mothers, Vote Labour!’ The State, the Labour Movement and Working-Class Mothers,” in Rosalind Brunt and Rowan, eds., *Feminism, Culture and Politics* (London, 1982), 59–84; Carol Dyhouse, “Working Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England, 1895–1914,” *Journal of Social History* 12 (1978): 121–42; Jane Lewis, “The Working Class Wife and Mother and State Intervention, 1870–1918,” in Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love: Women’s Experience of Home and Family 1850–1940* (Oxford, 1986), 99–122.

¹⁴ Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, “Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States, 1880–1920,” *AHR* 95 (October 1990): 1079.

¹⁵ Susan Pedersen, “Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War,” *AHR* 95 (October 1990): 1004; Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State in Britain and France, 1914–45* (Cambridge, 1993), 144.

¹⁶ Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State*, 145.

¹⁷ Carole Pateman, “Equality, Difference, and Subordination: The Politics of Motherhood,” in Gisela Bock and Susan James, eds., *Beyond Equality and Difference* (London, 1992), 17–31.

¹⁸ Patricia Knight, “Women and Abortion in Victorian and Edwardian England,” *History Workshop*

But given that firm statistics about abortion were either elusive or nonexistent, prejudice rather than empiricism also guided middle-class perceptions of working-class abortion, a disposition that had other biases about working-class women as its companion pieces. Doubts about working-class women's maternal (and thus patriotic) abilities were complemented, for example, by doubts about their sexual morality.¹⁹

Well before the 1930s, therefore, abortion helped bring sexual and reproductive behavior into the public sphere, shaded by considerations of femininity and class. In the interwar period, five factors complicated this process: a falling birth rate, the problem of maternal mortality and morbidity, the perception of sexual liberalization, the formalization of women's status as public actors, and high unemployment. A consistent theme was the nature of "modern" femininity, in particular, the character of motherhood.

In Britain, as in other European countries, the birth rate fell substantially throughout the century, from nearly thirty births per thousand in 1900 to just over ten by the 1940s.²⁰ Increased contraceptive practice accounted for this change. In 1949, the Royal Commission on Population maintained that "the spread of deliberate family limitation has certainly been the main cause, and very probably the only cause," of the falling birth rate.²¹ During the interwar period, this prompted concern from a wide spectrum of pronatalists, including eugenicists, imperialists, and supporters of family allowances.

Part of this disquiet arose from the problem of maternal mortality. Infant mortality had steadily declined through the first quarter of the twentieth century. But until the introduction of sulphonamide drugs in the late 1930s, maternal mortality remained at approximately five deaths in every thousand births, a figure that rose slightly between 1923 and 1936.²² These trends excited much concern from women's groups and the government. The Ministry of Health commissioned two enquiries into the problem in 1932 and 1937. The second report noted illegal and unsafe abortions as a significant cause of puerperal mortality. Even though the

Journal 4 (Autumn 1977): 56–69; Angus McLaren, *Birth Control in Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1978), 215–53. See also Barbara Brookes, "Women and Reproduction c. 1860–1919," in Lewis, *Labour and Love*, 149–74; Joanna Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain 1890–1960* (London, 1996), chap. 2; Elizabeth Roberts, *Women and Families: An Oral History, 1940–1970* (Oxford, 1995), chaps. 4–5; Melanie Tebbutt, *Women's Talk: A Social History of Gossip in Working-Class Neighbourhoods, 1880–1960* (Aldershot, 1995), 75, 88; Sally Alexander, "The Mysteries and Secrets of Women's Bodies: Sexual Knowledge in the First Half of the Century," in Mica Nava and Alan O'Shea, eds., *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity* (London, 1996), 161–76.

¹⁹ See, for example, Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992); Walkowitz, "Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 13 (1982): 77–93; Mariana Valverde, "The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse," *Victorian Studies* 32 (1988–89): 169–88; Deborah Thom, "Free from Chains? The Image of Women's Labour in London, 1900–20," in David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones, eds., *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations since 1800* (London, 1989), 85–99.

²⁰ See A. H. Halsey, *Trends in British Society since 1900* (London, 1972), 59; see also Richard Soloway, *Birth Control and the Population Question in England 1877–1930* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Wally Secombe, "Starting to Stop: Working-Class Fertility Decline in Britain," *Past and Present* 126 (1990): 151–88.

²¹ *Royal Commission on Population* (London, 1949), Cmd. 7695, 34.

²² See Lewis, *Politics of Motherhood*, chaps. 4–5.

statistics were understandably sketchy, the 1937 report suggested that the number of abortions had risen between 1926 and 1934; mortality as a result of unsafe abortion amounted to about 14 percent of all puerperal deaths. This finding led directly to the establishment in 1937 of an interdepartmental committee on abortion by the Home Office and the Ministry of Health.

The observations of the 1937 Maternal Mortality report were consciously placed in the context of shifts in femininity and changes in sexual mores. Its authors noted that women exhibited an "increased nervous tension" in the modern age, shown by their "fashion of 'slimming' and the habit of cigarette-smoking."²³ As for sexual morality, they drew a clear distinction between the pre-1914 period and the postwar era: "Since the Great War there has been a loosening of the conventions which formerly governed the relations between the sexes, an extended use of contraceptive measures and a reputed increase in the practice of abortion."²⁴ This apparent and lamented erosion of traditional values and sexual mores was a common cultural touchstone during the 1920s and 1930s. In T. S. Eliot's poem "The Wasteland" (1922), for example, a young promiscuous typist and a working-class woman—the latter prematurely aged by the abortifacient pills she took "to bring it off"—are particular and highly gendered symbols for a more general loss of meaning and order in postwar society.²⁵

Whether marked by the spread of family advice clinics or the success of Marie Stopes's *Married Love* (1918), there can be little doubt that the 1920s and 1930s were a period of moderate sexual liberalization.²⁶ Popular culture helped create a freer sexual climate, especially through the cult of glamour and romance in cinema and pictorial magazines, while the strains placed on private life by the exigencies of two world wars also forced a more open approach to sexuality.²⁷ But the extent of this change should not be exaggerated. Ross McKibbin has rightly noted that traditional mores and practices "gave way only slowly," and other recent scholarship has emphasized a continuing sexual conservatism and respectability, not least among working-class women.²⁸ Between the wars, there nonetheless remained much hand-wringing about the decline of sexual standards. Once again, perceptions about femininity and class imbued this anxiety. The new position of women after

²³ *Report of an Investigation into Maternal Mortality*, 117.

²⁴ *Report of an Investigation into Maternal Mortality*, 117, 118.

²⁵ T. S. Eliot, "The Wasteland" [1922], in *Collected Poems 1909–62* (London, 1964), 68; see Victor Li, "T. S. Eliot and the Language of Hysteria," *Dalhousie Review* 77 (1997): 323–34.

²⁶ See Lesley Hall and Roy Porter, *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650–1950* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), chaps. 9–11; Cate Haste, *Rules of Desire: Sex in Britain; World War One to the Present* (London, 1992), chap. 4.

²⁷ On popular culture, see, for instance, Marcia Landy, *British Genres* (Princeton, N.J., 1991). On the impact of the two world wars, see Haste, *Rules of Desire*; Gillian Swanson, "'So Much Money and So Little to Spend It On': Morale, Consumption and Sexuality," in Susan Gledhill and Swanson, eds., *Nationalising Femininity: Culture, Sexuality and British Cinema in the Second World War* (Manchester, 1996), 70–90; Marilyn Lake, "Female Desires: The Meaning of World War 2," *Australian Historical Studies* 21, no. 95 (October 1990): 267–84.

²⁸ Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England, 1918–1951* (Oxford, 1998), 331; see also Hall and Porter, *Facts of Life*; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (New York, 1981); Judy Giles, "'Playing Hard to Get': Working Class Women, Sexuality and Respectability in Britain, 1918–40," and Penny Summerfield and Nicole Crockett, "'You Weren't Taught That with the Welding': Lessons in Sexuality in the Second World War," *Women's History Review* 1 (1992): 239–55, 435–54.

World War I was sometimes taken as a causative factor in moral decline. Writing on "sex-delinquency" (a category that included all non-conjugal sexual activity from prostitution to premarital or extramarital sex), one of the contributors to *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* (1934) located the prevailing laxity of moral standards in the post-1918 "liberated" woman: "The demand for equality of status has been to some extent translated as an equal right to extra-marital sex adventure."²⁹ The younger working-class woman was often taken as a specific exemplar of the new Gomorrah. The middle-class author of *I Lived in a Slum* (1936) drew a clear contrast, for example, between the sexual behavior of different generations of working-class women; the younger woman was dismissed as "undoubtedly a baggage."³⁰ It was testament to the prevailing assumption that working-class women were the locus of a more general moral decay that pre-1939 advocates of legal abortion had to stress that "there is no deterioration in the character of the young working-class woman of the present day."³¹ But this impression persisted well into the 1940s and 1950s. The evacuation of children and mothers in the first years of World War II gave vent, for example, to much opprobrious indignation at the "sluttishness" of some working-class mothers, while some sex surveys of the late 1940s and 1950s regularly trooped out the sexually active younger working-class woman (whose "promiscuity" was associated with other vices such as gambling, heavy smoking and drinking, and with the frivolities and corruption of popular culture) as a cipher of modern immorality.³²

To contemporary observers, the visibility of women in the public sphere might have confirmed this link between the modern age and the ruin of traditional sexual standards. It certainly bespoke a new awareness of transformed gender roles. World War I formalized women's importance as economic actors and left them (with the enfranchisements of 1918 and 1928) at least legally equal to men in the political realm.³³ The interwar period also saw some progress toward female emancipation in other ways, with, for example, legislation such as the Sex Disqualification Act (1919), which freed up female access to the professions, public offices, and postsecondary education, property acts in 1926 and 1935 that allowed single and married women to hold property as men did, and divorce reform in 1923 and 1927. Jane Lewis has rightly warned against seeing such reform as unqualified feminist progress in interwar Britain. But these changes did enshrine a public place for

²⁹ C. Neville Rolfe, "Sex-Delinquency," in H. Llewellyn Smith, et al., eds., *The New Survey of London Life and Labour*, 9 vols. (London, 1934), 9: 295–96.

³⁰ Ada Chesterton, *I Lived in a Slum* (London, 1936), 119, 281. Ironically, of course, the same woman's mother was and eventually her daughter and granddaughter would be tarred with the same brush; see, for example, the views of young working-class men of the late 1960s and 1970s collected in Paul E. Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (London, 1977), 43–47.

³¹ Public Record Office, Kew, Ministry of Health (hereafter, PRO/MH), 71/21, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Violet Russell, "Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion," 1937, 2.

³² Women's Group on Public Welfare, *Our Towns: A Close-Up* (London, 1943), 109; see B. Seeborn Rowntree and G. R. Lavers, *English Life and Leisure: A Social Study* (London, 1951), 76, 4, 15. See also Geoffrey Field, "Perspectives on the Working Class Family in Wartime Britain, 1939–45," *International Labor and Working Class History* 38 (1990): 3–28.

³³ See Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I* (London, 1998); Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994).

women and the discussion of femininity and female rights.³⁴ This public place was nonetheless fraught with complexity. Most political parties saw women as problematic political subjects.³⁵ To some extent, this was rooted in the perceived nature of women as exceptional political subjects, whose interests (as mothers, for example) derived from sexual difference. But the complexity of the relationship of femininity to the public after 1918 lay in the stutter of such difference within increasing synonymy. Developments such as the equal franchise, wartime mobilization, and shifts in the labor market contributed to a sense of the diffusion of clear borders between men and women as social actors. However, the maintenance of the marriage bar for women in local government and the civil service represented one backlash against this blurring of sexual difference.

If a stagnant birth rate, maternal mortality, sexual liberalization, and the emancipation of women affected considerations of femininity and domesticity, the specter of high unemployment among the working classes in the 1920s and 1930s haunted motherhood and family life. Between the beginning of the postwar slump in 1921 and the outbreak of World War II, no less than one million people were out of work in any given year. At the trough of the Great Depression in 1932, the unemployed comprised 23 percent of the manual labor force. Skilled male workers suffered disproportionately from unemployment, a fact that did much to undercut the viability of the male breadwinner ideal. What little growth there was in the interwar work force occurred largely within the ranks of young single women, only deepening the threat to working-class masculinity.³⁶ It is hardly surprising that a palpable sense of emasculation animated images of unemployment. Faced with the taunts of his sister, the unemployed hero of Walter Greenwood's famous proletarian novel *Love on the Dole* (1933) feels the shame of his "miserable muscles," for example.³⁷

A less obvious victim of unemployment was the working-class mother or wife. If the male worker suffered the shame of joblessness, it was the mother or wife who bore the brunt of its poverty, attempting to manage the family on a reduced standard of living. At the dusk of the 1930s, Margery Spring Rice noted the damage

³⁴ Jane Lewis, "In Search of Real Equality: Women between the Wars," from Frank Gloversmith, ed., *Class, Culture and Social Change* (Brighton, 1980), 185–207; see also Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

³⁵ See David Jarvis, "Mrs Maggs and Betty: The Conservative Appeal to Women Voters in the 1920s," *Twentieth Century British History* 5 (1994): 129–52; Jarvis, "The Conservative Party and the Politics of Gender, 1900–39," in Martin Francis and Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, eds., *The Conservatives and British Society* (Cardiff, 1996), 172–93; Michael Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics* (Cambridge, 1987); Martin Durham, "Women and the British Union of Fascists," *Immigrants and Minorities* 8 (1989): 3–18. The Labour Party is discussed in detail below.

³⁶ On work and masculinity, see Wally Secombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History* 11 (1986): 53–73; Sonya Rose, "Gender Antagonism and Class Conflict: Exclusionary Strategies of Male Trade Unionists in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Social History* 13 (1988): 191–208; Keith McClelland, "Masculinity and the 'Representative Artisan' in Britain, 1850–80," in Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds., *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London, 1991), 92–112. On women's work and masculinity between the wars, see Miriam Glucksmann, *Women Assemble* (London, 1990); Michael Savage, "Trade Unionism, Sex Segregation and the State: Women's Employment in 'New Industries' in Inter-War Britain," *Social History* 13 (1988): 209–28; Paul Thompson, "Playing at Being Skilled Men: Factory Culture and Pride in Work Skills among Coventry Car Workers," *Social History* 13 (1988): 45–69.

³⁷ Walter Greenwood, *Love on the Dole* (1933; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, 1969), 17.

to women's physical health such deprivation had caused and the "intolerable burden" it placed on such women in other ways: "[She is] faced not only with the lack of sufficient income to buy for her family what is needed, but with the constant strain of uneasiness caused by the shadow of unemployment, with the the fear of a reduction in an already insufficient wage, and with the fear of running into debt while endeavouring to meet such unvarying obligations as rent, hire-purchase, insurance, etc."³⁸ George Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) is striking for its valorization of male labor, but the author's own epiphany is triggered by the sight of a working-class housewife, vainly trying to maintain a respectable domesticity against the ravages of poverty: "At the back of one of the houses a young woman was kneeling on the stones, poking a stick up the leaden waste-pipe which ran from the sink inside and which I suppose was blocked . . . She had a round pale face, the usual exhausted face of the slum girl who is twenty-five and looks forty, thanks to miscarriages and drudgery; and it wore . . . the most desolate, hopeless expression I have ever seen."³⁹ For many, unemployment represented a crisis within the working-class family.

IT WAS AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND that abortion was discussed during the 1930s in the spheres of government policy, the law, and feminist activism. These debates raised a number of important issues about the distinctions between public and private and about changing perceptions of femininity and sexuality. The recurring theme was motherhood, not only as a category of femininity but also as a threshold between private and public spheres.⁴⁰ It was, for example, partly for this reason that abortion inflamed the confusions already attending ideas of public and private in the early twentieth century.

The abortion issue also served as a forum for the generation of new and radical visions of women's rights and femininity by a variety of advocates of legalized abortion. Abortion and feminism have, of course, become inextricably linked; Vicky Randall has suggested that abortion became "almost the definitive issue of contemporary feminism" in the 1960s and 1970s.⁴¹ In the words of a British pro-abortion organization of the 1970s, abortion on demand ensured a woman's entitlement to control her "body and her life . . . to control its reproduction function": abortion was, simply put, a mark of ultimate autonomy.⁴² In the United States in particular, the argument for abortion has also devolved from a liberal individualism centering on rights of privacy.⁴³

Compared to these approaches, abortion reform in interwar Britain had distinc-

³⁸ Margery Spring Rice, *Working-Class Wives* (1939; rpt. edn., London, 1981), 190.

³⁹ George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937; rpt. edn., Harmondsworth, 1987), 18.

⁴⁰ This echoes Julia Kristeva's comment that motherhood is "the threshold on which nature and culture confront one another." Kristeva, "The Maternal Body," *m/f* 5-6 (1981): 159; see also Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minneapolis, 1989).

⁴¹ Vicky Randall, *Women and Politics* (London, 1987), 263.

⁴² Contemporary Medical Archives Centre, Wellcome Institute, London (hereafter, CMAC), SA/BCC/C26, National Abortion Committee, "Abortion and the Law," May 1976.

⁴³ For a general review of these arguments, see Rosalind Pollack Petchesky, *Abortion and Women's Choice: The State, Sexuality and Reproductive Function* (Boston, 1990).

tive qualities. It comprised a more complex language, bringing together different vocabularies of femininity toward the aim of legalizing abortion. Abortion advocacy did demand a public recognition of a woman's private right to control her body. But it also drew on a more established vocabulary of women's roles, specifically that of maternalism. The campaign for abortion was also grounded in concerns about equality of access between middle and working-class women and the maintenance of living standards in working-class households during a period of high unemployment. The skein of abortion rhetoric was thus woven from strands of feminism, maternalism, and socialism.

Some accounts of the abortion campaign of the 1930s have suggested that, because it concentrated on the established social category of motherhood, it had "little to do with feminism as such."⁴⁴ In part, this judgment reflects the critical eye turned on maternity by "second wave" feminists. Juliet Mitchell's influential work of the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, delineated reproduction as one of the four sites of female oppression, while maternity was a "substitute for action and creativity" on the part of women; arguments for reproductive control were thus placed in opposition to maternalism.⁴⁵ By contrast, the interwar abortion movement saw maternalism and reproductive control not in opposition but as complementary. It might be argued, indeed, that abortion reform was a variant of feminist maternalism. It was grounded in an interest in motherhood, particularly working-class motherhood; in this, it was similar to the German movement for reproductive rights before World War I.⁴⁶ The maternalism of the British abortion reform movement did not, however, dull the edge of its feminism. It still comprised a radical challenge to established gender ideologies. There are two arguments here, the first about the content of abortion reform, particularly as it related to maternalism, the second about the working of the language of abortion reform.

That the abortion movement of the 1930s boasted a maternalist tinge is hardly surprising, given its lineage and the social circumstances that shaped it. Both highlighted the problem of maternal health in the early twentieth century. As groups such as the Women's Cooperative Guild and individuals like Maud Pember Reeves chronicled before and during World War I, and the letters written in the 1920s by working-class women to Marie Stopes bore poignant witness, working-class women paid a heavy physical price for multiple pregnancies.⁴⁷ Shocked by such evidence, feminists and working-class activists within the Labour Party launched a campaign in the 1920s for wider access to birth control and contraceptive information, determined both to enlarge all women's rights and to narrow the gap between middle and working-class women.⁴⁸ In 1925, the socialist-feminist Frida

⁴⁴ Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism* (New York, 1986), 193.

⁴⁵ Juliet Mitchell, *Women's Estate* (New York, 1971), 101, 108, 109; this section was originally published by Mitchell as "The Longest Revolution," *New Left Review* 40 (November–December 1966): 11–37.

⁴⁶ See Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1991), chap. 10.

⁴⁷ See Women's Cooperative Guild, *Maternity: Letters from Working Women* (New York, 1915); Maud Pember Reeves, *Round about a Pound a Week* (1913; rpt. edn., London, 1979), chaps. 12–13; Ruth Hall, ed., *Dear Dr Stopes: Sex in the 1920s* (Harmondsworth, 1981), chap. 1.

⁴⁸ The best accounts of this campaign can be found in Graves, *Labour Women*, 81–98; Gillian Scott, *Feminism and the Politics of Working Women: The Women's Co-operative Guild, 1880s to the Second*

Laski noted, "For twenty or thirty years every middle class woman has had this information at her disposal."⁴⁹ Reticence about questions of women's health, what Virginia Woolf's Mrs. Dalloway could refer to as "*that*," might have been a mark of respectability, but it was one only those with access to private medical care could afford; those who could not risked potentially fatal consequences.⁵⁰ With abortion, there was a clear class divide between the availability of safe, therapeutic abortion (*curettage*) and the more dangerous use of abortifacient pills, nonsurgical implements such as crochet hooks and knitting needles, and "folk" remedies such as slippery elm bark.⁵¹

The definition of "maternal health" had social as well as medical boundaries, particularly with respect to the economics of working-class domesticity during the Depression. In their 1951 survey of four hundred urban working-class subjects, Eliot Slater and Maya Woodside remarked that "large families are firmly associated in their minds with poverty, hardship and the lowering of standards."⁵² This was a class memory of long standing, but one that interwar unemployment undoubtedly sharpened. Not all working-class families suffered unemployment in the 1920s and 1930s, but all working people felt its menace, the chill of which did not lift until the advent of full employment and a comprehensive welfare state in the 1940s and 1950s. Family limitation was one strategy against the threat of poverty. Although there was greater access to contraceptive advice in the 1930s, legal, effective contraception remained largely inaccessible to many working-class women. It is worth noting that well into the 1950s *coitus interruptus* and abstention remained the principal forms of birth control, a trend that only changed in the late 1960s.⁵³ During the 1930s, the unreliability and inaccessibility of many forms of legal contraception left abortion as a weapon, albeit a dangerous one, against the threat of poverty.

Given the crisis facing working-class women during the 1930s, therefore, it would have been more surprising had feminists interested in abortion *not* taken up maternalism. Whether safeguarding women's physical health or helping strengthen the hand of working women in maintaining an adequate standard of living for their families, abortion was seen as a means of protecting motherhood rather than abandoning it.

This rationale might seem tepid compared with the defiant rejection of the traditional family structure found in "second wave" feminist arguments for abortion. But maternalism is not necessarily a conservative strategy even if it has,

World War (London, 1998), chap. 6; Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State*, 160–69.

⁴⁹ National Conference of Labour Women (hereafter, *NCLW*) (1925): 123.

⁵⁰ Virginia Woolf, "Mrs Dalloway in Bond Street" [1924], in S. Dick, ed., *The Complete Shorter Fiction of Virginia Woolf* (London, 1985), 147; on the question of respectability, see Regenia Gagnier, *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain 1832–1920* (Oxford, 1991), 60–62.

⁵¹ H. J. Drew Smythe, "Indications for the Induction of Premature Labour," *British Medical Journal* (London) (June 13, 1931): 1018–20; Margaret Salmond, "Induction of Abortion," *Lancet* (London) (April 4, 1931): 745–47.

⁵² Eliot Slater and Maya Woodside, *Patterns of Marriage: A Study of Marriage Relationships in the Urban Working-Class* (London, 1951), 151.

⁵³ See Margaret Bone, *Family Planning Services in England and Wales* (London, 1973), 19; C. M. Langford, *Birth Control Practice and Marital Fertility in Great Britain* (London, 1976).

at its core, what is seen as a traditionally feminine role. As Lisa Brush has suggested, although motherhood might be associated with subordination and exploitation, maternalism can be a language of empowerment and rights: "To protect, nurture, and train children, mothers must have access to the conditions that will allow them to flourish as persons: bodily integrity, moral autonomy, material security, relational integrity, and political efficacy."⁵⁴ The maternalism of 1930s abortion reformers brought out these assertive qualities, rather than promoting a fixed maternalism of dependence and subordination.

The radicalism of the abortion campaign of the 1930s can also be seen in the question of control and autonomy. In 1922, Stella Browne wrote, "Birth control is woman's crucial effort at self-determination and at control of her own person and her own environment."⁵⁵ The argument for abortion might have been rooted in maternalism, but abortion was also about the limitation of motherhood. Legalized abortion would enable women to have power over sexual and reproductive practice. This was what Browne termed "intimate liberation."⁵⁶ Most abortion reformers assumed that the ultimate arbiter of whether a pregnancy would proceed would be the individual woman, not the state or any other mediating body. Once granted, the right of choice would be inalienable, regardless of changes in social circumstances. Ironically, though some socialists and feminists found much inspiration in the Soviet Union's legalization of abortion between 1920 and 1936, it was a faulty model for the British campaign. Contraceptive rights in the USSR derived not from the rights of women or the rights of the individual but from the needs of the state; when the state decided that abortion was no longer desirable, that right was revoked.⁵⁷ It is also worth noting a comparison with the campaign to abolish Article 218 in Germany. Atina Grossmann has suggested that, "[d]espite the slippage into rights rhetoric, for most sex reformers, the right to choice in sexual and reproductive matters was never inalienable"; at least in the case of the German Communist Party (KPD), it was believed that the advent of a socialist state would eliminate the need for legal abortion.⁵⁸ While British abortion reformers shared with their German counterparts a belief that abortion was a class issue, they did not allow gender to be subsumed in this analysis: women's inalienable claim to the right of choice remained a centerpiece of their arguments.

In these ways, advocates of abortion not only pursued the recognition of and support for women in their roles as mothers but also expanded the idea of maternity to include a public recognition of women's right to reproductive control and autonomy. This argument drew from a maternalist language, but it assumed a modern vision of independence for women, of which the most fundamental quality

⁵⁴ Lisa D. Brush, "Motherhood and Feminist Politics," *Signs* 21 (1996): 430.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Sheila Rowbotham, *A New World for Women: Stella Browne—Socialist Feminist* (London, 1977), 62.

⁵⁶ Quoted in Rowbotham, *New World for Women*, 61.

⁵⁷ See Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution: Soviet Family Policy and Social Life, 1917–1936* (Cambridge, 1993), esp. chap. 7. For British views of abortion practice in the Soviet Union, see Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?* 2 vols. (New York, 1936), 2: 812, 826–33; M. I. Cole, "Women and Children," in Cole, ed., *Twelve Studies in Soviet Russia* (London, 1933), 183–85; see also Sir Arthur Newsholme, *Red Medicine: Socialized Health in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1933); Fannina W. Halle, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, Margaret M. Green, trans. (London, 1933).

⁵⁸ Grossmann, *Reforming Sex*, 95.

was freedom from motherhood itself. The determination to formalize private choice for women—to choose or reject motherhood—and to invest that choice with public legitimacy lies at the heart of abortion's radicalism. Motherhood would take on a new meaning, implying not dependence or subordination but autonomy and empowerment, recognized in the public sphere. In her work on the origins of the British welfare state, Pedersen has argued that the sexual difference of women in the category of motherhood was "encoded in policy as dependence."⁵⁹ In the abortion debate, by contrast, such difference was encoded as independence.

The concern for the social context of abortion also lent its arguments a practical radicalism. In an important critique of the contemporary American abortion debate, Mary Poovey has offered the vista of a "nonindividualistic" politics of abortion, which situates the question not only within individual rights but in a context of greater private scope and social complexity.⁶⁰ With its attempt to place abortion in the social category of motherhood and the specific category of working-class motherhood and domesticity, the abortion campaign in interwar Britain effaces some of what Poovey proposes, without completely displacing a belief in female autonomy. Indeed, the radicalism and realism of the campaign is found in its vision of female autonomy within the landscape of working-class domesticity between the wars.

Poovey's arguments rest on her reconceptualization of the individual as a "heterogeneous rather than homogeneous entity."⁶¹ This line of argument has some importance in considering the workings of abortion reform language in the 1930s. I have suggested that the radicalism of abortion advocacy lay in the manner in which maternalism was invested with other meanings, such as citizenship, control, and autonomy. This helped destabilize set ideas of motherhood, making it a more ambiguous category of femininity. The dynamic of abortion rhetoric did not rest with a particular meaning of femininity as motherhood but instead moved between disparate meanings. In terms of the working of abortion reform language, this dynamic was itself radical, resisting a crucial element in the construction of gender ideologies: the reliance on reductive categorization.

To expand on this, one might borrow a theoretical analogy from another sphere. The postcolonial critic Homi Bhabha has written of the radical potential of "in-between spaces," borderlands between cultures or races, between colonizer and colonized, in which discourses are left "wavering between vocabularies," particularly with the "mimic man" of the colonial relationship.⁶² It is in these spaces that, Bhabha argues, "newness enters the world" through the ambivalent identity ("almost the same, but not quite") of the colonized subject, expressed in the very wavering of his or her vocabulary, always escaping certain categorization by the colonizer, creating room for the "emergence of new historical subjects."⁶³

⁵⁹ Susan Pedersen, "The Failure of Feminism in the Making of the British Welfare State," *Radical History Review* 43 (1989): 104.

⁶⁰ Mary Poovey, "The Abortion Question and the Death of Man," in Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott, eds., *Feminists Theorize the Political* (New York, 1992), 252.

⁶¹ Poovey, "Abortion Question and the Death of Man," 253.

⁶² Homi K. Bhabha, "Introduction," in Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (New York, 1990), 2; see also Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994), introduction and chap. 4 in particular.

⁶³ Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 86, 212, 217.

Without conflating women in interwar Britain with colonial subjects, this dynamic might also be seen as applicable to the workings of gender in the abortion debate. During the 1930s, arguments for abortion melded traditional and innovative languages of femininity; these arguments moved between established ideas of femininity, such as woman as mother (both in the private and public spheres) and newer ones, such as woman as autonomous agent (again, both in the public and private spheres). In part, such rhetoric simply reflected or described the interstitial position of women in the interwar period, poised between public and private, and between similarity and difference as public actors. But playing on this ambivalence served to create a new vision of femininity by eluding a simple characterization of motherhood. To adopt Judith Butler's phrase, it rendered the feminine as "a site of subversive multiplicity."⁶⁴ The degree of the subversiveness and radicalism of this challenge can be seen, as will be discussed, in the response of those who opposed it. In these ways, abortion brought the discussion of femininity and feminism to a new threshold. This was especially clear in the work of the Abortion Law Reform Association and in the 1938 trial of Dr. Aleck Bourne.

IN 1935, JOAN MALLESON, A DOCTOR with an office in London's prestigious Harley Street, called an informal meeting on abortion with Janet Chance, Stella Browne, and Alice Jenkins.⁶⁵ All were London-based, middle-class, socialist-feminist women interested in the welfare of working-class women and the broader problems of contraception and sex reform. All had been involved in the Workers Birth Control Group, part of the wider campaign within the Labour Party for birth control in the 1920s. Early in 1936, joined by other socialist-feminists such as Frida Laski and Bertha Lorsignol, they formed the Abortion Law Reform Association at a small café off Piccadilly.⁶⁶ For over thirty years, ALRA was the principal locus of the pro-abortion movement in Britain, playing a critical role in the campaign for the 1967 Abortion Act.

The association was formally nonpartisan, but it saw its political fortunes linked with the Labour Party. While never approaching the Conservatives or Liberals, ALRA worked through spheres of the Labour movement and left-wing politics, such as the Women's Cooperative Guild, Labour Party Women's Sections, and publications such as *Tribune* and *New Statesman*. One of its early aims was persuading "six 'key' women" in the Labour Party and Co-operative Society to sponsor a resolution at a Labour women's conference.⁶⁷ Much of ALRA's local or provincial activity was conducted in affiliation with or even through Labour women's sections.⁶⁸ By the outbreak of war in 1939, sixty-nine groups had affiliated with ALRA, mostly Labour women's sections and Women's Cooperative Guilds. The association's class composition is more difficult to ascertain. The leadership was

⁶⁴ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York, 1990), 19.

⁶⁵ This followed the publication of a letter by Malleeson on abortion; see *New Statesman and Nation* (London), February 10, 1934.

⁶⁶ On the formation of ALRA, see Alice Jenkins, *Law for the Rich* (London, 1960), 46–61.

⁶⁷ CMAC, SA/ALR/1/2/1, Abortion Law Reform Association (hereafter, ALRA), Minutes, January 11, 1937, March 15, 1937, February 20, 1938, April 28, 1938.

⁶⁸ See CMAC, SA/ALR/1/3/2–3, ALRA, Annual Reports, 1937–38, 1938–39.

metropolitan and middle-class. Nonetheless, the existence of a “penny” membership, which numbered 734 by 1939, does suggest some working-class participation.

Despite the role played by Labour women in ALRA, the association’s formal relationship to the party was ambivalent. Although many early twentieth-century British feminists hoped that Labour would be “the leader of women’s thought in this country,” and Labour itself often boasted of being the “women’s party,” it remained stubbornly inert on most feminist issues in the interwar period.⁶⁹ Birth control was one example. The debate within the party over the question in the 1920s was for many feminists a painful revelation of Labour’s limitations as a vehicle of women’s issues. As has already been noted, in the 1920s, socialist-feminists and female activists within the party pursued birth control as a reaction to the plight of working-class women, even though they were careful to distance themselves from eugenicist and Malthusian arguments. There were a few victories in the struggle. Labour women’s conferences consistently supported wider access to birth control, and, in 1926, the Independent Labour Party (still affiliated to Labour at this point) adopted a sympathetic policy. Four years later, the second Labour government lifted a ban on local health authorities giving out contraceptive information. But more generally, the Labour hierarchy (both male and female) refused to accept birth control as official party policy. Some of this opposition was rooted in fear of a backlash from Catholic voters.⁷⁰ Some arose from suspicions of eugenics and Malthusianism. Some represented prudishness and distaste; one Labour MP remarked that contraception was “the knowledge of the prostitute.”⁷¹

Debates about contraception and abortion also revealed broad discomfort in Labour circles over the place of the sexual and the female in the public realm of politics. As Denise Riley has noted, the Labour Party was a primary site of the tension between public and private concerns.⁷² With birth control, this was translated into a conflict between what was configured as a legitimate “public” interest, such as class, and unacceptable “private” ones, such as sexuality and gender. Although Labour had shown interest in the problem of motherhood, contraception was perceived as being about sexuality, not maternalism. The party’s Chief Woman Officer rejected any birth control policy being taken up by the party, believing that “[s]ex should not be dragged into politics.”⁷³ In 1924, *Labour Woman*, the official publication of the party’s women’s sections, pleaded that “this subject of relations of husband and wife should not be treated as a political issue at all.”⁷⁴ The following year, Labour’s National Executive Committee and its annual conference agreed that “the subject of Birth Control is in its nature not one which should be

⁶⁹ Cited in April Carter, *The Politics of Women’s Rights* (London, 1988), 89; Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women’s Movement in Britain 1914–59* (London, 1992), 131–32. See also Graves, *Labour Women*; Smith, “Sex vs. Class”; Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State*; Thane, “Women of the British Labour Party and Feminism”; Scott, *Feminism and the Politics of Working Women*, chap. 6.

⁷⁰ See Neil Riddell, “The Catholic Church and the Labour Party, 1918–31,” *Twentieth Century British History* 8 (1997): 179–82.

⁷¹ Quoted in Simms, “Abortion: The Myth of the Golden Age,” 172.

⁷² See Denise Riley, “Am I That Name?” *Feminism and the Category of “Women” in History* (Minneapolis, 1988), chaps. 3–4.

⁷³ Quoted in Haste, *Rules of Desire*, 66.

⁷⁴ “Birth Control: A Plea for Careful Consideration,” *Labour Woman* (London) 12 (March 1924): 34.

made a political party issue.”⁷⁵ This rejection offers a clear contrast with the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) and KPD, which attempted to use contraception as a means of mobilizing working-class women.⁷⁶ For British Labour, sex was a private subject and deemed inappropriate for the public sphere of politics.

But birth control was spurned as a valid issue not only because it was about sex but also because it was about the female gender. This is not to say that Labour was gender-blind in its outlook, far from it. The firmly articulated opposition between “sex” and “class” and “public” and “private” issues taken up by the party in the interwar period obscured a deeply gendered understanding of what constituted “public” and “class.” A central question for the Labour Party between the wars was poverty among working-class people, particularly that caused by high levels of unemployment. In the 1920s and 1930s, Labour’s solution was found primarily in three areas: the redistribution of wealth; the restoration of trade union strength in collective bargaining, a position eroded by both unemployment and the debacle of the 1926 General Strike; and, after 1931, the espousal of central economic planning as an alternative to capitalism. Throughout, the interests of the “nation,” the “people,” or the “working class” were equated with those of the male wage-earner.⁷⁷ Proposals such as family allowances and contraception not only addressed material issues in the lives of working-class women but were also attempts to dislodge the masculinist cast of terms such as the “public” and “class” and invest these categories with the feminine. Labour rejected family allowances and contraception as either being irrelevant to its goals or even as detrimental to them.⁷⁸ Setting the legitimacy of “public” issues (such as wage levels and planning) against the illegitimacy of “private” issues (such as birth control) and playing on a polar tension between “class” and “sex” belied a choice that had been made between the sexes, one that valorized the interests of working-class men and diminished those of working-class women. The rejection of birth control as a legitimate issue for political consideration was not only the rejection of a specific question but, more broadly, saw Labour turning aside a feminine claim on “class” and the “public.”

This can be briefly illustrated by contrasting remarks made at the 1928 Labour women’s conference. Defending the party’s refusal to take up abortion and contraception as political issues, the most prominent female MP in the party, Ellen Wilkinson, denied their value as class questions: “the issues between one class and another must be planks in our programme, but this was quite a different matter.” Against this, the socialist-feminist Dora Russell had unsuccessfully tried to appropriate the language of class to press for Labour’s commitment to contraception: “Mothers had a trade union interest in this matter, which needed safeguarding by political action.”⁷⁹

In the 1930s, the party (including its women’s sections) remained officially hostile

⁷⁵ Quoted in *NCLW* (1928): 21–22.

⁷⁶ Osborne, *Politics of the Body*, 158–59.

⁷⁷ See Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State*. On gender and socialist economic planning, see Black and Brooke, “Labour Party, Women and the Problem of Gender, 1951–66,” 441–42; Martin Francis, *Ideas and Politics under Labour, 1945–1951: Building a New Britain* (Manchester, 1997), chap. 7.

⁷⁸ On family allowances, see John Macnicol, *The Movement for Family Allowances, 1918–1945* (London, 1980); Pedersen, *Family, Dependence and the Origins of the Welfare State*, chap. 4.

⁷⁹ *NCLW* (1928): 27, 26.

to the consideration of abortion law reform.⁸⁰ In 1935, the annual conference of Labour women only discussed abortion in the context of mental illness during a pregnancy; the same year, the Standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations refused to deal with the issue.⁸¹ *Labour Woman's* coverage of the official report on Maternal Mortality did not even mention abortion; it completely ignored the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion.⁸² Party loyalty and the intensity of the dual crises of the 1930s—fascism abroad and unemployment at home—undoubtedly did much to damp down potential opposition to the party's official stance on abortion. But this silence was also due to Labour's gendered conception of "public" and "private."

ALRA's natural home may thus have been within the Labour Party's latticework of socialist, feminist, and working women's organizations, but the possibility of securing a place for its aspirations within Labour's politics remained very slight. What made this prospect more daunting by the 1930s was the marginalization of abortion within the broader birth control movement. In the 1920s, abortion had been discussed, but more attention was given to the general question of birth control. In the 1930s, there was greater separation between the two problems; abortion became a frontier across which only a few women's and feminist groups ventured. Nonetheless, the maternal mortality reports of 1932 and 1937 and the severity of the Depression in the early years of the decade kept up interest in the problem of abortion, particularly as it affected working-class women. In 1934, the Women's Cooperative Guild passed a resolution at its annual congress advocating abortion law reform: "making of abortion a legal operation that can be carried under the same conditions as any other surgical operation."⁸³

ALRA became the most important organization promoting abortion law reform in the 1930s. Its original aim was "to repeal the present law and substitute one freeing the medical profession from all restrictions, except those required by medical and humanitarian considerations."⁸⁴ ALRA emphasized the improvement of access to contraception, women's rights to abortion, and maternal health, particularly for working-class women.⁸⁵

Within ALRA, Stella Browne was the most vocal advocate of abortion as an "absolute right" for women to achieve both sexual liberation and personal emancipation. As Sheila Rowbotham has noted, in this regard, Browne was a link between the sex reformers of the early twentieth century and "second wave" feminists.⁸⁶ The defiant and chiliastic tone to her writing on abortion does set her apart from other socialist-feminists of the 1930s. Browne saw legal abortion as an acknowledgement of a new or modern category of femininity, in which freedom from reproduction and physical and political autonomy were central elements of

⁸⁰ See, for example, National Conference of Labour Women, *Reports on Maternal Mortality and the Maternity Services and Women in Industry* (London, 1935).

⁸¹ See *NCLW* (1935); Labour Party Archives, National Labour Museum, Manchester (hereafter, LPA), Standing Joint Committee of Women's Industrial Organisations, Minutes, March 14, 1935.

⁸² "Protect the Nation's Mothers," *Labour Woman* 25 (August 1937): 120–21.

⁸³ Women's Cooperative Guild, *Annual Congress Report* (1934): 21; see also Scott, *Feminism and the Politics of Working Women*, 243–44.

⁸⁴ CMAC, SA/ALR/1/2/1, ALRA, Minutes, January 24, 1936.

⁸⁵ CMAC, SA/ALR/1/3/1, ALRA, Annual Report, 1936–37.

⁸⁶ See Rowbotham, *New World for Women*, sect. 4.

women's subjectivity: "women are really human beings and . . . freedom of choice and deliberate intention are necessary for them in their sexual relations and their maternity, if they are to make anything of their status and opportunities." It was also crucial to the broader aim of sexual liberation, not just for women but for society as a whole; Browne envisioned "economic justice and international peace . . . stretching out from the bodies and beds of human lovers."⁸⁷ It is clear that Browne was more advanced than other abortion reformers, or at least less cautious about associating abortion with a revolution in sexual mores. At the same time, she did not reject maternalism—maternity was accepted as an aspect of modern femininity—she simply valorized choice about motherhood, reconciling it with active sexuality.

Other statements emanating from ALRA members eschewed any link between abortion and sexual liberation. Given the concerns about the decline of morality in the 1920s and 1930s, this is unsurprising: abortion was already sufficiently impolitic. Janet Chance instead appropriated the language of sexual propriety in order to make an argument for legal abortion: "This Association deplures irresponsible behaviour with its consequences in shallow experience, illegitimacy and venereal disease, and it holds that one of the first ways of promoting responsible sexual behaviour of fine and enduring quality is to make marriage more tolerable."⁸⁸ It was not a preoccupation with sex that produced abortion but the strains of working-class domesticity: "The women who ask for abortion are not obsessed: the large majority are working-class women who for good reason consider the birth of a child at a given time a threat to the welfare of the home, a burden too heavy for their own strengths or their husband's earnings, and a disaster for the children already born."⁸⁹ The key to making this situation more tolerable was not the rejection of sexuality but the reconciliation of conjugal sexuality with the protection of the health of working-class wives and the economic position of working-class households. Legalizing abortion on social or economic grounds would effect this reconciliation. ALRA members often made the point that the reconciliation between conjugal sexuality and domesticity was already enjoyed by women of the middle and upper classes. One contrasted "women who have money" with the "women who still appear in the press cuttings" in the legal treatment of abortion; another argued that "abortion was given to wealthy women every day in Harley-street and that knowledge and service should be available to all classes."⁹⁰

The argument for abortion in the 1930s also evinced a clear feminist strain, concerned with advancing women's rights. In part, this emerged from the articulation of motherhood as a form of citizenship deserving recognition. In 1936, after Joseph Stalin had outlawed abortion in the Soviet Union, Janet Chance and Alice Jenkins pointed out the civic virtues and rationality of mothers in Russia and Britain:

⁸⁷ Browne, "Right to Abortion," 13, 40.

⁸⁸ Janet Chance, *The Case for the Reform of the Abortion Laws* (London, 1936), 13.

⁸⁹ Chance, *Case for the Reform of the Abortion Laws*, 11.

⁹⁰ Margot Edgecombe, "Marital Difficulties and Abortion Law Reform," in ALRA, *Backstreet Surgery* (London, 1939), 15; Chance quoted in *Liverpool Daily Post*, December 3, 1936.

neither the Russian nor the English mothers are irresponsible and selfish persons unconcerned with communal issues. The devotion of the working woman to her family in both countries under conditions of personal sacrifice is plain proof to the contrary. And it is they who, in the interests of decency of life, ask that abortion be available should their case be desperate. Their judgement of the wisdom or folly of permitting any particular birth would appear to have some value. But the present English and Russian laws do not treat the woman as a responsible person whose judgement deserves careful consideration.⁹¹

Jenkins and Chance wanted an acknowledgement of mothers as rational citizens, due public rights and obligations to protect the private sphere. Sometimes, this was suffused by a condescending view of the working-class mothers, but it remained an argument for public citizenship through maternalism: "They are our fellow citizens, ignorant no doubt of much, but as fit as others are, in many cases far fitter, to judge whether in the interests of the race or the home, another birth is a benefit or a crime."⁹² ALRA suggested in its published aims that illegal abortion "cannot be adequately solved until the reasons for the refusal of motherhood are given the attention that they deserve," demanding, again, that the public recognition of motherhood include a consideration of mothers as rational citizens.⁹³ In this context, ALRA often used the term "voluntary" or "responsible" parenthood. Arguments for reform of the abortion law also contained an argument for women's inalienable right over her body in the sphere of reproduction. It would be the woman's decision to exercise this right: "The facts of abortion . . . make it primarily a woman's question . . . The woman for these reasons claims that, should there be a diversity of opinion in any particular case, she should have the casting vote."⁹⁴

ALRA's language of abortion reform thus imbricated arguments for individual rights and female citizenship within a framework of maternalist and class concerns. This multivalence—taking account of the context of working-class life between the wars, the state of motherhood within that context, and the claims of women's social citizenship—reflected the transitional or ambiguous quality of femininity in the 1930s in its description of women in established and newer roles.

It was only after World War II that ALRA chose a parliamentary strategy to fulfil its aims. In the 1930s, it relied on educative efforts within the Labour movement and women's organizations, while seeking sympathizers from those within the medical and legal professions frustrated at either the injustice or ambiguity of the existing abortion law. Despite the provisions of the 1929 Infant Life Preservation Act allowing abortions to protect the mother's life, doctors were only too aware, as the medical journal *The Lancet* stated in 1936, that "the present state of the law renders a doctor liable to indictment."⁹⁵ There was a series of criminal cases in Britain in the 1920s and 1930s that underlined this indeterminacy. In 1931, while finding a woman guilty of procuring an abortion and causing the death of another woman, Justice McCardie attacked the state of the abortion law: "many of those who seek to uphold and administer [the] present law of abortion are wholly ignorant of the social problems which not only persist in our midst, but which menace the

⁹¹ *New Statesman*, October 17, 1936.

⁹² Chance, *Case for the Reform of the Abortion Laws*, 11.

⁹³ CMAC, SA/ALR/1/3/1, ALRA, Annual Report, 1936–37.

⁹⁴ Chance, *Case for the Reform of the Abortion Laws*, 12.

⁹⁵ "The Law of Abortion," *Lancet*, June 13, 1936.

nation at the present time . . . I cannot think it is right that a woman should be forced to bear a child against her will."⁹⁶ But the law remained unchanged. Even though many of the convictions for abortion involved those outside the medical professions, doctors who performed abortions also faced the prospect of prosecution; in 1936, for example, a female doctor, Laura Sanders-Bliss, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for performing five abortions.⁹⁷

An opportunity to challenge the law came in 1938. In April, a soldier raped a fourteen-year-old girl in the West End of London. The girl became pregnant. Her parents took her to Joan Malleeson, who contacted Aleck Bourne. He was one of Britain's leading gynecologists, the consulting obstetrical surgeon at St. Mary's Hospital in London, and, between 1938 and 1939, the president of the Obstetrical and Gynecological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine. Hoping to flout the existing laws, Malleeson requested that Bourne perform an abortion on the girl:

I gather that everybody connected with the case, the police surgeon, the doctor at her work, and the school doctor, all feel that *curettage* should be allowed her. I understand that some psychiatrist might be prepared to sponsor the operation.

All of this, of course, gets us nowhere unless someone of your standing is prepared to undertake the operation. Many people hold the view that the best means of correcting the abortion law is to let the medical profession extend the grounds in suitable cases until the law becomes obsolete as far as practice goes.⁹⁸

Bourne agreed. He also made clear that he would write to the attorney general and "invit[e] him to take action."⁹⁹ The abortion was performed on June 14, 1938. Bourne was charged soon afterward.

The Bourne trial became a public spectacle about abortion. That the attorney general, Sir Donald Somervell, prosecuted the case underscored the gravity of this spectacle. Bourne entered a plea of not guilty, arguing that he performed the abortion to save her life from "mental collapse" rather than physical danger.¹⁰⁰ Somervell adhered to the letter of the 1929 Infant Life Preservation Act, rejecting any psychological basis for legal abortion. Crucial to Bourne's defense was his belief that the girl was "normal" and "moral"; she did not have what he called a "prostitute mind," proved to him by her "complete breakdown" during a gynecological examination.¹⁰¹ Other witnesses, such as Joan Malleeson, similarly stressed the girl's morality and respectability; in her original letter to Bourne, read before the court, Malleeson had remarked that "the girl's parents are so respectable that they do not know the address of any abortionist."¹⁰²

Bourne was acquitted. Superficially, the outcome seemed to offer a "wide and liberal view of the meaning of 'preservation of the life of the mother,'" one that included social or psychological reasons.¹⁰³ But ALRA activists realized the limited

⁹⁶ *The Times* (London), December 19, 1931.

⁹⁷ *The Times*, July 1, 1936.

⁹⁸ *The Times*, July 19, 1938.

⁹⁹ *The Times*, July 19, 1938.

¹⁰⁰ *The Times*, July 20, 1938.

¹⁰¹ Law Reports: 1 King's Bench (1939), Central Criminal Court, *Rex v. Bourne*, July 18, 1938: 688–89.

¹⁰² *The Times*, July 19, 1938.

¹⁰³ *The Times*, July 20, 1939.

scope of the victory, criticizing those “who think that, especially after the Bourne case, all is well.”¹⁰⁴ The Bourne case brought attention to the ambiguities of abortion law, but it did so under exceptional circumstances and with arguments that had very little reference to the central concerns of abortion reformers in the 1930s. The Bourne case came to trial because a prominent, middle-class male doctor had made a public spectacle of the case of a “respectable” (and thus probably middle-class) young girl. The abortion had been performed safely, within the precincts of a major hospital. Bourne’s professionalism had been continually emphasized. This was the framework of middle-class access to abortion, whether in its environment, its actors, or even in the network of contacts between a girl, her parents, a Harley Street doctor, and a leading gynecologist. It was a network unavailable to working-class women. It should also be remarked that the Bourne trial tended to legitimate rather than challenge dominant views of femininity, particularly as they related to sexual mores. The central character in the trial was a girl rather than a woman. She was a victim of rape. Most important, she was deemed “moral” and “normal,” which meant not sexually active. Female sexuality was associated, indeed, with the “prostitute class” of women. In this regard, the presiding judge, Justice McNaghten, portentously alluded to Swinburne’s poem “Dolores” as an evocation of such promiscuity: “the cruel/Red mouth like a venomous flower . . . lips full of lust and laughter . . . marked cross from the womb and perverse.”¹⁰⁵ Finally, it is important to note that during the Bourne trial it was two upper-middle-class professional men of high social standing—Bourne and McNaghten—who judged femininity and drew its boundaries. Not only did the trial limit abortion to exceptional cases, ones that were blind to the class aspects of the problem, but the acquittal did little to reflect the complexities of femininity in the interwar period. The Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion of 1937 to 1939 gave the issue’s supporters a more genuine opportunity to present their arguments.

FOLLOWING THE CONCERNS SET OUT in the 1937 report on maternal mortality, the Home Office and the Ministry of Health established the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion. The committee was chaired by Sir Norman Birkett. Within its membership, only Dorothy Thurtle, the daughter of former Labour leader George Lansbury and later a member of ALRA, was openly sympathetic to the cause of abortion law reform. The committee met for two years, receiving written and oral evidence from a variety of groups such as ALRA, the Joint Council of Midwifery, the British Medical Association, and the National Council for Equal Citizenship. It published its final report in 1939. Although the Majority Report of the committee acknowledged that “economic and financial reasons” were the leading causes of abortion and admitted that “the law relating to abortion is freely disregarded among women of all types and classes,” it rejected the legalization of abortion for “social, economic and personal reasons.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Edgecombe, “Marital Difficulties and Abortion Law Reform,” 15.

¹⁰⁵ *Rex v. Bourne*, July 18, 1938, 694–95; Algernon Charles Swinburne, “Dolores” [1866], *Poems and Ballads* (London, 1918), 1: 154–55.

¹⁰⁶ PRO/MH 71/30, Ministry of Health and Home Office, Report of the Interdepartmental

The work, deliberations, and final report of the committee demonstrated, first of all, the ambiguity of abortion as a political issue and its liminal quality with respect to divisions between “public” and “private,” ultimately calling these categories into question. We can see this partly in the nature of political participation in the committee’s deliberations. On the surface, there was none. But, by guise and stealth, Labour women’s groups did participate. The best example is the East Midlands Working Women’s Association, the only working-class group to present evidence to the committee. The EMWWA was, in fact, the 1,300-strong Women’s Section of the East Midlands Regional organization of the Labour Party (based in the provincial English cities of Nottingham and Derby), whose desire for official representation had been turned down by party headquarters, forcing the women to form “this non-political Association . . . out of the political body.”¹⁰⁷ Abjuring a formal political affiliation and structure (and thus existing in a borderland of politics) was the only means left to these Labour women to politicize what their party had dismissed as merely private. The discussions of the committee also revealed a restless slippage between “public” and “private.” This hinged on abortion’s perceived role in shaping public morality. The committee’s final report stated unequivocally that any laws legalizing abortion threatened “the fundamental principles on which society is based, and we believe that, if given effect, they would have serious consequences.”¹⁰⁸ The committee itself linked the private to the public through abortion. Abortion could thus be played both ways: marginalized by political parties like Labour because it was private and controlled by the criminal law because it was public.

The committee’s work also underscored the centrality of class in the consideration of abortion. The working-class woman, with her double burden as wage earner and mother, was the common subject of concern among all parties in these deliberations. In its testimony, the ALRA delegation, including Janet Chance, Joan Malleson, and Stella Browne, emphasized illegal and unsafe abortions as principally a problem of working-class women: “The safer abortion is always done by the medical profession, and the unsafer is occasionally done by themselves, but rarely in the middle and upper classes of society.”¹⁰⁹ In particular, it was tied to the maintenance of living standards among the working classes during the Depression: “The reasons most often given for desiring abortion is the maintenance of an adequate standard of life for the family as a whole; whether this be judged financially, or in terms of health, house room, ambition in education, or general

Committee on Abortion, 1939, Majority Report, Conclusions, paragraphs 6, 14; Thurtle contributed a dissenting minority report, which proposed “social” abortions only for women with high fertility rates, more specifically, those women who had already had four pregnancies, in other words, women who had demonstrated their commitment to traditional family life. See PRO/MH 71/30, Ministry of Health and Home Office, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, 1939, Minority Report.

¹⁰⁷ PRO/MH 71/23, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, East Midlands Working Women’s Association, Memorandum, November 16, 1937; resolutions in favor of abortion law reform were also received from a number of Women’s Sections of local Labour parties and chapters of the Women’s Cooperative Guild.

¹⁰⁸ Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, 1939, Majority Report, paragraph 230.

¹⁰⁹ PRO/MH 71/21, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Oral Evidence of Abortion Law Reform Association Representatives (J. Chance, S. Browne, J. Malleson, and G. Thesiger), October 13, 1937.

well-being.”¹¹⁰ In Chance’s words, “the working woman needs this relief more than her sisters.”¹¹¹ From other sources, the bias toward abortion as a problem of working-class women was explicit. The Midwives Institute, drawing on a questionnaire of 1,111 of their members, stated that “[a]bortionists will flourish in any industrial area where financial and housing conditions are so bad.”¹¹² Dr. Violet Russell, the assistant medical officer for the London borough of Kensington, conducted a survey of 500 women in the spring and summer of 1937.¹¹³ Russell had not concerned herself with the problem of abortions or attitudes toward sexuality in the richer areas of the borough. Instead, she concentrated on its northern half, where there were cramped accommodations and a low average weekly income of £2 19s 8d, to “ascertain the attitude of the working-class parents in Kensington towards childbirth and the bringing-up of children.”¹¹⁴ Ivy Roche of the EMWWA put her association’s bias in blunt terms: “We have only taken the cases of women who are working, whose husbands are out of work, and of working class people generally. We have not bothered about anybody else.”¹¹⁵ The comments of Roche and her colleague, Elizabeth Oakes, were, in this regard, haunted by the shadow of male unemployment and the economic crisis facing the interwar working family.

Changes in modern femininity (particularly with respect to motherhood) and sexual morality were also themes running through the committee’s deliberations. These perspectives were cleanly divided between the pessimism about sexual mores of those opposing abortion and the reassuring tone adopted by abortion reformers. Committee members were particularly alarmist in this regard. Some felt that legal abortion would merely contribute to an existing welter of sin, increasing “the number of people who were having promiscuous intercourse.” They were especially concerned that the modern age had brought with it an antagonism to motherhood: “the fashion of having children has gone out, and people think it stupid to have them.” At some points, this anxiety strained credulity. Roche and Oakes were asked, for example, “Would there be any children?” if abortion were legalized. One committee member seemed surprised to hear that there were women who still wanted to have families and babies, “and all the rest of it.”¹¹⁶

Given the gravity of this point with the committee, it is not surprising that advocates of abortion emphasized women’s morality and commitment to motherhood. Single women were, for example, rarely mentioned in this regard. Russell stated that her control group of 500 working-class women were “respectable young

¹¹⁰ PRO/MH 71/21, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Abortion Law Reform Association, Memorandum, AC Paper, No. 13.

¹¹¹ Oral Evidence of Abortion Law Reform Association Representatives (J. Chance, S. Browne, J. Malleson, and G. Thesiger), October 13, 1937.

¹¹² PRO/MH 71/22, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Midwives Institute, Memorandum, n.d. [1937].

¹¹³ As Lara Marks has recently shown, birth control was a particularly strong issue in Kensington; see *Metropolitan Maternity: Maternal and Infant Welfare Services in Early Twentieth Century London* (Amsterdam, 1996), 148–50.

¹¹⁴ PRO/MH 71/21, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Violet Russell, “Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion,” 1937, 1.

¹¹⁵ PRO/MH 71/25, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women’s Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes), 7.

¹¹⁶ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women’s Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

citizens of the working class," without the usual stigmata of working-class immorality: "Most of the women were clean and careful with their dress and there was very little evidence of drunkenness."¹¹⁷ Russell explicitly addressed the question of moral decay among working-class women:

there is no deterioration in the character of the young working-class woman of the present day, who possesses all the devotion and affection for her husband and her children which was shown by her predecessors. What is now developed in these young parents, which was often absent in the past, is a sense of responsibility for the future of their children shown by the frequently repeated phrase that "it is not fair to bring children into the world in poverty." A change of attitude of these working-class parents has developed as a result of their realisation that it is possible to control conception; but there appeared little evidence of selfishness on their part in their wish to limit the number of their children, although it is obvious that a higher standard of living now exists than was present thirty years ago.¹¹⁸

If anything, Russell felt that attitudes had become *more* moral with respect to children and families:

The important fact is that so many young parents feel that it is right to limit their families, and feel guilty at their failure to do so, whereas in the past a large family was a source of legitimate pride. On the other hand, speaking generally, the individual children seem more valued by their parents than they were in the past, and the mother is beginning to regard the death of a child both as a catastrophe and as a reproach to her mothercraft; one no longer hears any woman volunteer that she has "buried ten." Moreover, the child is regarded less as the future support of their parents in their old age and more as an individual to whom these parents wish to give the best possible start in life.¹¹⁹

In this context, Russell assured the committee that "[t]he maternal instinct is strong."¹²⁰ Working-class women continued to be good mothers and good citizens: their use of abortion did not detract from these qualities.

The representatives of the EMWWA similarly emphasized that they were defending rather than challenging motherhood and domesticity. "Women in the main are just as anxious to have children as ever they were," Roche and Oakes stated, but unemployment and poverty had made multiple pregnancies an untenable economic prospect for working-class women: "they are frightened of the present insecurity of their position."¹²¹ In its written memorandum to the committee, the association asked that abortion be legalized not only in cases of rape, incest, or criminal assault but, most controversially, on what could be seen as social or economic grounds: "where [the] mother is a wage earner and/or another child would be a burden."¹²² This language addressed the double meaning of women's work. Against the threat of high unemployment among men and strictly circumscribed public assistance, abortion would support women in both roles:

¹¹⁷ Russell, "Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion," 1937, 2.

¹¹⁸ Russell, "Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion," 1937, 2.

¹¹⁹ Russell, "Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion," 1937, 3.

¹²⁰ Russell, "Report of an Investigation into the Question of Contraception and Abortion," 1937, 6.

¹²¹ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women's Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

¹²² Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women's Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

In places like Nottingham, Derby, Mansfield, where the bulk of the industries are light, women and juveniles are the wage-earners. The women feel that so long as their wages are necessary for keeping the home going, a pregnancy would be a disaster and an abortion is resorted to. Even when the mother does not go out to work, she contends that the extra two shillings a week allowed under the Means Test is not enough to keep another child. Other reasons given for "not wanting another child" were increased cost of living, rent for Council house, fares, etc. Mothers who were prepared to "space" their children could not afford the continued cost of birth control appliances.¹²³

The Means Test (the assessment of family income to qualify for public assistance) was a particular problem for the protection of the family. With the Means Test, childbirth had to be calculated in shillings, as one of the EMWWA representatives made clear: "May I point out to you that under the Means Tests under which so many of our people live, you are allowed 2s. for each child . . . A mother may feel that 2s. is not enough to justify another child."¹²⁴ Whether women were wage earners or non-working mothers, abortion was one strategy to shore up the family against the collapse of the male breadwinner ideal.

The argument for abortion was thus framed as a means of protecting the social condition of maternity, particularly working-class maternity. At the same time, this maternalist argument was indicted with other languages, ones that invoked more radical visions of femininity and women's rights. According women respect as citizens, for example, ran through ALRA's evidence. When it presented its memorandum and evidence to the committee, ALRA stressed that illegal abortion was not the choice of selfish, irrational, and promiscuous women but of "parents who loyally serve the best interests of the family, as they see them."¹²⁵ Chance held that "voluntary parenthood" was the result of rational reflection, not the symptom of an immoral society: "It means in principle that the considered judgement of serious citizens on this question must be taken into account . . . [I]n broad principle we must consider that our fellow citizens' reasons are sound and serious and worthy ones, when they consider birth would be a disaster. I think we are taking a great responsibility on ourselves when we conscript unwilling thoughtful people into parenthood."¹²⁶ Chance's insistent use of "citizen" to describe women is noteworthy, inscribing femininity within a clearly public space. This had resonances with the emphasis on motherhood as citizenship made by feminist maternalism earlier in the century.

The right of choice for which ALRA argued was not only couched in terms of membership as citizens within the public sphere, it carried with it an argument for female autonomy in both public and private spheres. One version of this came with Browne's testimony (as an individual, rather than a member of ALRA), in which she called for women's sexual liberation.¹²⁷ But Browne's comments were admit-

¹²³ PRO/MH 71/23, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, East Midlands Working Women's Association, Memorandum, November 16, 1937.

¹²⁴ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women's Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

¹²⁵ PRO/MH 71/21, Abortion Law Reform Association, Memorandum, AC Paper, No. 13.

¹²⁶ Oral Evidence of Abortion Law Reform Association Representatives (J. Chance, S. Browne, J. Malleson, and G. Thesiger), October 13, 1937.

¹²⁷ PRO/MH 71/21, Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, Oral Evidence of Stella Browne, n.d. [1937].

tedly outside a maternalist context. Within that framework, the delegates of the EMWWA were particularly emphatic in their belief that abortion be an unchallengeable right for women. When it was suggested by the committee that family allowances, full employment, or more generous housing and health benefits might be better ways to preserve families than the legalization of abortion, the representatives of the EMWWA insisted that, whatever social and economic reform had been attempted, abortion and birth control remained crucial to that aim.¹²⁸ This implied that, once granted, abortion would become an inalienable right. Roche and Oakes also insisted that, as a choice, abortion had to be left solely in the hands of individual women, not those of the state, the medical profession, or even husbands. This was particularly true of “social” or “economic” abortions. Only the woman affected, Roche stated, could be the judge of “economic circumstances”; if she saw those economic circumstances put at risk by the birth of another child, she had a right to an abortion: “if a woman goes and asks for it on economic grounds, then it does seem to me that she should have it.”¹²⁹ At one point, this insistence on the autonomy of individual women led to a clear moment of *frisson* in the proceedings:

Q. What it really comes to is this: that the woman can go to a doctor and say: “Please give me an abortion”? That is really what it comes to, if she is to be the judge. There is to be no appeal from it. It is universal, legalised abortion. That is what Mrs Roche is advocating?

A. Yes.

Q. If the mother is to be the judge of the economic circumstances, it really means that you have complete universal, legalised abortion, does not it?

A. Well, what I want is this—

Q. Is that so? Is that really the point of view which you desire to put?

A. May I answer it in this way?

Q. You most certainly answer in any way you like; but the question is capable of an answer Yes or No. That is really your point of view, I take it, is not it?

A. Then may I say Yes?

...

Q. That is perfectly logical and perfectly right: but what you are really saying is this, is not it: I do advocate universal, legalized abortion, because the existing situation is very much worse in its evils than legalised abortion would bring about?

A. Yes, I think that is so.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women’s Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

¹²⁹ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women’s Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes).

¹³⁰ Oral Evidence of East Midlands Working Women’s Association Representatives (I. Roche, E. Oakes), 11–12.

As Lara Marks has suggested, this determination may have been rooted in the experience of World War I and higher expectations held by women for the quality of their lives and the ambit of their own actions: "While most of the women employed in large factories left once they were married, many of them carried the experience they had learned in the workplace into their married lives. For many of these women, the factory had raised their expectations of what a home should contain, what role their husband should play, and what they were entitled to as citizens in the provision of housing, welfare and maternity care."¹³¹ The subjects of Ferdynand Zweig's study *Women's Life and Labour* (1952) similarly felt "the need to mark their disagreement with the past, with the bad experience of their childhood."¹³² The public acknowledgement of choice over reproduction in the private sphere would lend legitimacy to that determination.

Tensions about femininity, maternity, and their relationship to ideas of gender ideology and public and private surfaced throughout the deliberations of the committee. Again, it was perhaps inevitable that the abortion debate raised these questions. Leonore Davidoff has remarked, for example, "campaigns which used liberal principles of individual autonomy and equality, or even those claims which were made on the basis of women's place within the family, would ultimately unleash the radical contradictions of the public/private divide, including the rational individual man and the feminized, dependent woman."¹³³ The outbreak of World War II interrupted this debate. ALRA continued in existence, but it did not regain momentum until the 1950s. At that point, with full employment and greater welfare provision, the context of abortion reform had changed considerably. What remained consistent was the growing complexity of motherhood and femininity, particularly with the growth of part-time work for women, the decrease in the size of families, the expansion of educational opportunities, and, not least, higher expectations of companionate marriage.¹³⁴

THE INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE submitted its final report in 1939, with the majority recommending no change in the abortion laws. This was grounded in the belief that legal abortion would destroy the "religious and ethical teaching and . . . fundamental principles on which society is based."¹³⁵ Abortion would encourage sexual liberalization, proving "an added temptation to loose and immoral conduct[;] . . . There would . . . almost inevitably be a tendency for promiscuous sexual

¹³¹ Marks, *Metropolitan Maternity*, 68; see also Sally Alexander, "Becoming a Woman in the 1920s and 1930s," and "Memory, Generation and History: Two Women's Lives in the Inter-War Years," in *Becoming a Woman and Other Essays in 19th and 20th Century Feminist History* (London, 1994), 203–24, 231–42.

¹³² Ferdynand Zweig, *Women's Life and Labour* (London, 1952), 66.

¹³³ Davidoff, "Regarding Some 'Old Husbands' Tales," 183.

¹³⁴ On these points, see Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, *Women's Two Roles: Home and Work* (1956, 2d edn., London, 1968); Klein, *Britain's Married Women Workers* (London, 1965); Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (Harmondsworth, 1957); Norman Dennis, Fernando Henriques, and Clifford Slaughter, *Coal Is Our Life* (London, 1956); Liz Heron, ed., *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing Up in the Fifties* (London, 1985); Birmingham Feminist History Group, "Feminism as Femininity in the Nineteen-Fifties," *Feminist Review* 3 (1979): 48–65.

¹³⁵ PRO/MH 71/30, Ministry of Health and Home Office, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, 1939, paragraph 230.

intercourse to be more common" in a period during which "a loosening of the bonds of sexual morality . . . [and] a tendency for the gratification of sexual desires by unmarried persons" had already occurred.¹³⁶ For the committee, this consideration of "the effect upon public morals" was rooted in the complexity of modern femininity and the threat this posed to traditional gender ideology:

A marked change has . . . occurred in family life. Women have entered into competition with men in numerous spheres of activity. The wife is not infrequently the principal, and sometimes the sole, wage-earner in the family . . . Changed social circumstances may have made the problem more acute. Many avenues of employment are open to the single woman, and the child may be, or may be thought to be, a hindrance to her progress in the career she has chosen.¹³⁷

It was the uncertainty of gender identity that the committee apparently found so frightening. Legalizing abortion would serve to embrace rather than reject such complexity: affirming the separation of reproduction from sexuality as a choice for women would erode the importance of motherhood as a credible signifier and assertion of gender difference. This anxiety around this question can be evinced from the exaggerated and overdetermined arguments and tone of the report. The evidence provided by abortion reformers had done little to suggest that abortion was undermining "fundamental principles" such as motherhood and community. Their argument was, of course, the opposite. Working-class women were not entering into "competition" with men so much as having to find ways of compensating for male unemployment toward the end of preserving the working-class family. But the report ignored this evidence and presented instead an alarmist vision of a society on the edge of a sexual abyss. It could be argued that this alarmism was directly related to the maternalism of abortion reforms, because the complexity of this argument could not be comprehended. A maternalism favoring legal abortion could only be read simplistically by the committee, as either promiscuity or careerism, desperately shuffling the deck of feminine stereotypes. To do otherwise would be to abandon one of the foundations of established gender ideology and identity: a category of motherhood defined by dependence, subordination, and, not least, unburdened by complexity.

This reaction itself reveals the radicalism of abortion arguments in the 1930s. Mary Louise Roberts has argued that, in France of the 1920s, the image of motherhood provided a reassurance of gender continuity against the dissonance of "modern woman."¹³⁸ The British discourse favoring abortion law reform offered no such reassurance: it rendered motherhood not as a refuge from the ferment of modern femininity but as its principal locus. Maternalism was thus far from a restrictive or conservative language in this regard. Abortion reformers used maternalism to make the case for abortion in a way that was attentive to particular social contexts such as working-class motherhood. But the use of maternalism also helped subvert the discursive restrictions of the category of motherhood. Judith Butler has remarked that opposition to a dominant order can be found "*within* the

¹³⁶ Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, 1939, paragraphs 235, 301.

¹³⁷ Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Abortion, 1939, paragraphs 225, 275.

¹³⁸ Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*, 10.

very terms by which power is reelaborated.”¹³⁹ This is precisely the dynamic of the testimony and arguments in favor of abortion law reform. Abortion reform was about the protection of the family, but it implied women’s power and autonomy in that role and, of course, carried with it the possibility of renouncing motherhood. The subordinate and dependent qualities attached to motherhood were thus rewritten as autonomy and independence, not outside the context of the family but in relation to it. The very working of the language of abortion reform—that, to borrow Bhabha’s phrase again, it “waver[ed] between vocabularies”—was itself a radical strategy.¹⁴⁰ The refusal to reduce the complexity of women to a simple categorization of motherhood subverted established gender ideologies, by resisting a crucial element in their construction: the definition or naming of femininity through fixed qualities. This also rested not in a rejection of motherhood (as we might see in “second wave” feminism) but by investing it with other more complex meanings and placing it in particular social contexts, making it an unfixed maternalism. Just as the “mimic man” of colonial discourse reminded the colonizer of the anarchy of identity, against which, armed with strategies of domination and definition, the latter restlessly struggled, abortion reminded those desiring to maintain particular sexual or gender ideologies of the difficulty of that project. The new historical subject emerging from the abortion debate was a more complex feminine subject. This “subversive multiplicity” was ultimately what made abortion “a new world for women.”¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Irene Costera and Baukje Pinns, “How Bodies Come to Matter: An Interview with Judith Butler,” *Signs* 23 (1998): 279.

¹⁴⁰ Bhabha, “Introduction,” 2.

¹⁴¹ Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 19; Browne, “Right to Abortion,” 31.

Stephen Brooke is an associate professor at York University, Toronto, where he has taught in the Department of History since 1999. He was previously Associate Professor of History at Dalhousie University. He is the author of *Labour's War: The Labour Party and the Second World War* (1992) and articles on subjects including the development of socialism in the mid-twentieth century, the political response to post-1945 immigration, and British film and literature of the 1980s. He is also the editor of *Reform and Reconstruction: Britain after the War 1945–51* (1995). Brooke received his doctorate from Oxford in 1988 under the supervision of Kenneth O. Morgan. The present essay grew out of his interest in the relationship between identity, society, and politics in twentieth-century Britain, an interest he will explore in a book-length study of gender and socialism since the 1920s.

Was the Third Reich Movie-Made? Interdisciplinarity and the Reframing of "Ideology"

SCOTT SPECTOR

FOR DECADES, historians of America and Europe have been attentive to some of the ways in which film history might offer access to general socio-historical questions. In both teaching and research, movies and other popular media have for some time been seen as barometers of changing social norms and values. More recently, they have been analyzed not merely as mirrors of society but as cultural products that themselves have had an active role in representing, but also enforcing or even constituting, visions of society and of history.¹ Implicit in this shift is an understanding that the place of film within our discipline is not only an important but a complex one: that the reciprocal relations among creators, financiers, regulators, and spectators of movies cannot be reduced to a simple formula. How can we use film, in research or in teaching, to engage historical questions? What sort of questions can be answered by such analysis, and what methods must be employed to answer them?

While the potential interdisciplinary engagement I will be exploring in this essay relates to film studies, and while the example I focus on concerns the National Socialist period in Germany, my concerns here are actually broader. And though I will refer to a variety of fairly recent (and not-so-recent) publications, this is not intended as a review essay or survey of the literature in a given field; rather, my goal is to demonstrate the possibilities that a deeper interdisciplinary engagement with film offers and also to draw attention to a pattern of resistance to such an engagement, in spite of the presumed consensus in favor of interdisciplinarity in principle. I am particularly interested in drawing out the ways in which a richer, if

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¹ See, for instance, the trajectory formed by the following works in American history: Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America: A Cultural History of American Movies* (New York, 1976); John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson, eds., *American History/American Film: Interpreting the Hollywood Image* (New York, 1979); Ian C. Jarvie, *Movies as Social Criticism: Aspects of Their Social Psychology* (Metuchen, N.J., 1978); Robert A. Rosenstone, "Genres, History, and Hollywood: A Review Article," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27 (1985): 368–70; Daniel J. Walkowitz, "Visual History: The Craft of the Historian-Filmmaker," *Public Historian* 7 (Winter 1985); Robert Brent Toplin, "The Filmmaker as Historian," *AHR* 93 (December 1988): 121–27; and the volumes written and edited by Rosenstone in the 1980s cited below, n. 9.

also thornier, conception of “ideology” could be taken up by historians to a greater degree than it has been.² Like “consent” and “resistance,” ideology is a concept historians tend to feel most comfortable about when it is used in its narrowest and most concrete senses (in the case of ideology, when it refers to official doctrine or dogma, contrary to nature or objective truth). But the historical study of ideology needs to set out not only to identify what it was that a regime or age demanded be believed but how it did so, what it demanded that it did not necessarily say, and, perhaps above all, if also most elusive, how individuals’ understanding of themselves and their relations to the world around them interplayed with these demands. Film and media studies have been at the advance guard of inquiry into these different registers of “ideology.”

Why focus on Nazi film and the ways in which its study can enrich the historiography of Nazism? After all, wasn’t this period exceptional, rather than exemplary, in terms of the place of ideology in relation to everyday life? Of course, the answer is not that National Socialism “had” ideology while Weimar and postwar Germany—or contemporary European and American societies—did not, but rather that the extremity of the case may be precisely what exposes the difficult relationship between ideological superstructure and everyday living. This is a prime reason that the field of Nazi popular culture has become such a focus for scholars on both sides of the history/cultural studies divide.

THE COMPELLING LINKS between cinema in Germany’s Third Reich and National Socialist history were in place years before provocative formulations such as Anton Kaes’s title *The Return of History as Film* and Hans-Jürgen Syberberg’s *Hitler: A Film from Germany*.³ Historians and film scholars alike are aware of the special place the Nazi propaganda ministry reserved for the film industry, and that this interest was primarily focused on entertainment rather than propaganda film. Joseph Goebbels’s and Adolf Hitler’s personal interest in entertainment film is well documented. The conflation in the fantasies of these men between the making of history and the making of a heroic film is apparent in the remarkable investment of money and human resources for Veit Harlan’s 1945 epic *Kolberg*, as it is in Goebbels’s pronouncement of the same year that the Germans should stand fast for the sake of the prospect of “a fine color film of this historical moment to be made in 100 years . . . Hold out now, so that a hundred years hence the audience does not hoot and whistle when you appear on the screen.”⁴ These facts, in combination with

² The multiple and sometimes apparently contradictory meanings of the term play an important part in the discussions of the concept of ideology to arise since the late 1970s. See, for instance, Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (1976; rpt. edn., New York, 1983), 152–57; Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London, 1991), 1–31; Michèle Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Stanford, Calif., 1991), 3–34. I reserve a more extended discussion of the concept for the last section of this essay.

³ See Anton Kaes, *From “Hitler” to “Heimat”: The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Hans-Jürgen Syberberg’s film and book, *Hitler, ein Film aus Deutschland* (Reinbek b. Hamburg, 1978), Joachim Neugroschel, trans., *Hitler, A Film from Germany* (New York, 1982).

⁴ Goebbels’s speech to the Propaganda Ministry staff on April 17, 1945, cited in Rudolf Semmler, *Goebbels: The Man Next to Hitler* (London, 1947). This fantasy of life-as-film/present-as-history was situated in the context of the troubled production of *Kolberg*, the epic of German resistance to the

deep and far-reaching analysis of Nazi film and society, led film historian Eric Rentschler to remark that "Hitler's regime can be seen as a sustained cinematic event," even that "the Third Reich was movie made."⁵

Certainly, historians of Germany between 1933 and 1945 may assess these statements to be, at best, partial truths, if not hyperbolic, overly metaphorical, or otherwise of relatively little use to the field of German history. Notwithstanding, Rentschler's book *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (1996) is historically grounded in ways historians traditionally recognize: Rentschler's readings of Nazi entertainment films are dependent on equally nuanced understandings of the contexts of Goebbels's Ministry of Propaganda, the complex relationship of the German film industry to the rivalry of Hollywood, and the question of public consent in relation to foreign and domestic policy. Another 1996 book on German entertainment film of the Nazi period, Linda Schulte-Sasse's *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema*, while not at all insensitive to historical contexts, is more deeply invested in critical approaches informed by literary and psychoanalytic theory.⁶ These two excellent books differ substantially from one another, even where they offer readings of the same films, as in the cases of the well-known anti-Semitic feature *Jew Süss* (1940) and the early Nazi youth feature *Hitler Youth Quex* (1933), as well as the fantasy blockbuster *Münchhausen* (1943). Their striking agreement, however, is that the traditional, bifurcated view of German cinema between 1933 and 1945 as either a tightly controlled vehicle for state propaganda or else an escapist diversion from a hyperpoliticized everyday must be discarded. Rentschler and Schulte-Sasse are both occupied with the question of how these films were "entertainment"—embodying visual pleasure, "fantasy," and "desire"—at the same time that they were produced and received within ideological fields of meaning. They are also both convinced that these ideological fields, even in films with the most blatant propaganda messages, are fraught with contradictions and resistances that are fundamental to their structures. In the last analysis, for both these authors, the dichotomy of "propaganda" and "entertainment" must be a false one, because of the complex functions of the film medium on the one hand and the malleability of ideology on the other.⁷

Napoleonic onslaught, produced at great expense, including the deployment of thousands of troops as extras, during the last stretch of the war. This remarkable comment has been cited very often by film historians and others, and serves as the epigram of Saul Friedländer's *Reflections of Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death*, Thomas Weyr, trans. (New York, 1984); on the film studies front, Kaes uses this quote as a point of departure for his argument about the conflation of the historical chronicle and the simulacrum of filmic representation; see *From "Hitler" to "Heimat."*

⁵ Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 1.

⁶ Linda Schulte-Sasse, *Entertaining the Third Reich: Illusions of Wholeness in Nazi Cinema* (Durham, N.C., 1996).

⁷ Critical reassessments of the entertainment/propaganda dichotomy in relation to film in this period can be found in German-language publications such as Stephen Lowry, *Pathos und Politik: Ideologie in Spielfilmen des Nationalsozialismus* (Tübingen, 1991); Leonardo Quaresima, "Der Film im Dritten Reich: Moderne, Amerikanismus, Unterhaltungsfilm," *montage/av* 3, no. 2 (1994): 5–22; and especially the work of Karsten Witte; but the reception of this work by historians of National Socialism in Germany is even more marginal than on this side of the Atlantic. Lowry's position, discussed at greater length below, is offered in English in the article "Fascist Film or Unpolitical Entertainment?" *New German Critique*, no. 74 (Spring–Summer 1998): 125–49, where he argues that the search for political content in these films "often stifles a complete and more differentiated assessment of the

So the story of Nazi film is not simply another example of the regime's control over everyday life in Germany; it does more than fill out our picture of the activity of the various Reich culture offices.⁸ What place might the recent spate of criticism of cinema by German studies and film specialists have in the historiography of National Socialism, or, obversely, what may have been missed in the historical study that has kept itself in relative isolation from this recent scholarship? There is much evidence—including, for instance, the comparatively recent establishment of a section of film reviews in this journal—that historians are more willing than ever to include film in their “archive.” Yet this inclusion has generally not entailed increased attention to film studies work produced in neighboring disciplines, much less any borrowing of interpretive method from film studies. Historians have been more apt to analyze the contemporary historical film in terms of its value as an alternative mode of historical representation. This venture is a worthy and important one, as long as it takes seriously the difficult questions of how such representations are cinematically produced and experienced, rather than identifying plot-line and selection of factual material as the principal or even total representational elements of a “historical” film. Robert A. Rosenstone stands out as someone outspokenly interested in avoiding a critique of facticity in favor of “exploring the visual media as a way of rendering the past” and showing how “the very nature of the visual media forces us to reconceptualize and/or broaden what we mean by the word, history.”⁹ It is not only the historical film that has something to say to historians, however. My argument in this essay is that a reading of recent scholarship on Nazi entertainment film and of the films themselves against questions posed by the historiography of National Socialism can help historians rethink several things. Such readings bear not merely on the ways in which we use film as evidence, as a primary source, or as a pedagogical device, they also provide new ways to engage the fraught but nonetheless central question of National Socialist ideology and its relationship to German history.

Both intellectual history and film studies have significantly complicated their conceptions of “ideology” generally, and Nazi ideology in particular, over the last decades. The chief structure of the earlier studies of Nazi film (the school Schulte-Sasse provocatively calls the “propaganda camp”) neatly corresponded to the master narratives of intellectual history from the same period: “ideology” was

peculiar normality at work in Nazi films and of the complex society in which they circulated . . . foreclos[ing] scrutiny of less direct effects, of continuities with earlier and later German cinema”; p. 127.

⁸ Compare Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993), which focuses on three of the Reich culture offices but not on the film office; and Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996), which focuses on institutional politics of visual art and, most fascinating, collection practices. Yet another film studies book appearing in English in 1996 does fill this sort of role; see Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945*, Robert and Rita Kimber, trans. (New York, 1996). Each of these works, in different ways, offers a more complex reading of the relationship of Reich cultural policy to cultural practice in the Third Reich, disturbing the commonsense assumption that ideological doctrine drove cultural policy, which in turn determined the form of aesthetic products.

⁹ Robert A. Rosenstone, *Visions of the Past: The Challenge of Film to Our Idea of History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), see esp. 6. See also the essays collected in Rosenstone, ed., *Revisioning History: Film and the Construction of a New Past* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

conceived in a rather monolithic, stable, and unidirectional way, disseminated from the top down, indoctrinating audiences and publics. This way of looking at ideology and German film was prepared by Siegfried Kracauer's study of proto-fascist or authoritarian themes in the Weimar cinema, *From Caligari to Hitler* (1947), and led to Erwin Leiser's documentary film and book *Germany, Awake* in 1968.¹⁰ Leiser's work should be acknowledged as an important precursor to more recent film and ideology studies in that it set out to break down the boundary between propaganda and entertainment film, albeit only by dismissing the possibility of diversion from or resistance to Nazi propaganda within films produced under the regime. Hence Leiser claimed that although only about one-sixth of the over 1,000 feature films produced in the Third Reich were "straight political propaganda" (certainly an overestimate), nonetheless "every film had a political function."¹¹ These statements and the analyses they yielded depended on assumptions of an exact isomorphism of several spheres that were, in fact, each constantly shifting and elusive, so that their perfect coincidence would have been impossible. These supposedly coincident spheres were Nazi ideology *qua* doctrine, the Nazi propaganda apparatus (including the Propaganda Ministry [RMVP] as well as the co-opted film industry), and the representational space of the films produced between 1933 and 1945.

In contrast to Leiser's assumption of ubiquitous ideological messages, David Stewart Hull's *Film in the Third Reich: Art and Propaganda in Nazi Germany* (1969) divorced the aesthetic and entertainment value of movies from their ideological content, or even posited the subversive potential of entertainment films. This position, too, was enabled by a view of ideology that focused on directed propaganda. The elision between stated programs (especially those of Goebbels) and cinematic practice was most apparent of all in the work of David Welch, whose 1983 monograph *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933–1945* did much to explore the centrality of the film industry to Goebbels's ideological mission, without, however, acknowledging the complexity and internal contradictions of both that ideological project and its presumed execution.¹² Welch's edited anthology *Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations* (1983), as the title implies, did question the degree of ideological saturation effected by the Nazi cinema, but it still depended on the founding structural model of a coherent propaganda program disseminated to the masses through the vehicle of Nazi propaganda films and features. This reduction of ideological fields of meaning to indoctrination is already

¹⁰ See Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, N.J., 1947); Erwin Leiser, "Deutschland, erwache!" *Propaganda im Film des Dritten Reiches* (Reinbek b. Hamburg, 1968), trans. by Gertrud Mander and David Wilson as *Nazi Cinema* (London, 1974). Leiser's book was published in the wake of his documentary film *Deutschland, erwache!* which consisted of clips from German films from the Nazi period organized by propaganda theme, introduced by brief explications of the way they reflected Nazi political and ideological goals.

¹¹ Leiser, *Nazi Cinema*, 12.

¹² David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1983). See also Gerd Albrecht, *Nationalsozialistische Filmpolitik* (Munich, 1969); and Albrecht, ed., *Film im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Karlsruhe, 1978). That Welch's and Leiser's approach to reading propaganda themes in Nazi film still holds considerable power is evident in a recently translated study of Nazi documentary film; see Hilmar Hoffmann, *Und die Fahne führt uns in die Ewigkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), J. Broadwin and V. R. Berghahn, trans., *The Triumph of Propaganda: Film and National Socialism, 1933–1945* (Providence, R.I., 1996).

suggested by the Hitler quotation that serves as the epigram to Welch's introduction: "Propaganda, propaganda, propaganda. All that matters is propaganda."¹³

In intellectual history, the landmark 1960s studies of George Mosse and Fritz Stern provided genealogies of "Volkish" thought.¹⁴ These immensely influential works offered readers doctrinal contexts that allowed National Socialist anti-Semitism to be seen as something other than the aberrant obsession of a psychologically unstable fringe. In retrospect, however, these works seem to have reinforced a rigid dichotomy of enlightened Western thought pitted against a reactive rebellion. Furthermore, they contributed to a view that tended to treat Volkish ideology as a consistent and self-contained body of thought. The same assumption of self-containment can be discerned in what came to be a governing dichotomy in Nazi historiography: the conflict between so-called "intentionalist" and "functionalist" explanations of Nazi policy, most importantly the state's approach to the "Jewish question."¹⁵ The ordering of such explanations according to a view of the centrality of Hitler and his radical anti-Semitic personal ideology, on the one hand, or of his relative weakness in a structurally decentered system, where ideological radicalization emerged as an effect of factional competition, on the other, is only possible with the reduction of the notion of ideology to an institutionally sponsored doctrinal program. The question itself betrays a programmatic definition of ideology—to posit an opposition between "intention" and "function" presupposes this very specific understanding of ideology as fully self-conscious and internally consistent.

Sophisticated approaches to this level of "ideology" have been anything but foreign to historians. Practitioners of our discipline have in fact been at the forefront of research into the complexities of official ideology, especially the racist foundations of Nazi society and its troubled relationship to the concept of modernity, as well as the modernist roots of the "final solution."¹⁶ The question of "consent" and "resistance"—the forms such activities could take beyond the categories of collaboration and sabotage—has entered the field with a vengeance, with extremely provocative effects.¹⁷ Among the insights to come out of such work

¹³ David Welch, *Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations* (Totowa, N.J., 1983), 1.

¹⁴ George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964); and Fritz R. Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1961); see also Jost Hermand, *Der alte Traum vom neuen Reich: Völkische Utopien und Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988).

¹⁵ An excellent review of the controversy is in Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds., *Reevaluating the Third Reich* (New York, 1993), see esp. 6–13, 86–113. See also Tim Mason, "Intention and Explanation: A Current Controversy about the Interpretation of National Socialism," in G. Hirschfeld and L. Kettenacker, eds., *Der "Führerstaat": Mythos und Realität; Studien zur Struktur und Politik des Dritten Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1981), 23–41.

¹⁶ In place of attempting to survey the entire literature, I offer the following works as examples of these successes: Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York, 1996); Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Ippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945* (Cambridge, 1991); Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance: "Euthanasia" in Germany c. 1900–1945* (Cambridge, 1994); Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1984); Detlev Peukert, "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' from the Spirit of Science," in Childers and Caplan, *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, 234–52, and other essays in that volume.

¹⁷ In the 1980s, this research moved from an earlier focus on organized political resistance to the realm of daily life. See among many others Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1987); Alf

is the notion that collusion and resistance can coexist, or that certain forms of resistance are built into or are produced by the repressive ideology itself. At the same time, in film and media criticism, the compendium of approaches that has come to be identified as "cultural studies" has opened inquiry into popular culture as a locus of ideological imposition as well as subversion; various reading strategies bring out the holes in the textual fabric, the multiple valences of narrative and rhetoric in the filmic text, and produce a generally much more varied picture of the way ideological meanings are produced, mediated, and received than we had before.

Finally, in the wake of the extraordinary popular reception of Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners* and, most recently (if less dramatically), the English-language editions of German-Jewish academic Victor Klemperer's diaries from the years of Nazi rule, the question of the degree of ideological saturation within German society has become central, with a particular focus on anti-Semitism.¹⁸ In Goldhagen's book, "ideology" is a term that does not appear on its own in the index, and he employs it exclusively in the sense of a specific program moving toward the Holocaust: "genocidal ideology," or "eliminationist ideology." He introduces the term "eliminationist antisemitism" to cover a set of notions about Jews explicitly linked to the goal of their eradication from German society, and he makes the claim that this "eliminationist ideology" was in place long before Hitler came to power. This reductive account of anti-Semitism was a primary object of attack by scholars of Germany, and even Goldhagen himself later deemphasized this aspect of his book, which was obviously never meant to serve as an intellectual history of anti-Jewish thought.¹⁹ Ironically, the question of the role of ideology in the violent history of the Third Reich would thus be raised in force through the lens of a view of German anti-Semitism less differentiated than the intellectual histories of the 1960s.

In the wake of scholarly attacks on Goldhagen's thesis, methods, and analysis, the most extreme functionalists acted as though the book conclusively discredited causal accounts of Nazi policy focused on anti-Semitic ideology. It was perhaps in reaction to this turn of the Goldhagen reception that several highly regarded intellectuals came to his defense, stressing the merits of a view that acknowledged the inescapable question of the place of the Jew in modern German cultural fantasy (as opposed to the function of anti-Semitism within National Socialist rhetoric,

Lüdtke, ed., *Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen* (Frankfurt, 1989); Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1983); Michael Balfour, *Withstanding Hitler in Germany: 1933–1945* (London, 1988). The sophisticated turn such research has taken in the 1990s is demonstrated in Michael Geyer and John W. Boyer, eds., *Resistance against the Third Reich, 1933–1990* (Chicago, 1994).

¹⁸ Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); Victor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933–1941*, Martin Chalmers, trans. (New York, 1998); and *To the Bitter End: The Diaries of Victor Klemperer, 1942–1945*, Chalmers, trans. (London, 1999).

¹⁹ See the review of the Goldhagen reception by István Deák, "Holocaust Views: The Goldhagen Controversy in Retrospect," *Central European History* 30, no. 2 (1997): 295–307. Compare Jeremiah M. Riemer and Andrei S. Markovits, "The Goldhagen Controversy," *Tikkun* 13 (May/June 1998): 48–49; Manfred B. Steger, "Genocide, Resistance and Willing Executioners: Reflections on the Goldhagen Controversy," *Southern Humanities Review* 32 (Fall 1998).

program, or policy).²⁰ This defense thus represented more of a desire to further, rather than to abandon, ideological questions associated with German (as opposed to Nazi) anti-Semitism, even if Goldhagen's own account of German anti-Semitism was, at best, perfunctory and reductive. The notion of a generalized "eliminationist antisemitism" has indeed not persuaded the great majority of historians of Germany any more than the somewhat more moderated but no less teleological version of Paul Lawrence Rose, "revolutionary antisemitism."²¹ The most persuasive alternative is offered by Saul Friedländer in the thoughtful first volume of his work *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, where the term "redemptive antisemitism" is introduced to capture the insoluble fusion of utopian and violent fantasy that characterized the most radical variant of modern German anti-Jewish sentiment.²² Friedländer is careful about claims of the degree to which large numbers of Germans shared this worldview, and also about the degree to which ideology drove the course of events leading to the Holocaust. He thus successfully navigates his cautious history beyond the treacherous terrain of the intentionalist-functionalist debate as well as of the more recent Goldhagen debate, but he does not do so by attending to the ways in which ideology actually operated on the level of individual subjects in Germany in the 1930s. "Redemptive antisemitism" remains a provocative formulation, but it does not yet begin to explain the phenomena of complicity and consent.

How do film studies approach the slippery target of ideology in ways that might be relevant to these historical questions? The early studies of Nazi film, while forging the field in important ways, as I have indicated, tended to focus on the question of the explicit propaganda function of films, drawn mainly from straightforward plot analysis. The current film scholarship, diverse as it is, has the virtue of adding to the equation of meaning-production in film a host of extra-narrative aspects: the semiotic complexity of images and of sound, the sequencing of images and the establishment of visual tropes, and, not least important, the referentiality of aspects of the film to things

²⁰ Notably, Andrei S. Markovits, "Störfall im Endlager der Geschichte," in Julius H. Schoeps, ed., *Ein Volk von Mördern? Die Dokumentation zur Goldhagen Kontroverse und die Rolle der Deutschen im Holocaust* (Hamburg, 1996), 228–40; and Elie Wiesel, "Little Hitlers," *The Observer*, March 31, 1996; but also the sharply critical Omer Bartov, who attacked the author for his lack of moderation and inexplicable claims to originality, while asserting that he was not wrong to "stress once more the importance of anti-Semitism . . . as an arguably crucial and (in recent mainstream scholarship) somewhat underemphasized condition of the Holocaust." In summarizing the dispute between Christopher Browning and Goldhagen over Police Battalion 101, Bartov mentions the possibility of a third position, "which stresses a crucial factor neglected both by Browning's circumstantial interpretation and by Goldhagen's essentialist view, namely the powerful impact of ideology . . . on the perpetrators." Bartov, "Ordinary Monsters," *New Republic* 214 (April 29, 1996): 32–38, see 34 and 35.

²¹ See Paul Lawrence Rose, *Revolutionary Antisemitism in Germany from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), where two distinct *Sonderweg* arguments—the one about a German revolutionary spirit transcending left and right orientations, the other about an anti-Semitism essentially different from other European anti-Semitisms—are interwoven into a single teleological fantasy spinning for centuries toward the Holocaust. In fact, the remarkable attention given to Goldhagen's 1996 book notwithstanding, it has been more the rule than the exception that intellectual historical studies of German anti-Semitism resort to sweeping exceptionalist diagnoses about a unified anti-Jewish mindset running from Reformation to Holocaust. See, for example, John Weiss, *Ideology of Death: Why the Holocaust Happened in Germany* (Chicago, 1996). Compare the enlightening critical review by Geoff Eley, "What Are the Contexts for German Antisemitism? Some Thoughts on the Origins of Nazism," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 14 (1997).

²² See Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews* (New York, 1997), 73–112.

outside the frame. This involves historical contextualization as well as the analysis of the cultural meanings associated with particular movie stars, and, finally, self-referential gestures toward the film medium or the mass media society itself. This matrix of potential meanings unsettles earlier readings of Nazi films as “propagandistic” or “subversive,” replacing this opposition with a mode of analysis that leaves room (often uncomfortably) for the cohabitation of contradictions. The shape of “ideology” itself, I will argue, is altered by such readings.

ONE RESULT OF THE NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES to the ideological content of Nazi films has been a shift of research objects from films with explicitly anti-Semitic or nationalist content to the Hollywood-style light features or “*heitere Filme*” (musicals, comedies, and romances) that made up as much as 90 percent of the German film industry’s production between 1933 and 1945. It is here, in the sphere normally associated with *diversion* from the politicized everyday, that both absorption of and resistance to ideology has been charted in a fascinating way. And yet to illustrate the point I am making, it is worth looking at recent discussions of the most obviously “ideological” and infamous of the Universum-Film-Aktiengesellschaft (UFA) productions, the anti-Semitic “hate film” of 1940, *Jud Süß (Jew Süß)*. Here was a tale easy for anyone to decipher: a fable (announced from the start of the film as “based on historical events”) of a sinister and greedy Jew, Joseph Süß Oppenheimer, insinuating himself into a high position in eighteenth-century Württemberg, despoiling the duchy and bringing it to near ruin, opening the city’s gates to an infestation of Jews, lusting after and raping the heroine, Dorothea, and driving her to suicide, before order is restored with his trial and execution. Historians of Nazi Germany know this film and understand it in much the same way earlier film historians did. The studies of the film from the 1960s and 1970s chart its tremendous popularity alongside its status as a propaganda vehicle (since the state played an uncharacteristically interventionist role in the sponsorship and production of the picture) and its representation of the Jewish “threat.” The film certainly delivers the overt message of the age-old danger of admitting the Jew into Aryan society, and it illustrates the chief features of the Nazi anti-Semitic stereotype (Jewish greed, sneakiness, lust for Aryan women, Jews’ desire to pass as something they are not, and so on). What use to the historian could more nuanced readings of this manifestly unsubtle work be?

Rentschler’s analysis in *The Ministry of Illusion* does much to turn the discussion from how the film produced a stereotypical image of Jews to how it operated in the social fields of Germany in 1940 and its postwar revaluations. A chief contribution of his multi-layered reading is the degree to which the construction of the Jew is “a means of self-support,” in his words, the sign for an “existential necessity” of Nazi ideology to define an ideal self and project a contemporary critique of self onto a constructed Other.²³ A quote from Hitler serves as the epigram of the essay: “Has it not struck you how the Jew is the exact opposite of the German in every single respect, and yet is as closely akin to him as a blood brother?” Rentschler tracks a

²³ See Eric Rentschler, “The Elective Other: *Jew Süß* (1940),” in *Ministry of Illusion*, 149–69, 355–63.

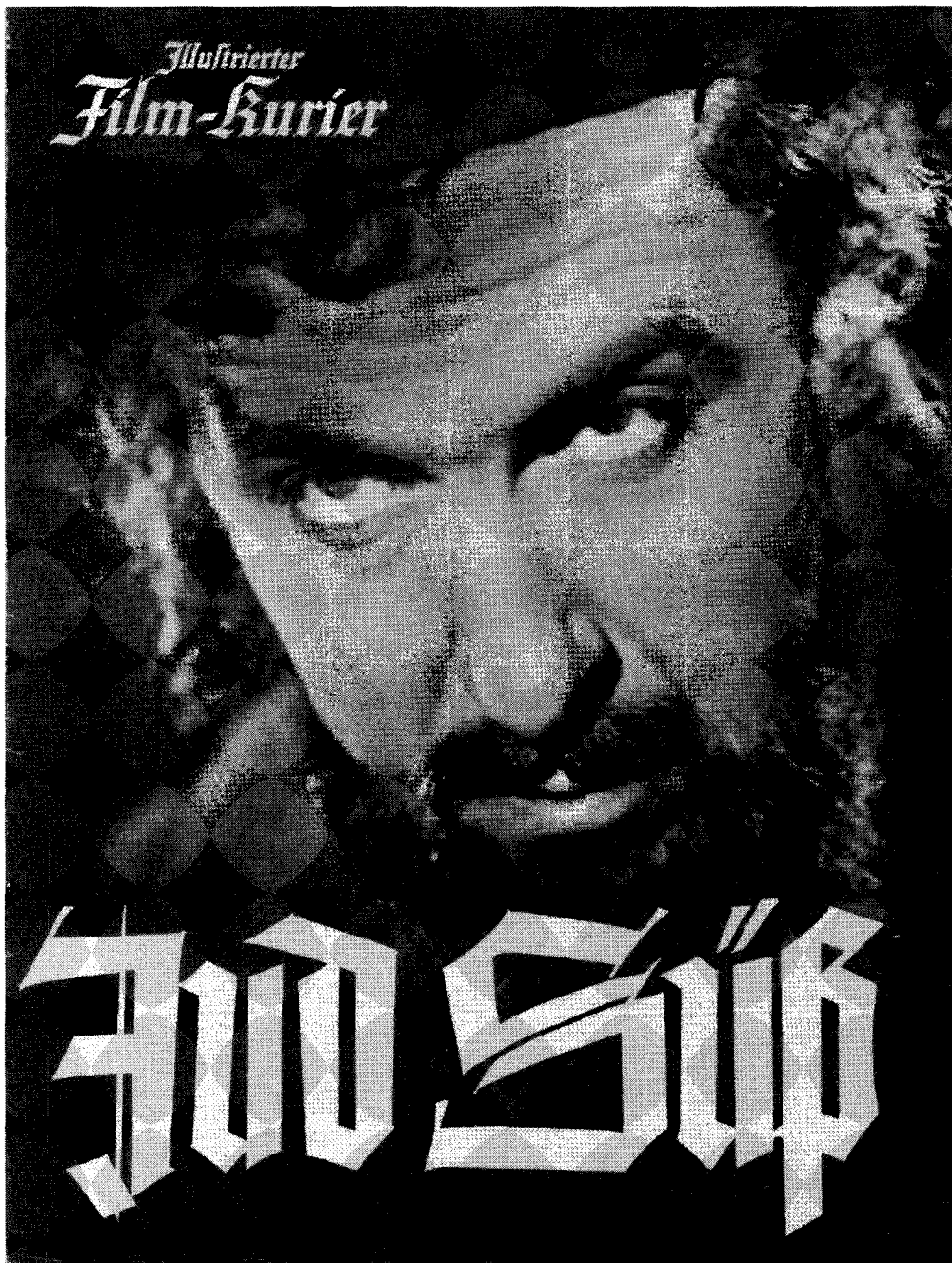


Figure 1: Demonic Other? Ferdinand Marian as Joseph Süss Oppenheimer on the cover of the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 3130 (1940). Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin. Copyright Verlag für Filmschriften, Hebertshausen.

series of signs of identity and otherness throughout the film in ways that reveal a semiotic complexity that is only obscured by the reduction of the film's effects to reinforcements of anti-Semitic stereotypes. The cinematic dissolves from the state escutcheon to the illegible Hebrew letters at the entrance to the Frankfurt ghetto, from "Jewish" to "Aryan" faces, and others, suggest for Rentschler an equivalence

at the same time as they assert difference. The very liberal use of this filmic technique, the "strange territory of the Nazi dissolve," is inseparable from a message not only of juxtaposition or difference but of dissolving boundaries, negative doubles, or mirrored selves, of an interior monologue. Rentschler reads the film's musical theme "All Thoughts I Have, They Are with You" (the theme of the star-crossed Aryan lovers destroyed by Süß) as a potential "motto for National Socialism's privileged and obsessive relation to the Jew." One of the film's many effective dissolves moves from the chaotic wails of an exoticized synagogue service to Dorothea's saccharine rendition of the theme. If we are persuaded by the thesis that the figure of the Jew in this film serves more as a critique of a German self than of a "foreign" community on German soil, then the historical place of anti-Semitism in the Nazi imagination, and of real and violent anti-Semitic policy in German society, needs careful reevaluation.

Schulte-Sasse's book on Nazi entertainment film takes a more explicitly psychoanalytic approach to ideology informed by the work of Slavoj Žižek and Jacques Lacan. She, too, notes of these figures that "they are each other's Other and cannot exist independently."²⁴ As "dialectical opposites," they cannot exist without one another. Her essay on *Jew Süß* does several things at once, but in reference to this issue of anti-Semitic ideology it provides specific textual evidence for an abstract operation Žižek has described in *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. This operation is the so-called "identification with the symptom," whereby the racist subject recognizes the Jew as the necessary product of the world he or she makes, or creates a "Jew" replete with "excesses" that reflect a truth about the subject. It is a fascinating argument and one that depends on dense and close readings of film sequences. The point that historians of National Socialism can take away from these readings is that it is *not enough* to say this film from 1940 and/or this society from 1940 were "anti-Semitic." It behooves us to explore how anti-Semitism was constructed and how it operated—textually and socially—what functions it might have served, and how its peculiar construction had similarly specific effects.

The core moment of *Jew Süß* is a rape scene in the finance minister's bedroom suite, and here, too, recent critiques identify a remarkable ambivalence obscured by the traditional reading, which held that this represents a crucial tenet of Nazism, the *Blutschande* fantasy of Jewish sexual predators defiling the race. Marcia Klotz points to a fact also raised by Rentschler in his chapter: the Austrian actor Ferdinand Marian, dangerous Other of many Nazi-era films, received in the wake of *Jew Süß* a spate of fan mail from smitten female spectators. Klotz focuses on the ways in which desire for the Other is semiotically produced in this infamous rape scene, and in two other Nazi films, to demonstrate a complexity of the relationship between the anti-Semitic ideology and the figure of the Jew that goes beyond demonization.²⁵ Schulte-Sasse interprets data in ways that would support this view:

²⁴ See Linda Schulte-Sasse, "Courtier, Vampire, or Vermin? *Jew Süß*'s Contradictory Effort to Render the 'Jew' Other," in *Entertaining the Third Reich*, 47–91, see 90.

²⁵ Marcia Klotz, "Epistemological Ambiguity and the Fascist Text: *Jew Süß*, *Carl Peters*, and *Ohm Krüger*," in *New German Critique*, no. 74 (Spring–Summer 1998): 91–124, see 96–102. Klotz's larger project in this essay is the question of "epistemological ambiguity," or the "gray area that lies between the realms of 'knowing' and 'not knowing,' a realm generated within the field of Nazi ideology that was absolutely crucial to the smooth functioning of the German fascist regime" (p. 91). Such a project



Figure 2: Collage of stills from *Jew Süss* in the *Illustrierter Film-Kurier* 3130. Below, Süss and Dorothea seem destined for one another, while Dorothea's betrothed (upper left) is fixated on an ideal. Courtesy of the Stiftung Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin. Copyright Verlag für Filmschriften, Hebertshausen.

would appear to be indispensable for historians of “everyday Germans.” The problem historians might find with Klotz’s essay is one she acknowledges, and that I will address below: the necessarily

"Desire, narrative contingency, and editing destine Dorothea and the Jew for each other," just as treatments of the Dracula story (including German director F. W. Murnau's) destine Mina/Nina for the vampire rather than for her beloved, Jonathan Harker. Dorothea is delivered to Süss's arms, according to Schulte-Sasse, in ways "readable as a sublimated desire to be raped." This position is supported by the film's promotion stills, which consistently set Dorothea and Süss together, with her heroic Aryan husband either cut out of the frame or else looking on in the background as if an intruder.

The production of desire for the demonic Other runs like a red thread through a host of Nazi entertainment features, where, in nearly all cases, no figures of Jews are present. Rentschler's reading of Luis Trenker's *The Prodigal Son* (1934) turns on precisely this axis, where the Bavarian mountain youth needs to satisfy his desire for the big city with a disastrous venture to New York (which in some ways resembles Weimar Berlin as much as it does 1930s America) before he can really be one with his native homeland. But these narrative conventions, again, are not the clumsy allegories they appear. A fine example of this is Detlef Sierck's (Douglas Sirk) *La Habanera* (1937), where Zarah Leander plays a Swede, Astrée, who is seduced by the romance and adventure of the passionate South and stays behind in Puerto Rico to marry the matador and tyrannical demagogue, Don Pedro, played by none other than Ferdinand Marian. Here, too, on the level of narrative, it is easy to identify this as a morality tale, where the overt seductive excitement of the passionate Other masks a tyrannical perversion and immorality, while the quieter, icy veneer of Sweden holds hidden goodness and magic to which Astrée longs to return. The subplot of a devastating fever ravaging the island, covered up by the greedy Don Pedro, who eventually succumbs to the illness and in his death frees Astrée, seems to reinforce this schema, as it also seems to resonate with the Nazi medicalization of otherness and fetishization of hygiene.

Rentschler skews this grid of allegorical associations. On the extratextual level, various factors confuse the apparent allegory: the film's production during German intervention in the Spanish Civil War, Zarah Leander's multivalent position as Nordic Nazi film star and symbol of foreign exoticism and erotic challenge to official German prudery, Douglas Sirk's status as soon-to-be-exile anti-Nazi, even Brechtian, director.²⁶ The threat of international "quarantine" of Germany (President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "quarantine speech" three months before the film's release) complicates the allegory, as do other correspondences to Nazi Germany: Puerto Rico's isolation/insularity, its enslavement to a charismatic tyrant (Don Pedro) with absolute control via a secret police force and total control of dissemination of information, Don Pedro's desire to maintain the island's insularity from the influence of other nations while remaining in their favor (for the sake of

speculative nature of an inquiry into how complex ideological messages were (and not just "could be") processed by actual moviegoers. See Klotz, "Epistemological Ambiguity," 124.

²⁶ Indeed, the interpretation of *La Habanera* as Nordic/fascist allegory was not dominant, according to Rentschler, due in part to the pieties surrounding Sierck's presumed subversive filmmaking (characterized by an exaggerated and therefore ironized *mise en scène*) and Leander's oppositional associations. Rentschler thus displaces these "myths" with a more complex reading of ideological signifiers and their potential receptions. See *Ministry of Illusion*, 126–29.

tourism). Thus Rentschler can claim that “this German film about Puerto Rico embodies what it depicts: the ‘primitive’ island becomes both the Aryan state’s structured opposite and its displaced double.”²⁷ Seen within multiple fields of signification structured by Germany of late 1937, the allegorical grid becomes a sophisticated and entangled matrix of contradictory meanings. Here, again, an elaborate interpretation of ideological figuration emerges, whereby resistance, subversion, and desire for the villainized are built into the ideological frame, and where constructions of ideological others are inseparable from fantasy projections of a persecuted self.²⁸ “Aesthetic resistance,” Rentschler ventures, “was part of the system; it provided a crucial function in a larger gestalt . . . While transporting overt political contents, the film seemed to step off track—all the better to maintain a clear ideological course . . . Films like *La Habanera* demonstrated that excess, irony, and distanciation could reaffirm rather than destabilize the status quo.”²⁹

As I suggested earlier, this shift to the study of popular feature films, and with it a more subtle understanding of ideological identification, is not only usable for historians of National Socialism. Parallel moves can be noted in the work of historians and film studies scholars on, for example, the Soviet culture industry. Earlier work in this field focused on the communist avant-garde films of masters like S. M. Eisenstein. More recently, what Denise Youngblood has called the “forgotten Soviet cinema”—films more popular with Soviet audiences than the high-brow work—has come under study.³⁰ Youngblood’s work on film, like German film studies of the 1990s, successfully argues for a shift of perspective from the elite to the popular, or from high-brow to middle-brow culture, and she contributes to a growing awareness of the role interdisciplinarity has come to play in this field.³¹ Focusing on movies made during the New Economic Policy period (which, some might argue, may skew her argument), Youngblood’s Soviet cinema is remarkably bourgeois, with audiences demonstrating familiar desires for “conformity to conventional visual styles and narrative structures,” for romantic escape, and for recognizable movie stars. This is also the weakness of her study, which seems to flatten out and dehistoricize viewers’ desires.

In Richard Stites’s sweeping survey of mass culture from prerevolutionary Russia through every stage of Soviet history, *Russian Popular Culture*, the author demonstrates the changing pulse of nation and state through film. As is the case with the leading historians of German everyday life, Stites does not work with a model of

²⁷ Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 134.

²⁸ This complex reciprocal relationship has been discussed by Omer Bartov in the provocative article “Defining Enemies, Making Victims: Germans, Jews, and the Holocaust,” *AHR* 103 (June 1998): 771–816, now in his book *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (Oxford, 2000). Bartov’s discussion dwells on the intersubjective level of collective identity and memory constructions but in a very complex way, since it links these constructions across time and space (the definitions of fantasy “elusive enemies” and victimized selves from Jews in pre-Nazi and Nazi Germany to Germans and Israelis after the Holocaust). Bartov’s goal is to use the exemplary case of German anti-Semitism to expose the structure of an ideological complex that he suggests is anything but unique to National Socialism.

²⁹ Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 144.

³⁰ Denise Youngblood, *Movies for the Masses: Popular Cinema and Soviet Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge, 1992), 3.

³¹ Youngblood, *Movies for the Masses*, xiv–xv. See also Denise Youngblood, *Soviet Cinema in the Silent Era, 1918–1935* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1985).

ideology and culture such as that offered by Rentschler. He is more attuned to the deliberate ways in which ideologues with control over film production were able to communicate messages, and concerned with how Soviet history can therefore be reread through film history: how films "influenced the feelings of the lower classes in the revolution," mobilizing resentments and other politically charged emotions; how enemies were dehumanized and workers heroized; that the postwar films demonstrated what he provocatively calls a "demonumentalization." He does maintain a distinction of politically charged historical films from what he calls "purely entertainment" features such as melodramas, but his ideological read on this distinction is subtle: the melodramas increase proportionally during the war as the need for escapism increases, and yet even these features can be examined for ideological content. Nonetheless, he confines his discussions to the ways in which the regime "used the medium consciously for political-ideological purposes," as a tool of the "Stalinist spectacle state," which appears to maintain control over the interplay of filmic text and audience in ways that escape Rentschler's ministry of illusion.³²

Nazi cinema seems to be a boom field in German Studies departments. Rentschler's and Schulte-Sasse's books are in the company of other substantial work on Nazi entertainment cinema, including a special issue of the flagship theory journal of German studies, *New German Critique*.³³ Many further articles and book chapters fit into this picture of a broader approach to cinematic effects and to ideological inscription, focusing, to varying degrees, on complicated production histories, on the relationship to a reviled and an envied Hollywood (the double and "negative double" of UFA's studio city, Babelsberg), the implications of the star system, and the way differences of gender and class, among other differences, inflected reception.³⁴ Simultaneously, German historians have come to take the category of the everyday, popular culture and a differentiated image of ideological dissemination more seriously than they used to. These bodies of work may be seen as signs of the growing openness to interdisciplinarity, but they may also be markers of an increasing specialization. Nazi film analysis in the generation of Erwin Leiser and David Stewart Hull was in dialogue with the genealogies of anti-Semitism drawn by their contemporary intellectual historians, which does not seem to be the case for today's historians and German film scholars. For those historians of

³² Richard Stites, *Russian Popular Culture: Entertainment and Society since 1900* (Cambridge, 1992), see esp. 33–36, 94, 115, and 139.

³³ *New German Critique*, no. 74 (Spring–Summer 1998), Special Issue on Nazi Cinema. In her contribution to the special issue, "Nazi Cinema at the Intersection of the Classical and the Popular," Patrice Petro also notes the explosion of interest in Nazi films (heralded by, among other things, two symposia in 1997) and its relationship to trends in histories of National Socialist Germany, which "chart continuities as well as discrepancies between National Socialist policy and everyday culture in the Third Reich." Petro also notes that it is "curious (or perhaps not curious at all) that historians of 'everyday fascism' have rarely looked to cinema for evidence they seek of the mundane, everyday aspects of life within which Nazism and its crimes unfolded. Indeed, what better place than the cinema to find traces of the choices, emotions, and coping mechanisms of ordinary Germans?"; pp. 41–43.

³⁴ See, for instance, Marc Silberman, *German Cinema: Texts in Context* (Detroit, Mich., 1995), 49–96; Sabine Hake, "The Melodramatic Imagination of Detlef Sierck: *Final Chord* and Its Resonances," *Screen* 38 (Summer 1997): 129–48; Thomas Elsaesser, "Hollywood and Berlin," *Sight and Sound* 7 (November 1997): 14–17; the contributions by Anke Gleber and Janet Lungstrum in Katharina von Ankum, ed., *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); the collection *Der Star: Geschichte—Rezeption—Bedeutung* (Munich, 1997).

National Socialist Germany who wish to give central consideration to the issue of ideology—that is, those who do not take anti-Semitism to be ornamental or of secondary importance to the shape of events between 1933 and 1945—there remain difficult questions about the nature of ideological formations. In this sense, a look at entertainment film of this period does more than fill out a picture of daily lives in the Third Reich, it explores the formations that framed them.

HOW FAR ARE WE, AS HISTORIANS, willing to take the lessons of film studies—and the lessons of films themselves—in rethinking the encounter of ideologies and publics? Do the horizons of the discipline as it has been defined, or does historical methodology itself, limit the ways in which we are able to integrate a more complex, and at the same time often self-contradictory and fuzzier, version of ideology? These questions are not really about the concept of ideology at all but rather about the problem of interdisciplinarity. This term has enjoyed such a level of approbation in recent years as to deflect consideration of what it may actually entail in relation to the less touted companion concept of what we might call “disciplinarity.” Yet we constantly (and justifiably) discriminate between the useful importation of methods from other fields of knowledge and incursions that draw us away from what we identify as historical thinking.³⁵

In teaching, of course, the questions have been posed differently. Since the 1940s, the dominant, even commonsense notion of the place of film in the history classroom has been that it is a more attractive medium for students than textbooks, but one must be vigilant that it represents past events in an accurate and responsible way.³⁶ Discussions of the pedagogical use of film have continued to assume that movies draw students in more effectively than books but that historical accuracy may be compromised by the medium. In the twenty-first century, these dual assumptions remain familiar, and yet seem already dated, even quaint.

There are several reasons to think of this model as obsolete. First of all, the “culture wars” of the last fifteen years or so have brought not only professional historians and teachers but the general public as well to a heightened consciousness of the ways in which purportedly “neutral” or even “objective” representations necessarily serve some sort of agenda. This is not to say that filmmakers, audiences, or historians have abandoned a notion like “historical truth”; quite to the contrary: there is simply a general awareness of the status of all presentations of history as representations, as mediated entities with sources in and effects on present political perspectives. With its origins in education within the armed services during World War II, the first uses of film in the classroom were hardly less rooted in ideology

³⁵ As a marker of the shifting ground of interdisciplinary innovation and resistance, see Peter C. Rollins’s introduction to a special issue of *American Quarterly* on film and American studies, where historians are to provide the interdisciplinarity and traditional film studies the resistance. Rollins is optimistic that the contextual work begun in that issue indicated the greater promise of interdisciplinary and historical work than the “myopic” concerns of film scholars. See Rollins, “Film and American Studies: Introduction,” *American Quarterly* 31 (Winter 1979): 595.

³⁶ In this sense, this 1943 article from the Teacher’s Section of a historical journal covers very familiar territory: Philip D. Jordan, “Social Studies and the Sound Film,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 30 (December 1943): 408–11.

than contemporary ones, but the relationship is no longer muted. As for the advantages of movies over books in capturing student interest, the age of "cyberconsciousness" has come to tax many young people's patience with full-length films—especially black-and-white or subtitled ones but also independent American releases or even Hollywood features in genres they would not choose to watch on their own—no less than reading. Both of these developments, however, have a compounded result when the projector (unfortunately, it is more often a VCR) is switched on in the classroom: students identify their own role as that of critical spectators.

Yet the channeling of this self-consciously critical position is just where historians using film in the classroom have met the need for lessons from other disciplines. For at least a generation, educators have entertained the notion that students need training in how messages are constructed and transmitted in a film text, the goal being a sort of "visual literacy," or, as one author has put it, "students need not only to 'get the point' of a film; they also need to understand how it is 'gotten across.'"³⁷ In spite of calls for sensitivity on these issues, it is safe to say that much, if not most, of the use of film by historians in class and in print (witness the balance of film reviews in this journal) has fallen back on the notion of the accuracy of portrayal in films representing the past.³⁸ The reasons for this must ultimately have to do with how historians define the terrain of the discipline: matters of historical context are more at home in our analysis than matters and modes of reception. When Rentschler subtitles his book *"Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife,"* for example, he implicitly refuses to station these representations in a single frame of ideological transmission and predetermined reception but rather stakes a claim on the fluid filmic territory that includes movies' pre-histories as well as post-histories. Schulte-Sasse also troubles more static "historical" readings of Nazi films by situating them within eighteenth-century narrative contexts of melodrama at the same time as she extrapolates from them to transhistorical psychic epiphenomena. In sum, historians have known for a long time that our use of film should be informed by those who have been thinking about how messages are produced by, transmitted through, and

³⁷ John E. O'Connor, "Teaching Film and American Culture: A Survey of Texts," *American Quarterly* 31, Special Issue: Film and American Studies (Winter 1979): 718–23. An excellent article from 1952 suggested a shift in focus to the interplay of spectator and film; see David and Evelyn T. Riesman, "Movies and Audiences," *American Quarterly* 4 (Autumn 1952): 195–202.

³⁸ I have already cited some exceptions to this focus, including within the pages of this journal. One further example is the excellent article in the last issue, Charles Ambler, "Popular Film and Colonial Audiences: The Movies in Northern Rhodesia," *AHR* 106 (February 2001): 81–105, where the author reconstructs the ways in which colonial audiences' experience of Hollywood films was not engineered by the movies' overt messages or the censoring arm of the colonial state. Historians may be better equipped than their cultural studies counterparts to engage in such reconstruction, but evidence such as that with which Ambler was able to work is not always available, as I discuss further below. The question of accuracy has been somewhat retooled within the explorations of historical representation in film as a viable competitor to narrative history in the works of Robert A. Rosenstone cited above, and in an *AHR Forum* on the subject: Rosenstone, "History in Images/History in Words: Reflections on the Possibility of Really Putting History onto Film," *AHR* 93 (December 1988): 1173–85; David Herlihy, "Am I a Camera? Other Reflections on Films and History," 1186–92; Hayden White, "Historiography and Historiophoty," 1193–99; and John E. O'Connor, "History in Images/Images in History: Reflections on the Importance of Film and Television Study for an Understanding of the Past," 1200–09.

received from movies. But the most sophisticated developments of that thinking have been hard for historians to reconcile with their own projects.

Indeed, Schulte-Sasse's work on film from this period has been largely ignored by historians, as have most of the articles on Nazi film and ideology mentioned so far. *The Ministry of Illusion*, on the other hand, has been able to cross the disciplinary divide more successfully. Rentschler's book, unlike Schulte-Sasse's, is deeply historical in the conventional senses: it is first of all sensitive throughout to institutional contexts, historical agency, and change over time. Furthermore, Rentschler's close readings of individual films are nested in a dense contextual matrix derived from serious and wide-ranging archival work. Thus, in spite of the fact that Rentschler has been trained as a specialist in German literature and made a career in film studies, even conservative practitioners of our profession have no trouble identifying him as a "film historian," even one of the foremost historians of German film. But we will have to look further to see which aspects of Rentschler's analysis have been found useful for historians, or *how* he has been appropriated as a historian and how he has not.

An extraordinary sympathy for this work is detectable in Geoffrey Cocks's review of two books on German cinema for *Central European History*.³⁹ Cocks's own intimacy with discourses of psychoanalysis allows him to avoid segregating the terrains of historical matter and theory of fantasy, a dichotomy that, as I have been asserting, only does damage to the insights of this book and others. Cocks is thus able to attend to "the corporatist mix of public and private authority and taste" that informed Goebbels's position as, in Cocks's words, a "Minister of Amusements."⁴⁰ As the deft shift from Rentschler's word "illusion" to Cocks's "amusements" implies, the reviewer is sensitive to the ways in which the distraction of cinema was seen as an integral part of an ideological program. But if what was at stake was not merely the question of "distracting" the masses but of captivating the realm of distraction itself, of coordinating a state program with the explicitly private sphere of spectators' desires (as so many of these researchers assert in their different ways), will this lead historians to the murky ground of "fantasy"?

Cocks may find such ground firmer than others would. A less sanguine but more exemplary case of the degree to which a film history such as Rentschler's is seen as compatible with the historiography of Nazism is available in Jay Baird's review of *The Ministry of Illusion* in the *American Historical Review*.⁴¹ Needless to say, no single book reviewer ever represents the historical profession as a whole. I want to treat this particular review as a symptomatic response to Rentschler's book, to speculate on how it works to set out boundaries for what sorts of analysis lie within the terrain of the historical profession and what arguments lie, and should remain, beyond it.⁴² A reading of Baird's review can shed light on the possibilities as well as

³⁹ Geoffrey Cocks, "The Ministry of Amusements: Film, Commerce, and Politics in Germany, 1917–1945," *Central European History* 30, no. 1 (1997): 77–88.

⁴⁰ Cocks, "Ministry of Amusements," 82.

⁴¹ Jay W. Baird, book review, *AHR* 103 (April 1998): 545–46.

⁴² By "symptomatic," I mean that this review is a particularly clear manifestation of a particular condition of historiography, and exemplary in this sense only. That is not to say that Baird's response is exemplary or typical for all historians or all German historians, as Cocks's very different position demonstrates. There is a great deal of receptivity to the lessons of cultural analysis from other disciplines in the German history field, to be sure (as several of my own footnotes will attest). The

the current limits of interdisciplinary dialogue in the subfield of the history of National Socialist ideology. For his own part, Baird may be seen as an ideal reader of Rentschler's book from the perspective of historians of National Socialism, with a respected set of publications on Nazi history to his credit and with a particular expertise on the subject of propaganda and the figure of Joseph Goebbels, whose central role in the film office of the Propaganda Ministry is well known.⁴³

It is, therefore, not surprising that Baird's initial praise of Rentschler's book in what is a generally positive review focuses on identifiably historical issues, such as the continuities among Weimar cinema, Nazi film, and contemporary culture pointed up by the book. He is impressed by Rentschler's balance of respect for some of the artistry of cinema of the period with attention to sinister effects: "a message of unspeakable criminality was often bathed in ethereal light. The result was what Rentschler calls 'psychotechnology.'"⁴⁴ It is worth noting that this level of analytical subtlety, where ideological horror is coupled with—and indeed inseparable from—a high level of aesthetic idealization, was already present in the earlier generations of research on culture and ideology in the Third Reich.⁴⁵ The reviewer praises as pathbreaking Rentschler's reading of Leni Riefenstahl's film *The Blue Light* (1932) in terms of the mountain-film genre and the ideological legacy to National Socialism, extols his commentary on the way the notion of homeland is worked through the social and existential context of the Great Depression in *The Prodigal Son*, and makes reference to the book's encyclopedic appendices. This array of compliments, however, mainly serves to circumscribe the terrain of the historically useful *Ministry of Illusion*, which, in Baird's view, is "seriously deficient" precisely at the level of ideology critique, or of historically situating art in relationship to politics. Yet, as my review of some of Rentschler's readings should make clear, this is exactly what his book does most forcefully.⁴⁶

One particular paragraph of Baird's review is key to an understanding of the limits of interdisciplinary dialogue in the field of Nazi ideology and culture. The prominent place of a list of evocative phrases ripped from the context of Rentschler's deft arguments, rendering them utterly oblique, reads at first like a

question I am hoping to get at in this essay has to do with what the necessary limits of these lessons might be, from the disciplinary perspective of History. Hence this *AHR* book review helps me map out this ground.

⁴³ See esp. Jay W. Baird, *The Mythical World of Nazi War Propaganda, 1939–1945* (Minneapolis, 1974). Rentschler, for his part, is somewhat critical of Baird's scholarship; see *Ministry of Illusion*, 320 n. 11.

⁴⁴ Baird, book review, 545.

⁴⁵ See, for example, George L. Mosse, "Beauty without Sensuality/The Exhibition *Entartete Kunst*," in Stephanie Barron, ed., *"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles, 1991), 25–32. The continuity of Weimar filmic modernism and Volkish, authoritarian, or otherwise proto-Nazi ideology was already established by Kracauer in *From Caligari to Hitler*.

⁴⁶ It is noteworthy that a review essay written for a more popular audience displays some of the symptoms I am identifying in Baird's treatment: J. S. Marcus stresses the centrality of film to the Third Reich, the luster of its blockbusters, and hence "German history's distraction from itself," ignoring the links Rentschler makes between distraction and ideological message, and recoiling from what he calls "Rentschler's modish academic style"; Marcus also agrees with Baird that Rentschler has valuably "assembled much sound historical detail, especially in his appendixes." See Marcus, "Screentime for Hitler," in *New York Review of Books* (March 4, 1999): 39–42. Schulte-Sasse's work, with its principal focus on the play of ideology within a structure of viewer fantasy-formation, seems to be out of the view of historians and general public alike.

traditionalist scholar's attack on "jargon." Yet the gulf separating Rentschler's work and Baird's reading of it is deeper than a cleft between disciplinary discourses. I quote the paragraph in full:

Flamboyant prose and jargon, joined with a relentlessly self-congratulatory introduction (the author uses the pronoun "I" some thirty-eight times in this section alone) will trouble some readers. Patience is called for as one is informed that in the Third Reich a state apparatus "colonises fantasy production," while "Fascist aesthetics . . . represent a function of formal surfaces" (p. 14). Nazi films are said to "dialecticize reality," most notably *Hitlerjunge Quex* (1933), where "a movement occupied an individual in the hope of overcoming masses" (p. 59). The historic Paracelsus is rendered "the servant of an ideological elsewhere" (p. 180). The film *La Habanera* (1937) is said to deliver "a synthesis of noble kitsch and nuanced *Kammerspiel*, a regressive scenario outsmarted by an ironic mise en scene (p. 129)."⁴⁷

Baird is willing to accept Rentschler's interpretive placement of Nazi films, with all their propagandistic baggage, within a context of film history spanning several ideological regimes. Furthermore, he does not seem uncomfortable with obscure coinages that fall within these acceptable limits of interpretation, as his complimentary citation of Rentschler's concept of "psychotechnology" proves. If it is not the non-traditional language in which Rentschler's analysis is sometimes couched that sets much of its most adventurous claims outside the purview of historical interest, what is it?

The cited remark on the colonization of fantasy production and the formal function of fascist aesthetics is drawn from Rentschler's condensed summary of the pathbreaking work of German film specialist Karsten Witte.⁴⁸ Even without turning to Rentschler's original (and unfortunately misquoted) text, many readers may identify in it a reference to the difficult, but utterly crucial, question of fascist aesthetics. Apart from recognizable iconography, can one speak of a fascist style, aesthetic, or image? Susan Sontag's seminal 1975 essay, "Fascinating Fascism," provocatively articulated the need to think through, if not to historicize, the relationship of formal aesthetic elements to ideological content.⁴⁹ Such a project, whether it is historicized or not, is necessarily semiotic in approach and has been shunned by historians of National Socialism since the tentative suggestions by George Mosse roughly contemporary with Sontag's essay, its republication, and the ensuing discussions.⁵⁰

More puzzling is Baird's objection to the claim that Nazi films "dialecticize reality," in part because of an apparent error in the review. Rentschler does make the point that one film "dedialecticizes reality," or oversimplifies a knotty social

⁴⁷ Baird, book review, 129.

⁴⁸ Karsten Witte's work on entertainment film in the Third Reich has been of singular importance as a source for all of the work presently under discussion. See, for example, Witte, *Lachende Erben, toller Tag: Filmkomödie im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1995); and "Visual Pleasure Inhibited: Aspects of the German Revue Film," J. D. Steakley and Gabriel Hoover, trans., *New German Critique*, nos. 24–25 (Fall–Winter 1981–82): 238–63. The previously discussed special issue of *New German Critique* is an homage to Witte.

⁴⁹ Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," *New York Review of Books* (February 6, 1975), rpt. in Sontag, *Under the Sign of Saturn* (New York, 1981), 71–105.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Mosse, "Beauty without Sensuality."

conflict for audiences.⁵¹ Again, one could ask whether the trendy transformation of “dialectics” into “dialecticize” is what is at issue, or whether the introduction of dialectics as such is the problem for Baird. For while, on the one hand, dialectics not only belong to the province of History but constitute the historical concept that has been the most crucial to critiques of ideology across the disciplines, Baird’s review, by contrast, completely avoids any discussion of this aspect of Rentschler’s work. The 1933 youth propaganda feature about a boy nicknamed “Quicksilver,” or “Quex,” *Hitler Youth Quex*, for instance, is shown in Rentschler’s analysis to enact the embodiment of an abstract collective ideal in one individual, Heini Völker by name, the martyr who will represent the surrender of one’s person for the ideal Reich. The dying body of the boy who has struggled against the Communist milieu of his family and neighborhood for self-realization in the Hitler Youth dissolves into the image of the wavering flag, representing something greater than death, as the Hitler Youth anthem reminds the viewer in the last frame of the film.⁵² The Third Reich’s first sponsored film thus works as a spectacle, like the spectacle of Nazi pageantry, “intensifying life to the point of devivification,” “focus[ing] on a human subject and transform[ing] him into a political property.”⁵³ This play between individuation, collective constitution, and self-destruction is shown by Rentschler to be rehearsed with precision through the specific parameters of a cinematic medium ideally suited to meld these oppositions within the frame of fantasy.

The conspicuous absence of any treatment of these insights in the *AHR* review, or their reduction to parodically reduced and decontextualized phrases, implies at least one historian’s view that they lie outside the terrain of historical analysis. They may inform Baird’s assessment that this is “the most important book of Third Reich film criticism, technique, and semiotics to date,” that the book is “[a] major contribution to the history of an art form” but not to Nazi history as such. Interestingly, though, after declining to engage with a sophisticated treatment of ideology that seems to him to belong to the non-historical disciplines—or else to represent incomprehensible “flamboyance”—Baird ends his review with the specific criticism that Rentschler’s book ignores ideology in its focus on entertainment films: “By diminishing the importance of ideology in film, it distorts rather than illuminates historical reality. David Welch’s *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933–1945* (1983) remains the standard work on the historic Goebbels and Nazi cinema.”⁵⁴

So we are back at the “propaganda thesis,” the top-down model of ideology as univocal state program that Rentschler’s work, along with others in German film studies, has left behind. The question that remains—and it is a genuinely open and difficult question—is, what are the alternatives to the paradigm of ideology and culture shared by an earlier generation of film scholars and historians? And will an entertainment of these alternatives within the subdiscipline of German history enhance historical work or draw it away from the specificity and materiality that we continue to think of as central to historical analysis?

⁵¹ See Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 68.

⁵² Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 69.

⁵³ Rentschler, *Ministry of Illusion*, 55.

⁵⁴ Baird, book review, 546.

UNTIL NOW, I HAVE IDENTIFIED historians' reticence to absorb the potential implications of recent film criticism with an apparent preference for a relatively limited and contained definition of "ideology." Slavoj Žižek has recently edited a volume called *Mapping Ideology* that explores the changing views of the historical and intellectual-historical place of ideology, which he breaks down, in Hegelian fashion, into three discrete "moments."⁵⁵ Following Hegel's three components of religion—doctrine, belief, and ritual—Žižek posits that ideology can be and has been discussed in terms of three separate, if intricately linked, levels: ideology as a "doctrine" or complex of ideas (consider the best work of George Mosse and Fritz Stern but also Hannah Arendt and Theodor Adorno); "ideology in its externality, that is, the materiality of ideology" (think of the specific ways in which historians have fleshed out the social and institutional forms shaped by racist doctrine, such as the work of Michael Burleigh and his collaborator Wolfgang Ippermann, Timothy Mason, Jane Caplan, Omer Bartov, and Saul Friedländer, among many others); and a third level: "the most elusive domain, the 'spontaneous' ideology at work at the heart of social 'reality' itself."⁵⁶

This final domain is the most "elusive," and yet critical, as third terms of Hegelian triads tend to be. To clarify what is entailed in this third moment of ideology, Žižek offers the example of liberalism. On the first level, we find the evolution of liberal doctrine in European thought; on the second, its concrete materialization in the development of institutions and environments such as the free press, the electoral system, and the market; finally, a discussion of liberalism is somehow partial if it does not consider the ways in which the ideology becomes internalized or active in its subjects—it must tackle the question of *how subjects experience themselves* as "free individuals."

The trained ear recognizes in this description a revision of Louis Althusser's famous excursus "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," where three levels are created out of the infrastructure or economic base, two levels of superstructure, including institutional apparatuses of state ideology, and finally, the level of sets of political, religious, ethical, and other ideas.⁵⁷ That essay remains one of the most subtle treatments of the interrelations of devices of power and the self-consciousness (even constitution, Althusser argues) of individual subjects. Ideology "interpellates individuals as subjects," it "hails" them and causes them to recognize themselves in its call. Ideology, in this sense, is not a set of (false) ideas that are believed to a greater or lesser degree by historical subjects. Rather, it is the field in which those subjects are given identity; it is inseparable from their sense of where they stand in relation to others in society, as well as in relation to state and family.

While this last is clearly the terrain less charted by historians, it is the ground, as I have been suggesting, of the most innovative recent work in Nazi film studies.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ See Slavoj Žižek, "Introduction: The Spectre of Ideology," in Žižek, ed., *Mapping Ideology* (London, 1994), 1–33.

⁵⁶ Žižek, "Introduction," 9. Žižek even suggests that the contributions within the volume can be seen as organized along the tripartite axis of doctrine-belief-ritual, which in turn parallels the Hegelian In-itself—For-itself—In-and-For-itself. See pp. 9–10 and n. 9.

⁵⁷ Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)," *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, Ben Brewster, trans. (New York, 1971), 127–86.

⁵⁸ This difficult question is a privileged one in literature departments at the moment, constituting the central axis of approaches to popular culture under the broad rubric of "cultural studies." It may be too

Again, this interest is not limited to the field of German film. Another instructive example is offered by recent studies of Italian film from the fascist era, where historical studies dovetail in interesting ways with the work of literary scholars who are deeply involved in theory of ideology. Historian Ruth Ben-Ghiat takes interdisciplinary inquiry a long way in her close textual readings of films of the fascist era, contextualized within a field she defines as an emerging “new public sphere” of fascism, accommodating “limitations and paradoxes.”⁵⁹ For Marcia Landy, in turn, ideology is not a “mere cloak for reality,” a sort of “false consciousness” that (mis)represents a material substructure, but a force that authorizes certain social organizations and exercises of power by positing itself as simply the way things are.⁶⁰ What is interesting in the comparison of the Italian fascist to the German Nazi case is the way in which “ideology” is understood differently as a result of fascism’s presumed non-systematic, eclectic, and inconsistent character. As is also noted by Angela Dalle Vacche, the Italian view has traditionally been that Nazi ideology drove its politics, whereas the fascist imaginary was more focused on imagery than doctrine (in her language, on the “body” rather than the spirit or mind, or letter of the law of ideology).⁶¹ For both Landy and Dalle Vacche, the study of film offers unprecedented access to what has always been a difficult question in the historiography of fascism, that is, the question of the place of ideology in Italian life in the 1920s and 1930s.

Yet, as we have seen, the relationships among ideology, popular movies, and viewing publics are also far messier to chart than one would think from rereading Sontag’s “Fascinating Fascism” or any of a number of other works focusing on the allure of Nazi mass spectacle. Lutz Koepnick reevaluates the problem of Nazi popular culture in his essay “Fascist Aesthetics Revisited,” where he employs Walter Benjamin’s uncompleted work on the emergence of modern commodity culture (the Arcades project) to undo the assumption, drawn in part from Benjamin’s own well-known and pithy phrase about the Nazi “aestheticization of politics,” that Nazi culture was epitomized by the deindividuating, conformist, and unifying spectacles of Leni Riefenstahl’s films and Albert Speer’s monumental

early to tell, but my own experience suggests that the youngest generation of cultural historians, namely our graduate students, have already overcome the disciplinary resistance I have been describing, and that future work in history is likely to incorporate more complex models of ideology than we have had at our disposal in the past.

⁵⁹ Ruth Ben-Ghiat, “Envisioning Modernity: Desire and Discipline in the Italian Fascist Film,” *Critical Inquiry* 23 (Autumn 1996): 109–44, esp. 142–43; see also Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001). Film had already been seriously considered by as prominent a historian of Italian fascism as Victoria de Grazia, but she focused more on institutional frameworks and the film industry as a cultural field, rather than engaging in the language of film as Ben-Ghiat does. See de Grazia, “Mass Culture and Sovereignty: The American Challenge to European Cinemas, 1920–1960,” *Journal of Modern History* 61 (March 1989): 53–87.

⁶⁰ Marcia Landy, *Fascism in Film: The Italian Commercial Cinema, 1931–1943* (Princeton, N.J., 1986), 18–19. This view of ideology is drawn from Antonio Gramsci’s prison notebooks (see 260–61 of Hoare/Nowell-Smith edition), as well as Raymond Williams’s *Marxism and Literature* (1977) and Frederic Jameson’s work. Consistent with the German film work I have been exploring, and particularly close to Schulte-Sasse, Landy points out how “escapist” genre films, in spite/because of their conventions, reveal “how desire is managed.” This involves a complex reading of their escapist dimensions not unlike those of Rentschler described above.

⁶¹ Angela Dalle Vacche, *The Body in the Mirror: Shapes of History in Italian Cinema* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).

architecture.⁶² Such spectacular embodiments of ideological orthodoxy represented only half of the Nazi aesthetic program, which simultaneously followed a track of producing “seemingly unpolitical spaces of private commodity consumption” and “American-style consumerism,” which posited itself as a realm of individuation and private desire, even as it co-opted these “to arrest and rechannel” them.⁶³ This, of course, is an elaboration of the thesis shared by both Rentschler and Schulte-Sasse, namely that a concentration on Nazi cinema as either ideological indoctrination or as escapist diversion misses the power of a cultural apparatus that relied on both functions. Further, Koepnick shows, critics and historians who stress fascist spectacle over commodity culture obscure the continuities running from Benjamin’s nineteenth-century Paris over National Socialist Germany to the postwar European and American present.

For his own part, Žižek’s Lacanian focus on questions of visual pleasure, enjoyment, and fantasy in relation to ideology led him to film criticism from the start, in a series of explorations of political paradigms where he moved seamlessly among historical examples and sequences from Alfred Hitchcock thrillers.⁶⁴ In Schulte-Sasse’s *Entertaining the Third Reich*, a deep grounding in German literary history and in what literary critics know as genre theory is filtered through a Žižekian model of subjective experience (arguably a transhistorical, mechanical model). Thus, in an important way, Schulte-Sasse’s book is indeed sensitive to historical context, but at the same time, one could argue, her conclusions about the specific ways in which actual subjects “experienced” individual films in relation to their lived reality are unverifiable.

It is precisely this problem that was addressed in Miriam Hansen’s 1991 work, *Babel and Babylon*, which attended to the problem of spectatorship in the context of American silent film, focusing on ideological questions associated with gender rather than with race.⁶⁵ Hansen turns to a complex conceptualization of the “public sphere” in order to breach the gap she identifies between two different kinds of “spectators” appearing in film scholarship: the first, an ideal subject, “somewhat abstract and ultimately passive,” whose positioning is inscribed textually within the film work itself; and the second, the empirical moviegoer or “social viewer” who is assumed to be manipulated into certain positions. Addressing a problem of interdisciplinarity closely linked to the issues discussed here, Hansen writes of the “blind spots resulting from the increased specialization of both film theory and film history” and suggests that “the concept of the public sphere offers a theoretical matrix that encompasses different levels of inquiry and methodology.”⁶⁶

⁶² Lutz P. Koepnick, “Fascist Aesthetics Revisited,” *Modernism/modernity* 6 (January 1999): 51–73.

⁶³ Koepnick, “Fascist Aesthetics,” 52–54.

⁶⁴ See esp. Slavoj Žižek, *Everything You Ever Wanted to Know about Lacan, But Were Afraid to Ask Hitchcock* (London, 1991); *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); and *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan In Hollywood and Out* (New York, 1992).

⁶⁵ Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

⁶⁶ Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, see 5–7.

Apart from the fact that a significant book on American silent film might not be expected to fall within the frame of vision of historians of Nazi Germany, Hansen's solution is not likely to impress them. While the concept of the "public sphere" has certainly been engaged by historians, this has been at the level of actually existing social networks (free associations, professional affiliations, institutions), not as a "theoretical matrix," even one that is meant to mediate between empirical and semiotically constituted subjects. And yet it is precisely this mediation that has begun in the film scholarship discussed above, and the same work seems to constitute a call for interdisciplinarity, or to offer an invitation to historians to work toward such mediation from our own side of a formidable methodological barrier. The work Hansen and others have begun to do in terms of recovering the apparently lost but crucial experiences of past film publics is, after all, historical work—historians may be particularly adept at locating and interpreting the scant evidence necessary for this reconstruction.⁶⁷

It is conceivable that the sort of interdisciplinary rapport called for here is beyond our reach in an age where scholars consider themselves more open to work done in neighboring fields than ever before but where disciplinary practices are at the same time segregated from one another in more elusive and nefarious ways. In the face of the sheer volume of new work and its sophistication, a film scholar's new work on National Socialist mass media may seem remote even to a historian of everyday life in National Socialist Germany. It may, on the other hand, even be the case that these different disciplinary practices lead to incompatible conclusions about the relationship of state programs to mass consent and resistance, or about the nature of ideological formations as such. In other words, disciplines might well interfere with no less than they assist one another. Even if that is so, attentiveness to these precise tensions could be fruitful in unexpected ways in providing access to alternative conceptualizations of the relationship between film and history.

⁶⁷ As I noted above, for instance, Marcia Klotz is conscious of the dearth of empirical evidence to support her own and Schulte-Sasse's assumption of female viewer identification. Stephen Lowry works on Nazi film within Frederic Jameson's influential model of ideology, stressing the tensions between ideological program—"closure," or "containment"—and the viewers' desires, which are not directly produced by that program but are immediately in a sort of "horse-trade" with it. See Lowry, "Ideology and Excess," 129–33; compare Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), 24–58; and Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text* 1 (Winter 1979): 94–109. Lowry, in turn, confesses the problem of reconstructing effects of these films on actual viewers of the 1930s and 1940s, acknowledging the lack of reliable empirical data, and laments the necessity to engage a text-oriented analysis to speculate on extratextual effects. He sees this as a problem for the historian and an opportunity for interdisciplinary dialogue.

Scott Spector is an associate professor in the departments of History and Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan. He received his PhD in history under the direction of Vernon L. Lidtke at Johns Hopkins University. Spector is the author of *Prague Territories: National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Kafka's Fin de Siècle* (2000) as well as a number of articles on a range of topics relating to ideology and culture, including the rhetoric of historiography, gender in German film, and the problem of German-Jewish identity. He is currently at work on a study of figures of sexual identity and violence in high and popular culture around 1900 in Vienna and Berlin.

The Great Bophuthatswana Donkey Massacre: Discourse on the Ass and the Politics of Class and Grass

NANCY J. JACOBS

DONKEYS ARE NOT INDIGENOUS to South Africa. It is appropriate to this story that they arrived through European expansion, for it is fundamentally a history of colonial rule. The animals proved to be very useful to people contending with changes brought by colonialism. Yet their adoption by black South Africans was complicated by the fact that the colonial and segregationist state, not donkey owners, held the authority to determine their value. The state promoted a conservationist discourse that the animals were destructive. Anti-donkey ideology led to an anti-donkey policy whose implementation was predicated on the status of donkey owners as colonial subjects. Furthermore, colonial rule created and empowered an indigenous elite class that did not value donkeys. The story of donkeys, their owners, and the colonial state reached a tragic climax in 1983 when the "independent" Tswana "homeland" of Bophuthatswana destroyed perhaps 20,000 of the animals. The massacre was justified with an argument that cattle were more deserving of the available grass, but killing donkeys had more to do with relations among people than with those between animals and the environment. Although it targeted animals, it was a violent demonstration of the power of the state over poor and disenfranchised people. Consequently, the subject of donkeys became thoroughly politicized, and the killing became a cause against Bophuthatswana and apartheid. Today, in the Kuruman area (the site of my fieldwork in the North-West Province),¹ a strong pro-donkey populism extols their moral significance to poor people, Christianity, the environment, and democracy itself.

There is virtually no mention of the donkey massacre in published sources. Most of the slaughtered donkeys were in underpopulated and remote areas that receive

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¹ Officially, Kuruman is a town and a magisterial district. After 1970, the "Kuruman" district was limited to the town and white-owned farms, and the Tlhaping-Tlharo district of Bophuthatswana was created for black areas. Yet people still conceive of the region as "Kuruman" or "Kudumane" in Tswana.

little media or scholarly attention.² Nonetheless, central issues in environmental and colonial African historiography reverberate through this history of donkeys and people, providing good reasons to add it to the narrative about South Africa in the 1980s. Colonial constructions of tribal government and communal tenure made the donkey massacre possible, because these institutions were reinvented without community accountability. This case reveals that even in South Africa an observation made in other parts of the continent holds true: a binary representation of colonizer/colonized, oppressor/resister, and white/black is not appropriate.³ In 1983, the people acting within colonial structures were African. Additionally, this history provides grounds to question ideas of South African exceptionalism. It argues that South African "homelands" such as Bophuthatswana were an outgrowth of the "tribal" institutions central to indirect rule in other parts of British Africa. The subject status imparted by indirect rule made people vulnerable to the injustice of the donkey killing.⁴ Admittedly, in South Africa, colonial administration developed into an extreme form. Under the guise of promoting ethnic self-determination for blacks, the segregationist central state developed tribal structures into ten ostensibly self-governing "Bantustans" or "homelands."

Environmental historians have made a major point that non-human forces are actors in human history. This story of donkeys and colonialism reinforces that point, because the explanation for historical processes requires discussion of biological, climatic, and physical characteristics of the biophysical world. At the same time, this case provides a further argument for broadening the scope of the field beyond wild "nature." Africanist environmental history is less focused on wilderness than the North American field is, but interactions between people and domesticated animals deserve deeper consideration.⁵ Domesticated animals have, of course, inspired non-environmental history. Like Robert Darnton's *Great Cat Massacre*, this case shows that relations between people and other species are reflective of relations between people. Here, too, class divisions motivated the killing of animals, but, in contrast to Parisian cats, Bophuthatswana donkeys were more than symbols of social position.⁶ Additionally, this history illustrates a major recent development in

² I have found mention of this event in Carole Cooper, *et al.*, *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1983 (Johannesburg, 1984), 376–77; and Paul Starkey, ed., *Animal Traction in South Africa: Empowering Rural Communities* (Gauteng, S.A., 1995), 90, 143–44. The only media reports I found were *The Argus*, June 23, 1983; *The Cape Times*, June 24, 1983; *The Star*, July 5, 1983; *City Press*, September 18, 1983; and Maleho Mosiamane, "What Lies Behind the Glittering Bophuthatswana Façade?" *Pace* (October 1983): 19–23. The donkey killing is not mentioned in the exhaustive biography of a farmer in eastern Bophuthatswana, suggesting that even within the homeland, the event was localized. See Charles van Onselen, *The Seed Is Mine: The Life of Kas Maine, a South African Sharecropper, 1894–1985* (New York, 1996).

³ Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History," *AHR* 99 (December 1994): 1517.

⁴ For a recent discussion of these issues, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996). I use the word "tribe" with reference to the institutions created by colonial governance. See essays in Leroy Vail, ed., *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

⁵ On the wilderness bias in environmental history, see William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," *Environmental History* 1 (1996): 8–28. For an introduction to issues in African environmental history, see James Giblin and Gregory Maddox, "Introduction," in *Custodians of the Land: Ecology and Culture in the History of Tanzania* (Athens, Ohio, 1996), 1–14.

⁶ Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York,

Africanist environmental studies. In its discussion of the official assessment of donkeys, it exposes processes in the creation of knowledge and demonstrates the importance of questioning the "received wisdom" about farming practices, degradation, the proper state of the environment, and its best uses.⁷

A final reason to study the donkey massacre is that people in the Kuruman area perceive it to be extremely important; for many local people, it was the most traumatic experience of apartheid. From September through December 1997, my research assistants and I conducted group interviews using techniques of Rapid Rural Appraisal. RRA, devised to assess priorities for development work, uses open-ended questions and modeling exercises to gauge perceptions and foster discussions. The method encourages unsolicited testimony, and when people told us of their sadness and outrage about the donkey killing, it became clear that the event deserved historical analysis. In July 1998, we conducted semi-structured interviews that provide my most important source about the events of 1983.⁸ Yet these compelling stories are problematic historical sources. Testimony about donkeys and their environmental impact reveal that the alternative to the received wisdom is also a social production, subject to political forces, in this case, populism.

CATTLE MUST BE THE STARTING POINT for any consideration of domesticated animals in southern Africa. The area around the contemporary town of Kuruman was more suited to pastoralism than cultivation, since it receives only 125 to 250 millimeters of rainfall per year. In the nineteenth century, Tswana-speaking people of Tlhaping and Tlharo chiefdoms had a diet, economy, and political system highly dependent on cattle and a cultural appreciation for their beauty and value. Their lands became part of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland in 1885, and colonial annexation brought changes that reduced the significance of cattle. Land alienation restricted Africans to 8 percent of the colony. Very dramatically, rinderpest, a Eurasian cattle plague introduced with colonial rule, killed as many as 95 percent of the cattle in 1897. Exceptional violence, drought, and locust infestation came within five years after rinderpest and forced many people to sell their labor for subsistence.⁹ As elsewhere in southern Africa, men were the first to enter the paid work force, as migrant laborers. Over time, taxation and changing patterns of consumption further

1984). See also Molly H. Mullin, "Mirrors and Windows: Sociocultural Studies of Human-Animal Relationships," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28 (1999): 201–24.

⁷ Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns, eds., *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment* (London, 1996), 1–33.

⁸ My research assistants and interpreters were Kopano Chirwa, Steven Kotoloane, Bhangi Mosala, Kristin Russell, Kgomo Tshetlho, and Megan Waples. I am deeply grateful to this research team, to Peter Heywood, and others who helped in this research, especially the people who talked to us. An open invitation was given for people to participate in group interviews, conducted both in English and Tswana with interpreters. Some groups were divided by gender; a large percentage of active participants were over fifty years old. We also interviewed individuals. Notes and transcripts are available in Nancy Jacobs, *et al.*, "Interviews on the Environmental History of Kuruman," Moffat Mission Library, Kuruman. Group interviews are indexed by village name with alphabetical designators. Individual interviews are indexed by name of informant.

⁹ Kevin Shillington, *The Colonisation of the Southern Tswana, 1870–1900* (Johannesburg, 1985).

entrenched dependence on the cash economy, although households relied on locally produced food as a supplement to wage labor.

In the twentieth century, many factors joined to impede cattle raising on African reserves. Poverty and the cash value of cattle caused people to sell animals. High cattle mortality was another problem. In the twentieth century, two endemic diseases, bovine botulism and anthrax, prevented recovery from rinderpest. These diseases pollute the environment itself, and environmental conditions around Kuruman exacerbated their effects. Animals living on the phosphate-deficient grasses that grow in this area ingest bones in order to assuage their cravings for phosphate. This behavior is unhealthy if the bones are contaminated with botulins or anthrax. Clearing pastures of bones and dosing stock with sterile bonemeal are effective preventatives. However, the former requires labor and the latter requires cash. On reserves, therefore, the proportion of small stock, less susceptible than cattle to botulism, remained higher than on white-owned farms.¹⁰

A further factor hindering commercial cattle production was bush encroachment. The problem of bush encroachment provides an example of recent developments in African environmental studies, where a paradigm shift is occurring. Traditional mainline thought stresses that Africans are perpetrators or victims of environmental degradation, sometimes of crisis proportions. A new alternative position asserts that this received wisdom is based on alarmist and degradationist assumptions and challenges the evidence and scientific theory underlying it. Since 1990, historians, natural scientists, and social scientists have effectively refuted well-entrenched positions about environmental change in Africa. Drawing on indigenous knowledge, documentary sources, and non-climax ecology, they have disproved assertions that desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, vegetation change, or wildlife eradication are occurring as inexorable linear processes of decline or even occurring at all.¹¹

Regarding bush encroachment, mainstream range ecologists favoring climax theories define the grassland as a natural state and decry bushes as the result of overgrazing. Bushes are said to lower significantly the carrying capacity of the grazing veld. The alternative non-equilibrium range ecology does not deny that bush encroachment happens, but it looks beyond herding as the cause for thicket development. Instead, it explores soil types and moisture levels, the frequency of fires and frosts, the development of artificial water sources, and rising atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide. The reinterpretation is that bushes are not principally a result of mismanagement and that they have not made subsistence

¹⁰ M. W. Henning, *Animal Diseases in South Africa*, 2d edn. (Pretoria, 1949), on anthrax, see 3–13, on botulism, see 324–53; H. T. B. Hall, *Diseases and Parasites of Livestock in the Tropics* (London, 1977), on anthrax, see 129–31, on botulism, see 131–33. For the only historical discussion of bovine botulism in the rural economy, see P. H. R. Snyman, "Die Bydrae van Droogtes en Veessiektes tot die Verarming van die Landboubevolking in Noord-Kaapland," *Tydskrif vir Geestewetenskappe* 29 (1989): 32–49.

¹¹ See articles in Leach and Mearns, *Lie of the Land*. See also M. T. Hoffman and R. M. Cowling, "Vegetation Change in the Semi-arid Eastern Karoo over the Last 200 Years: An Expanding Karoo—Fact or Fiction?" *South African Journal of Science* 86 (1990): 86–294; Mary Tiffen, Michael Mortimore, and Francis Gichuki, *More People, Less Erosion: Environmental Recovery in Kenya* (New York, 1994); James Fairhead and Melissa Leach, *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic* (Cambridge, 1996); James McCann, "The Plow and the Forest: Narratives of Deforestation in Ethiopia, 1840–1992," *Environmental History* 2 (1997): 138–59.

herding less viable. Certainly, the people who live there do not describe the bushy environment as a compromised ecology or an economic hardship. They explain that for the browsing goats and donkeys they can afford, a somewhat bushy environment is beneficial. Furthermore, although cattle prefer grass, bushes sustain them when grass withers during the very frequent droughts.¹²

Disease, bushes, and poverty hampered cattle keeping and promoted the herding of goats and especially of donkeys. These animals were more cheaply purchased than cattle and reproduced well. Both species have some resistance to stock diseases, and they are not primarily grass-eating grazers but also bush-eating browsers. Goats never concerned experts or the state, so only the place of donkeys in the ecology and economy must be established. The ancestors of domesticated donkeys evolved in arid North Africa; consequently, the species is well adapted to dry environments. In frequent droughts around Kuruman, they were "the hardiest of all four-footed creatures."¹³ Moreover, donkeys are ecumenical ingesters. In an interview, I was told, "The donkey eats everything, unlike the cattle—the cattle choose."¹⁴ As ruminants, cattle and goats have a digestive system that effectively extracts nutrients from a high fiber diet, although digestion slows as food becomes more fibrous. By contrast, non-ruminant equines on a high fiber diet extract fewer nutrients but pass food more quickly through their guts. Thus, by ingesting more of a poor quality diet than ruminants can, equines maintain a sufficient rate of nutrient absorption. A study in Namaqualand, an arid region south of the Orange River on the Atlantic Coast, found that a donkey might eat as much vegetable matter as five goats, but it can live on a diet that goats have difficulty digesting.¹⁵ Donkeys and ruminants do compete for food, but their relationship is not a zero-sum equation. Donkeys consume large quantities of low-quality forage that cattle and goats avoid. Hence, in environments where low-quality forage is predominant, the sustainable donkey biomass may outweigh that of cattle and goats. In Kuruman, donkeys even had advantages over their equine cousins, horses, which suffered disease and were expensive; the greatest utility of horses may have been in rounding up donkeys.

London Missionary Society personnel brought donkeys to Tlhaping and Tlharo territory by 1858, to serve as pack animals for a postal service.¹⁶ People found little use for them while the cattle economy was strong. After its collapse, several decades passed before people on the reserves owned many, perhaps because of the expense

¹² Roy H. Behnke and Ian Scoones, "Rethinking Range Ecology: Implications for Rangeland Management in Africa," in *Range Ecology at Disequilibrium: New Models of Natural Variability and Pastoral Adaptation in African Savannas*, Behnke, Scoones, and Carol Kerven, eds. (London, 1993), 1–30. On the history of bush encroachment in Kuruman, see Nancy Jacobs, "Grasslands and Thickets: Bush Encroachment and Herding in the Kalahari Thornveld," *Environment and History* 6 (2000): 289–316.

¹³ This is a reference to animals dying of thirst during the drought of 1932. Humphrey C. Thompson, *Distant Horizons: An Autobiography of One Man's Forty Years of Missionary Service in and around Kuruman, South Africa* (Kimberley, 1976), 65. On domestication, see Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Horse Power: A History of the Horse and the Donkey in Human Societies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 62–66.

¹⁴ Interview with Peace Mabilo, October 15, 1998, Moffat Mission Library, Kuruman.

¹⁵ Suzanne Vetter, "Investigating the Impact of Donkeys on a Communal Range in Namaqualand: How Much Does a Donkey 'Cost' in Goat Units?" (Honors thesis, University of Cape Town, 1996); Montague Demment and Peter Van Soest, "A Nutritional Explanation for Body-Size Patterns of Ruminant and Nonruminant Herbivores," *American Naturalist* 125 (1985): 641–72.

¹⁶ Mora Dickson, *Beloved Partner, Mary Moffat of Kuruman: A Biography Based on Her Letters* ([Gaborone and Kuruman], 1974), 189.

of acquiring a breeding population. In 1906, nine years after the rinderpest plague, there were only 30 donkeys along with 82 horses, 29,923 goats, 7,147 sheep, and 3,548 cattle on Kuruman reserves. A report in 1911 stated that "very few donkeys are owned by Natives," so the great majority of the 4,180 animals reported for the district as a whole in 1912 must have belonged to whites, who used them in asbestos mining as well as for farm work and transport.¹⁷ The 1930 census, the first to enumerate the animals on African reserves, reported there were 7,879, compared with 16,272 on white farms.¹⁸ After this point, the balance of donkey ownership shifted. With access to credit and state aid, white farmers were able to overcome the handicap of disease, begin water development, and improve bovine stock. They began dairy production in the 1920s and beef production in the 1940s. Moreover, mechanization of traction and transport around mid-century gave whites less need for trek animals.¹⁹ Thus, in 1946, there were 9,168 donkeys on white farms; in 1950, 4,250; and in 1960, only 2,145. Because of poverty, the donkey population on black reserves did not follow this trajectory. Perhaps, as whites had less use for them, the animals became cheaper for Africans. The population on reserves continued to rise, to 11,007 in 1946, when it surpassed the cattle population of 10,372.²⁰ (See Graph A.) Even in the context of South Africa, people in the Kalahari thornveld were particularly poor.²¹ Raising small stock and donkeys could not remedy poverty, but it could mitigate it. Goats were useful primarily for meat and some milk, but donkeys had many uses.²² The first and most obvious was transportation, a requirement of people's subsistence. Bus service required cash and adapting to the schedule, while donkeys were nearly free and more convenient. The second use was as draft animals. Donkeys pulled plows, but because the semi-aridity of this region limited cultivation, wagon traction was more important. Ox wagons had been numerous in the nineteenth century, when people had used them as transport in the wood trade to diamond mines in Kimberley.²³ In the twentieth century, both white and black people came to rely on donkeys rather than oxen for carrying loads. In 1919, a visitor from Arizona recorded that a "typical" wagon team in Kimberley used fifteen "burros."²⁴ Contemporary recollections of when they replaced oxen as

¹⁷ Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 36 1907, *Blue Book for Native Affairs, 1906*, 29; Union Government Publication U. 17, *Blue Book for Native Affairs, 1911*, 160; U.G. 32-1912, *Census of the Union of South Africa*. On donkeys in mining, see Anthony Hocking, *Kaias and Cocopans: The Story of Mining in South Africa's Northern Cape* (Johannesburg, 1983), esp. 52-54, 81.

¹⁸ U.G. 12-1932, *Agricultural Census*, No. 13, 1930. Early census data is unreliable, particularly for African reserves. For some years, there is a discrepancy of 20-30 percent between the published census reports and data in archival records. Therefore, I am using these numbers advisedly, only to illustrate broad, long-term trends.

¹⁹ P. H. R. Snyman, *Kuruman: Vervloë Pad na Afrika* (Pretoria, 1991), 114, 120, 146. On mechanization of cultivation on white farms at this time, see van Onselen, *Seed Is Mine*, 276-78.

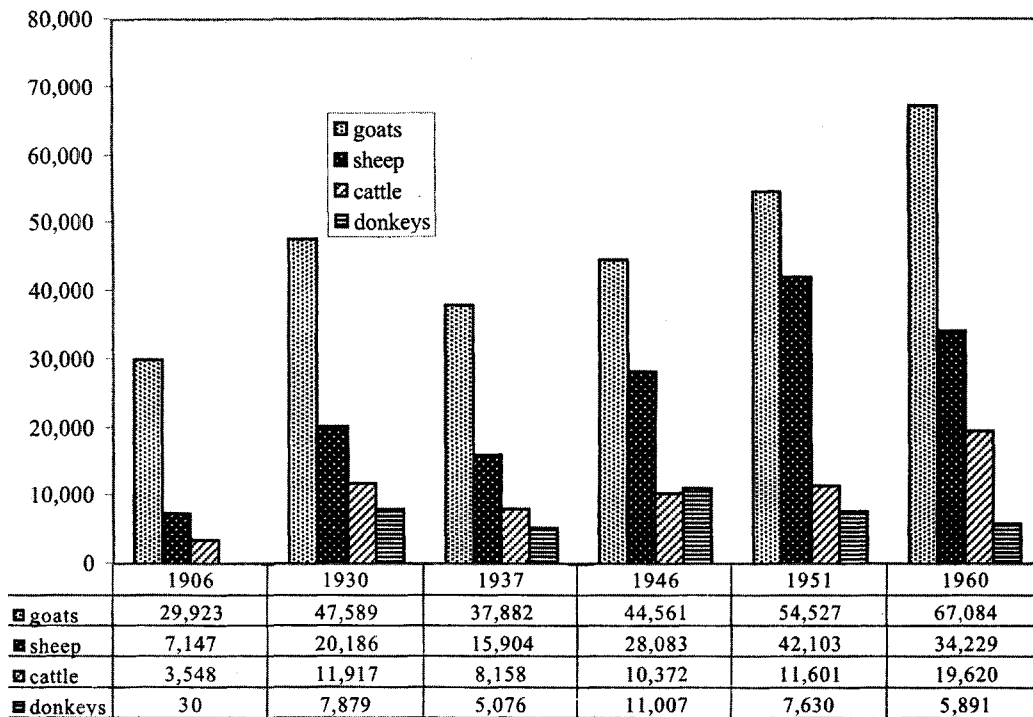
²⁰ U.G. 77-1948, *Agricultural Census No. 20*, 1945-46; Special Report Series Nos. 1-24, *Agricultural Census No. 24*, 1949-50; R. 10 '64, *Agricultural Census No. 34*, 1959-60 (livestock).

²¹ See Charles Simkins, "Agricultural Production in the African Reserves of South Africa, 1918-1969," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 8 (1981): 267-68. Simkins estimates that people on Kuruman reserves produced less than 25 percent of their subsistence requirements between 1927 and 1960.

²² The following discussion of the usefulness of donkeys is drawn from my fieldwork. See also van Onselen, *Seed Is Mine*, 137, 141, 323; and Peta A. Jones, *Donkeys for Development* (Harare, Zimbabwe, 1997).

²³ On wood sales, see Shillington, *Colonisation of the Southern Tswana*, 102-06, 137-38.

²⁴ Homer Shantz Collection, Special Collections in the Main Library, University of Arizona, Tucson.



GRAPH A: Goats, Sheep, Cattle, and Donkeys in Selected Years

the primary draft animals in Kuruman vary from the 1930s to the 1950s, corroborating a 1953 report that "the cattle which are kept in this district consist of 97 percent breeding stock, with the result that donkeys are the only trek animals."²⁵ For people living on the semi-arid lands around Kuruman, donkeys were particularly important in transporting maize grown in more humid areas. By the 1930s, it was common for people to work in maize-growing districts of the western Transvaal during the harvesting season. Entire families joined in the work and were paid in kind, accumulating enough maize to supply household needs through most of the year.²⁶ Those who wanted to save shipping costs of railroad transport used their own carts to bring the maize home. Locally, people invested in specialized carts to carry water, wood, gravel, and sand for brick making, gaining an income delivering these commodities.

A third benefit of donkeys was that they were slaughtered for meat. They were

I am grateful to Barry Morton for visiting this collection. For photographs of donkey teams, see 248, 259.

²⁵ National Archives Repository, Pretoria (hereafter, NAR), Native Affairs Series (hereafter, NTS) 6577 918/327, October 23, 1953. Interview with Olebile Mabahanyane, October 23, 1997; interview G at Batlharos, October 26, 1997; interview F at Ncweng, October 27, 1997, Moffat Mission Library.

²⁶ NAR NTS 7351 176/327, June 1936. On seasonal labor in the harvest, see P.-L. Breutz, *The Tribes of the Kuruman and Postmasburg District*, Republic of South Africa, Department of Bantu Administration and Development Ethnological Publications, no. 49 (Pretoria, 1963), 63. Michael De Klerk, "Seasons That Will Never Return: The Impact of Farm Mechanization on Employment, Incomes and Population Distribution in the Western Transvaal," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 11 (1984): 84-105.

not a favorite food, but they were eaten. Fourth, dung, mixed with sand, was used in construction. A final dividend was that their milk was considered medicinal for sick children. People did not exchange them for bridewealth, probably because they had no symbolic value and were so common. Unlike cattle, which were associated with men, donkeys were gender neutral and especially helpful in women's work. The fact that donkeys were extremely useful does not, of course, mean they were always well treated. Life in the Kalahari thornveld is difficult, and pack animals bear a heavy load. Government officials recorded concerns about abuse and sometimes intervened.²⁷ Donkeys were literally beasts of burden, and as such, their structural position was very low.

How many donkeys would a household ideally own? People told me that they might have use for thirty, three teams to rotate on a plow, two for pulling a wagon, and a few to spare. Thirty is a considerable number and reveals as much about the assessment of need as about the animals' usefulness. Most years, plowing was an economically marginal activity, but when good rains came, people did not want to be lacking donkeys. A poor household could keep many in hopes of a good year because the costs and risks were low. Donkeys reproduced without intervention from humans and amounted to something close to a free good. People had no reason to maximize their extraction of donkey power, so they acquired more than would be "necessary" in a profit-making enterprise. Although few households achieved a herd of thirty, donkeys—which eat a lot—became numerous.

SCHOLARS WHO HAVE QUESTIONED the received wisdom on the African environment have argued that knowledge about it and its proper uses takes on the authority of a discourse, as understood by Michel Foucault.²⁸ They have shown how assertions of degradation were often based on selective evidence and were usually ignorant of indigenous understandings. Depictions of degradation rested on colonial power relations, on which party had the authority to determine and communicate truth. The power/knowledge dynamic is manifest in this discussion about donkeys because the range-management scientists and government officials with expertise and authority formulated the received wisdom about the destructiveness of donkeys. This process required denying the many ways poor black people found donkeys useful. As in other cases, colonial knowledge justified colonial intervention.

An anti-donkey policy developed without inquiry into their utility or research into their actual environmental impact. The official verdict on donkeys throughout the country was overwhelmingly negative. Their reputation was so dire that one official warned of "the donkey menace."²⁹ A 1932 memorandum details how they were considered a problem, stating that their carcasses went unclaimed and harbored botulins, thus making the environment unhealthy for cattle. They destroyed the veld by digging and trampling the grass; they reproduced quickly and had no marketable

²⁷ Cape Town Archives Repository (hereafter, CTAR), 2/KMN, Kuruman Native Affairs Commissioner Correspondence Series, 39 N 5/1/2, part 2, January 26, 1950, and CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 1, March 29, 1950. Interview F at Nweng, October 27, 1997, Moffat Mission Library.

²⁸ See Leach and Mearns, "Introduction," in *Lie of the Land*, 8–9.

²⁹ CTAR, 2/KMN, 48 N 8/5/2, part 1, June 30, 1947.

value; they were worth less than the crops they damaged; people did not claim them when they did damage; and they consumed large amounts of fodder on overstocked pastures.³⁰ Rather than considering why they were suited to people's needs, the report blamed both donkeys and people for their prevalence. In later years, as motorized transport became common, another issue arose: donkeys are recklessly resolute in the face of oncoming traffic. Indeed, the hazard they posed to traffic was one ostensible cause for the segregationist relocation of Dikgweng, a small settlement on Kuruman municipal property in the 1950s.³¹ Assertions that the animals were feral and Africans were apathetic established a need for intervention.

The program of "Betterment" gave teeth to anti-donkey talk. Betterment was a policy of agricultural "improvement" for African reserves that began in 1939 and intensified during the 1950s.³² It was grounded in conceptions of degradation and motivated by a desire to increase the economic output of communal lands. In contrast to conservation programs for white areas, Betterment could be coercive. The interventions of Betterment involved resettling people in villages on a platted grid, demarcating different areas for cultivation and grazing, introducing technical improvements such as soil conservation schemes and rotational grazing, and enforcing stock culling, which in most areas involved indigenous "scrub" cattle. The state also assumed rights to limit the number of people who could use the land, although it did not usually enforce such measures. The power of the state to implement conservation programs against the will of the people was contingent on Africans' lack of political rights. Particularly important was the fact that land was held communally. Before colonial takeover, individuals could not dispose of their cultivated land for profit, and animals grazed on common pasture. Colonial governments thus constructed African "customary" tenure as communal and vested in the chief. This definition facilitated state intervention into rural life, for individuals had no space to produce as they chose.³³ Since tenure was not invested in community institutions, there was little safeguard of interests against the state or elite.

In Kuruman, unlike other areas of South Africa, Betterment planners were not concerned about cattle numbers; instead, they acted against donkeys. Betterment was oriented toward efficient, modern, and market-oriented production by a few; in contrast, donkeys were useful because they helped the many with supplementary subsistence. Officials reported an extremely high donkey population, noting that 40 percent of all animals on reserves in the Kuruman district were horses or donkeys and that there were 3.7 donkeys per person in Vlakfontein, a small populous reserve in the southeastern corner of the district.³⁴ The first cull in the district was in 1949,

³⁰ NAR, NTS 9352 19/380, August 24, 1932.

³¹ CTAR, 1/KMN, Kuruman Magistrate Correspondence Series, 13/43 N 9/15/3(2). See correspondence in this file from late 1944 and early 1945.

³² On the politics and sociological effects of Betterment, see Joanne Yawitch, *Betterment: The Myth of Homeland Agriculture* (Johannesburg, 1981); C. J. De Wet, *Moving Together, Drifting Apart: Betterment Planning and Villagisation in a South African Homeland* (Johannesburg, 1995).

³³ On communal tenure, see Martin Chanock, "Shaping the Imperial Legal Regime: A Review of the Customary Law of Tenure," in Kristin Mann and Richard Roberts, eds., *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, 1991), 62–84; and Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 138–41.

³⁴ CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 1, minutes of meeting, July 27, 1949; NAR, NTS 6577 918/327, October 23, 1953, March 13, 1956; Breutz, *Tribes of the Kuruman*, 66.

and it involved sale, not slaughter. In 1950, officials arranged for sellers in Vlakfontein to receive 10 shillings per animal from the National Bonemeal Factory, but that price did not draw sellers. When Vlakfontein residents did agree to limit donkeys voluntarily, they set the number at eight per household, with an extra eight allowed for wagon owners, an offer that officials disparaged as no reduction at all. In 1953, a proclamation declared all reserves in the district to be areas of donkey limitation. The first major cull after the proclamation claimed 177 horses and 969 donkeys. The culling procedure was to brand animals deemed valuable and to arrange for sale or slaughter of the surplus.³⁵ Perhaps because a paternalist ethos endured from Cape Colony administrative traditions, these donkey controls sought consensus from owners. Paternalism was not free of violence and coercion, but imagining the colonial endeavor as a civilizing mission mitigated some extreme tendencies. Paternalism was not in accordance with the ideology of segregation, self-determination, and cultural protection, however, and it did not survive long, after the implementation of apartheid in 1948.³⁶

Although there was no overt opposition, a common response to culling programs was non-cooperation. Officials believed that people hid their animals during culls and asked chiefs to work to reduce the population in their villages, resulting in more frustration in government offices than action on the reserves.³⁷ Auctioning surplus animals could have been helpful for cash-poor households, but people did not always come forward to sell. For example, in three auctions in 1967, only sixteen donkeys were offered, suggesting there were not many surplus or feral animals.³⁸ These responses underscore the value of donkeys. Officials threatened more drastic measures, but after 1953 there was little culling. The donkey population on reserves dropped after the 1940s—but not as drastically as on white farms—from 11,007 in 1946 to 5,891 in 1960.³⁹ The drop was probably due in part to Betterment intervention and in part to an increase in motorized transport and a decrease in cultivation.

Some rare popular commentary on donkey limitation is preserved in the minutes of official district “Meetings of Chiefs, Headmen and People.” Some men defended the animal, complaining that the number of permitted donkeys was too low.⁴⁰ Yet participants at these meetings were not unanimous defenders of donkeys. The group voted sixty-six to six in support of the 1953 donkey limitation proclamation. Minutes from meetings in 1951 and 1952 record strong criticism of donkeys:

A donkey is no good. It is only of use if you use it for draught purposes. If the donkeys are decreased, it will be better for the cattle in this area;
Donkeys are useless and are despised;

³⁵ The donkey limitation proclamation was CTAR, 2/KMN, 48 8/5/2 256 of February 6, 1953. On stock reduction, see correspondence in this file. The numbers of culled animals were given in part 1, a report dated October 23, 1953.

³⁶ Ivan Thomas Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 9–13, 164–76, 282–83.

³⁷ CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 4, minutes of meetings, July 1, 1959, March 29, 1966, March 23, 1967, June 29, 1967, March 28, 1968, June 27, 1968, September 26, 1968.

³⁸ CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 4, minutes of meeting, June 29, 1967. Starkey claims that voluntary selling was also unsuccessful in Kwa-Zulu. See *Animal Traction in South Africa*, 22.

³⁹ U.G. 77–1948, *Agricultural Census No. 20*, 1945–46.

⁴⁰ CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 2, September 25, 1953.

There are more than 1,000 donkeys in my area which have no owners. When a donkey does damage we cannot find the owner;

Donkeys are ruining the Kuruman District. This law is just the right thing to decrease the number of donkeys. We will be allowed a number of donkeys each. The donkeys in my area are roaming about and have no owner. It will be a good thing if all donkeys are branded; The donkeys use all the water and nothing is left for our other stock. These donkeys cause a lot of trouble amongst us.⁴¹

In later meetings, some men complained about donkey limitation, but there were more statements about the harm donkeys did. There are several possible reasons why men in these meetings took a stand with the colonial state against donkeys. Tswana culture had a high regard for cattle, while ownership of donkeys, the poor person's animal, carried no prestige. If donkeys were perceived to be in competition with cattle, there could have been sentiment against them. Moreover, women, who found donkeys useful and were barred by custom from owning cattle, did not participate in the meetings. Of course, government officials and apartheid structures cowed dissent. Most important, later developments imply that the anti-donkey sentiment was rooted in the interests of the nascent class of commercial beef producers, who would have been the chiefs, headmen, and leading men participating in these meetings. This group was made up of the "progressive farmers" who could benefit from Betterment and accumulate cattle, and they would have been sympathetic to the idea that the veld be used to support cattle rather than donkeys. Interested in maximizing commercial production and profit, they were more likely to see donkeys as underutilized, surplus, or wild. The class divisions over donkeys and cattle are not explicit in the documentary record of this period, but it may be inferred that aspirant beef producers were among those speaking against donkeys.

There is another possible reason why the meeting agreed to donkey limitation: even those people who used the animals also believed that too many of them could cause damage. Certainly, it would be an overcorrection to the received wisdom to deny that humans and domesticated animals can damage the environment. People had the motivation and ability to accumulate large numbers of donkeys, and it is possible that as numbers grew, a toll on the land became clear even to subsistence herders. Two recent South African studies differ on whether rural black people who use donkeys also perceive that they can be destructive. In interviews for the Namaqualand study, people reported that they eat more than goats do, waste fodder, and have a higher impact on the remaining vegetation. Informants expressed concern that donkeys, particularly feral ones, impaired subsistence goat keeping. But a countrywide survey in 1994 of over 500 respondents by the South African Network of Animal Traction contradicts this finding. It found no negative assessments of donkeys among rural people.⁴² Unfortunately, it is now probably impossible to determine to what extent people in the 1950s believed that donkeys were capable of environmental degradation. Colonial control over the documentary

⁴¹ CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 2, minutes of meetings, May 28, 1951, and September 19, 1952. See also CTAR, 2/KMN, 20 N 1/15/4, part 1, April 13, 1943.

⁴² See Vetter, "Investigating the Impact of Donkeys"; and Starkey, *Animal Traction in South Africa*, 142.

record and the politicization of memory after the donkey killing in 1983 have obscured voices from that period.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN "HOMELANDS" remind us that an actor's position in colonial structures often carries stronger explanatory power than does his or her race. The most drastic action against donkeys, the 1983 Bophuthatswana donkey massacre, occurred after the anti-donkey position transcended race. Ironically, apartheid promoted this development by giving powers of government to the indigenous elite. The policy of Separate Development, a refinement of apartheid, emphasized self-determination by ethnic groups. The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959 inaugurated three levels of government for black South Africans and invested them with power of self-government.⁴³ On the lowest level was the basic building block of indirect rule: tribal authorities, councils appointed by local chiefs. In 1955 and 1956, the Tlhaping and Tlharo tribal authorities were created and given some responsibilities of local government in Kuruman. At the next level were regional authorities that had power to administrate education, public works, health care, and agricultural extension for tribal clusters. The Seokama Dichaba Regional Authority was created in 1958 for Tlhaping and Tlharo people around Kuruman and Vryburg. All Tswana-speaking groups were united in 1962 at the highest level by the Tswana Territorial Authority, which took over many of the responsibilities of the regional authorities.⁴⁴

Separate Development in South Africa departed from indirect rule elsewhere when it invested tribal structures with the trappings of a modern state. In 1968, the territorial authority received a bureaucracy, including an agricultural department, whose white officials provided continuity with the previous administration. An appearance of political modernization came through elections in 1971, but chiefs retained reserved seats in parliament, and in 1972 Bophuthatswana received self-governing status with Lucas Mangope, chief of the Bahurutse ba Manyane, as president. Bophuthatswana became the second homeland to receive "independence" in 1977. These homelands were not independent of the administrative capital, Pretoria, but the South African government did devolve some control. There were elections, but less than half the seats in parliament were open to popular contest, and the voting was frequently fraudulent.⁴⁵ Thus the trappings of a modern state, a well-endowed bureaucracy, and a weak parliament were

⁴³ On the apartheid policy of segregated administration, see Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*; Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford, 1991); Paul B. Rich, *State Power and Black Politics in South Africa, 1912-51* (New York, 1996); and Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race*.

⁴⁴ Tribal and regional authorities in this area were created by Government Notice 806 of 1955, Government Notice 1932 of 1956, and Government Notice 358 of March 7, 1958. Breutz, *Tribes of the Kuruman*, 10, 102, 170. On their responsibilities, see Jeffrey Butler, Robert I. Rotberg, and John Adams, *The Black Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977), 28, 33-34, 157-78. On the Bophuthatswana bureaucracy, see D. A. Kotze, *Bibliography of Official Publications of the Black South African Homelands*, 2d edn. (Pretoria, 1983), xvi-xvii.

⁴⁵ Butler, Rotberg, and Adams, *Black Homelands of South Africa*, 36-37, 50-55; John Seiler, "Bophuthatswana: A State of Politics," in *Transforming Mangope's Bophuthatswana*, Seiler, ed., electronic publication by *Daily Mail and Guardian*, 1999, on the World Wide Web at www.mg.co.za/mg/projects/bop/ch_one.html.

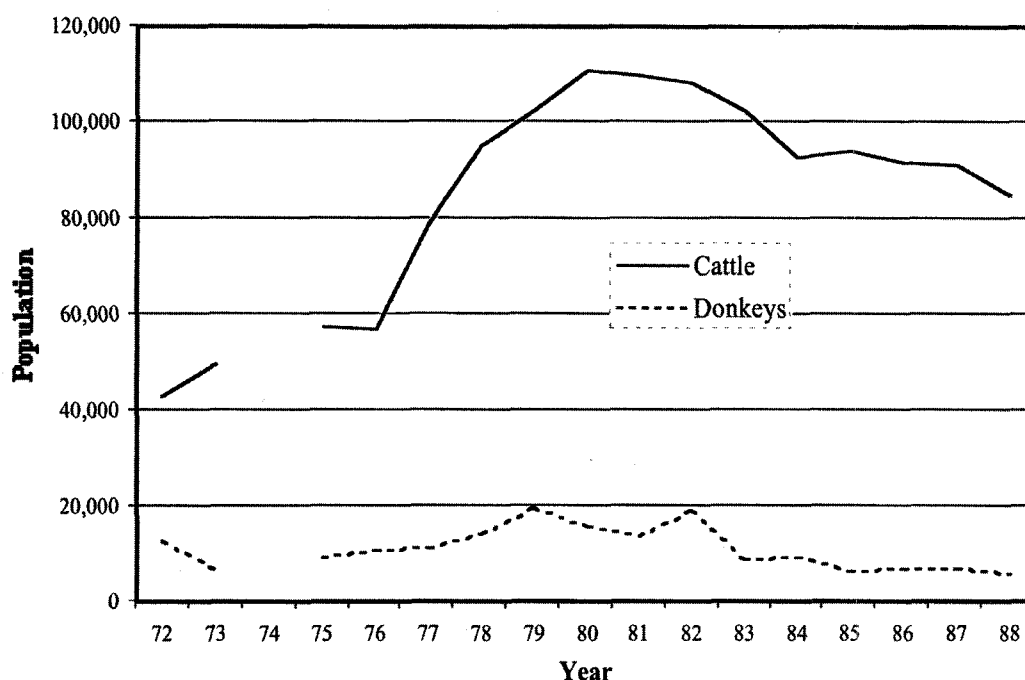
superimposed on colonial institutions. Indirect rule and communal tenure had long since exposed people to intervention by the state. However, at this point, state intervention was unfettered through the ideology of self-determination in an ethnically based state. The state was undemocratic, and the governing elite competed directly with the governed for resources. Thereafter, donkey control under Bophuthatswana became extremely virulent.

Although it transcended race, the anti-donkey tendency remained embedded in class. Compared with the colonial elite elsewhere in Africa, officials who acted against donkeys had relatively great power and material benefits. Corruption and patronage characterized Bophuthatswana governance. In July 1998, Mangope was convicted of 102 counts of theft totaling over 3.5 million rands and three counts of fraud involving 1.2 million rands.⁴⁶ Mining and maize production fueled the Bophuthatswana economy, but in the driest, western reaches around Kuruman, cattle ranching provided the greatest wealth, and the state funneled much of this wealth to the elite. In the 1970s, there were accusations that government cattle-breeding projects in Kuruman favored rich and well-connected purchasers by selling stock directly to them rather than at public auction. Furthermore, in preparation for "independence," Bophuthatswana acquired additional land that was not included in communal territory but was made available as private farms. Leases for these farms frequently went to chiefs, cabinet members, or the president and his circle, and most commercial beef production took place on these farms rather than on communal pastures near villages. Beef producers received assistance through funds provided by Pretoria to the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC). After 1973, the BIC guaranteed a floor price for every animal sold at auction in Bophuthatswana. In 1975–1976, 22 percent of them were purchased with its funds.⁴⁷ Additionally, the BIC provided commercial farm loans through the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation and, after 1981, through the Agricultural Bank of Bophuthatswana. The Department of Agriculture gave increased assistance with marketing through Agricor, its extension program founded in 1979. Concerned about "proper" cultivation in more humid areas of Bophuthatswana, the government imported 200 tractors from Austria in 1982. Agricor was rewarded for its efforts to commercialize in 1983 when a trade adviser to President Ronald Reagan visited and complimented its agricultural development work, promising to seek markets for Bophuthatswana produce.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ *Daily Mail and Guardian*, July 24, 1998, <http://web.sn.apc.org/wmail/issues/980724/NEWS19.html>; John Seiler, "The North West Province from 1996 to 1999," in *Transforming Mangope's Bophuthatswana*, www.mg.co.za/mg/projects/bop/update.html. See also Michael Lawrence and Andrew Manson, "The Dog of the Boers: The Rise and Fall of Mangope in Bophuthatswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994): 447–61. The rand suffered serious devaluation between the foundation of Bophuthatswana and 1998, but it averaged around 3 or 4 to the dollar.

⁴⁷ On auctions, see NAR, Commissioner General Mafeking (hereafter, KGM), 35 4/2/4/8, minutes of regional authority meetings in 1974 and 1975. On land, see Seiler, "Bophuthatswana: A State of Politics"; and interview with W. J. Seremane, July 31, 1998, Moffat Mission Library. On the BIC, see Butler, Rotberg, and Adams, *Black Homelands of South Africa*, 179–218; Bophuthatswana Department of Agriculture and Forestry, *Annual Report, 1973*, 12, *Annual Report, 1976*, 41.

⁴⁸ Loraine Gordon, et al., *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978* (Johannesburg, 1979), 307; Gordon, et al., *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1980* (Johannesburg, 1981), 433; Peter Randall, et al., *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982* (Johannesburg, 1983), 416; C. Cooper, *Survey of Race Relations, 1983*, 376.



GRAPH B: Cattle and Donkeys in Tlhaping-Tlharo

The majority of rural people engaged in supplementary subsistence production and did not participate in commercial cattle raising or cultivation with tractors. Certainly, many people owned both donkeys and cattle, and small farmers could benefit from some of the new programs, but Agricor aimed to help commercial farmers, as acknowledged in a 1986 Agricor report: "The land can support only a small portion of the population through involvement in farming."⁴⁹

The cattle population rose steeply after Bophuthatswana became self-governing: it was 43,607 in 1972 in the Tlhaping-Tlharo district (comprised of land formerly in the districts of Kuruman and Vryburg); by 1981, it had reached 109,894. (See Graph B.) In the year ending in September 1982, Tlhaping-Tlharo producers earned 80,795 rands in stock sales, a large proportion of the Bophuthatswana total of 103,769 rands earned in this sector.⁵⁰ Government meetings continued to discuss donkey numbers in the 1970s, agreeing to limit untaxed animals to six per owner, but subsequent enforcement is not recorded. After "independence," warnings about the high donkey population continued, with Tlhaping-Tlharo cited as having the greatest problem.⁵¹ However, there were no scientific studies on the impact of

⁴⁹ Agricor, *Annual Report, 1985-86*, 4. On planning land use for "middle-class farmers," see Gordon, *Survey of Race Relations, 1978*, 432-33.

⁵⁰ Statistics on cattle and donkeys in the Tlhaping-Tlharo district are from Bophuthatswana Department of Agriculture and Forestry Annual Reports, 1972-1988. The Tlhaping-Tlharo district included communal areas previously in the Kuruman and Vryburg districts, and therefore these statistics cannot be correlated with pre-1970 data for the Kuruman district.

⁵¹ NAR, KGM, 39 5/4/6, minutes of meetings, July 14, 1977, and September 8, 1977. Donkeys were debated in the National Assembly in 1981 but not in 1982. See Republic of Bophuthatswana, *Debates*

donkeys. Unfortunately, the early 1980s saw a devastating drought, and, as usual, bovines were most vulnerable to shortages of fodder and water. Under this pressure, Bophuthatswana acted to ensure that grazing went to them.

In May 1983, a governmental decree announced that all "surplus" donkeys were to be exterminated, but people who proved their animals were "necessary" could keep four. What followed grew out of the precedent of earlier donkey control, but it had an astounding and unparalleled vehemence. The contingencies that transformed this cull into a near-extirpation campaign are not clear. Bophuthatswana Department of Agriculture and Agricor reports from 1983 do not mention the donkey massacre. An official explanation came in a speech to the Bophuthatswana National Assembly by E. M. Mokgoko, the minister of agriculture. He echoed the received wisdom on the destructiveness of donkeys, claimed that since 1978 the state had attempted to reduce numbers, and referred to the seriousness of the drought.⁵² The word on the street, recalled W. J. Seremane, a Bophuthatswana dissident, was that President Mangope had nearly collided with donkeys on the highway, and this turned him against the entire species.⁵³ Increasing repression by the central government must have given the Bophuthatswana regime confidence to act brutally. Perhaps the savageness of the massacre was politically motivated, intended to terrorize people and preempt opposition. Government records for this year are not yet open, so the role of Pretoria cannot be determined; white soldiers did participate in other parts of Bophuthatswana, although no one told me of their presence around Kuruman.⁵⁴ Whatever the immediate cause, the difference between donkey control in 1983 and earlier years was not due to a change in the donkey population or their environmental impact; it was due to changes in the state and economy.

Based on interviews in Nweng, Ga-Mopedi, Kagung, and Seodin, villages near Kuruman, I have reconstructed the donkey killing in that area.⁵⁵ Sometimes, accounts are contradictory, as they were regarding the warning people received. Some people reported that the cull had begun like earlier ones, with their chief calling meetings on reducing the population. People then tried to sell but found no buyers. Others recalled hearing on the radio about the plan to reduce donkeys, or from others who had already experienced the culling. Some people had enough warning to send their donkeys to villages that were never removed from "white" South Africa and hence were not under Bophuthatswana jurisdiction. Others sent

of the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly, May 6, 1981–June 17, 1981, 1: 368–412; and *Debates of the Fifth Session of the First Bophuthatswana National Assembly*, April 27, 1982–June 9, 1982. On control efforts before 1983, see also *Debates of the First Session of the Second Bophuthatswana National Assembly*, June 16–July 28, 1983, 2: 773, 783.

⁵² *Debates of the First Session of the Second Bophuthatswana National Assembly* (1983), 2: 743–49.

⁵³ Interview with W. J. Seremane, Moffat Mission Library. In 1998, Mr. Seremane was the chief land claims commissioner for the Commission of Restitution of Land Rights. On donkeys as a traffic hazard, see the *Debates of the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly* (1981), 1: 379, 386, 398.

⁵⁴ In the course of my research, I learned of a white South African Defence Force soldier who participated in the donkey killing, but I was not able to interview him.

⁵⁵ The interviews on the donkey killings were F at Kagung, July 21, 1998; G at Kagung, July 21, 1998; J at Ga-Mopedi, July 23, 1998; K at Ga-Mopedi, July 23, 1998; K at Nweng, July 24, 1998; L at Nweng, July 24, 1998; C at Seodin, July 27, 1998; D at Seodin, July 27, 1998.

animals to relatives who worked on white-owned farms.⁵⁶ In each village, some people were taken by surprise.

Members of the Bophuthatswana Police Force and Bophuthatswana Defence Force arrived in trucks or in "Hippos," the troop carriers that would become infamous patrolling black urban townships during the 1980s. At the small village of Ncweng, people remember that they gathered their animals in preparation for counting, as in previous culls. They hardly expected the immediate shooting of most donkeys. They soon learned their error, because soldiers shot donkeys from their vehicles. When soldiers arrived, they did not explain the procedure or count the assembled animals but simply opened fire. Some people expected only females, or jennies, to be culled, but soldiers shot jacks and jennies alike. After shooting the gathered donkeys, soldiers fanned out across the veld. Searching the streets, the river valley, and grazing areas, they shot the donkeys they saw. A few people, realizing the danger, hid donkeys in their houses. This worked if neighbors did not tip off soldiers to search the house, as they sometimes did. In Seodin, the headman reported that an intervention temporarily halted the shootings. Thereafter, soldiers and police proceeded less randomly, paying greater attention to how many donkeys were permitted per household.⁵⁷

Although no people were killed, the violence of the shootings was extremely traumatic for witnesses. The last armed clash between people and the state in this region had occurred in 1897. Before 1983, most Kuruman people had never seen troop carriers or heard gunfire. Moreover, the soldiers explicitly threatened people who complained about the shooting. There is strong consistency in the interviews about the brutality of the shootings and how it provoked revulsion: "The soldiers did not take aim, but shot animals anywhere, as often as it took to kill them."⁵⁸ Every interview indicated that these were inhumane killings. "We were very disturbed about the actual way in which the donkeys were killed, because they were not put to death—they were savaged. Others were shot in the eye, different parts of the body, and the feet, and this made the actual killing gruesome because they had to suffer too much pain, unlike if they were shot once in the head."⁵⁹ People told me that the soldiers were not local men, who might have been sympathetic, but from other parts of Bophuthatswana. One man reported that his cousin had participated, but he later suffered nightmares and left the army.⁶⁰

Many, many donkeys were lost. Some people reported losing their entire herd of donkeys, up to eighteen animals. Even donkeys in harness were not safe from shooting. One man was using his donkeys when they were shot:

When the soldiers came in, I was riding in my cart, on my way to fetch building soil. They met me on my way, and never asked where I was going, or how many should they kill. They just mowed down the whole four, and I had to ask people to come and help me take the cart

⁵⁶ Interview C at Seodin; and with Gert Olivier, September 28, 1991. Personal communication to the author from Alan Butler, May 19, 1998.

⁵⁷ Interview with Agisanang David Setlhodi, July 27, 1998. On abuses of the Bophuthatswana police, see Colin Murray, *Black Mountain: Land, Class and Power in the Eastern Orange Free State, 1880s to 1980s* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 221–27.

⁵⁸ Interview L at Ncweng.

⁵⁹ Interview C at Seodin.

⁶⁰ Interview L at Ncweng; interview J at Ga-Mopedi.

home and take the other two carcasses home, and the other two I left them for people who wanted their meat. I was very heartbroken. What was surprising about the soldiers is that they never asked how far I was staying in order that I could maybe take the cart home, but they just shot the donkeys.⁶¹

A woman explained her feelings at seeing the blood and carcasses lying on top of each other: "the way the donkeys were killed, it was like they were people."⁶²

Donkeys were worth about 15 rands per animal,⁶³ but no compensation was offered. Dead donkeys had value as meat, and the shock of the killings did not prevent people from taking advantage of the opportunity for a substantial meal. "What did you do after the soldiers left?" I asked one group. "We ate," they shrugged.⁶⁴ The government made no provisions to move the carcasses, and eventually many donkeys rotted in the field and stank. The shootings stopped without explanation, but Seremane believes that pressure from the government in Pretoria, possibly motivated by fear of an outcry by white animal lovers, stopped the donkey killings.⁶⁵ It is impossible to say how many donkeys were killed, but the Bophuthatswana agricultural census reports show a steep decline in the population. The number for Bophuthatswana as a whole dropped from 47,927 in 1982 to 28,835 in 1983. Over half the missing donkeys were from the small Tlhaping-Tlharo district, where the count of 19,047 plummeted to 8,599.⁶⁶ Conceivably, not all of these animals died; presumably, many people would have been wary of census takers and hidden their surviving donkeys from government eyes.

As for the cattle, killing donkeys did not improve conditions enough to save them. These species existed in overlapping but different biological and geographical niches. The patterns of land ownership determined that donkeys and cattle raised for market had not been in direct competition for the same pastures. Donkeys grazed near villages, on highly populated communal lands, where more animals competed for grazing, and theft was a greater risk. With or without donkeys, these were not ideal areas for commercial beef production. Furthermore, donkeys were adapted to a wider range of possible fodder than cattle, including drought-resistant bushes. True, donkeys did eat the grass that survived the drought, and they ate proportionately more than cattle or goats did. Nevertheless, killing them did not equip cattle to survive in a bushy, diseased, and dry environment. Statistics show that the Tlhaping-Tlharo district was not able to sustain the high cattle numbers of the early 1980s. The numbers dropped from 102,253 in 1983 to 92,763 in 1984 and 84,971 in 1988. (See Graph B.) As a means of enhancing beef production, the donkey killing was a failure.

MAINTAINING THAT DONKEYS WERE DESTRUCTIVE required suppressing an alternative discourse on their value. This was never entirely successful; even some white

⁶¹ Interview C at Seodin.

⁶² Interview L at Nweng.

⁶³ Randall, *Survey of Race Relations*, 1982, 376.

⁶⁴ Interview J at Ga-Mopedi.

⁶⁵ Interview with W. J. Seremane.

⁶⁶ Bophuthatswana Department of Agriculture and Forestry, *Annual Report, 1982; Annual Report, 1983*.

officials of the Union Government recognized the practicality of donkeys. One wrote about Kuruman in 1937, "The prevailing conditions in the Native areas are such that there is no room for cattle and sheep but possibilities for developing the humble donkey and goats."⁶⁷ A report the next year stated, "Donkeys and goats do well and are the only stock seen to increase."⁶⁸ Similarly, a report from 1950 stated: "As Kuruman is essentially stock country, it is surprising how few cattle the natives own and how many donkeys (approximately 10,000) there are. It would appear that cattle . . . are a risky proposition and need attention e.g. food and water regularly. The donkey on the other hand requires no attention, is a useful draught animal and if he dies, his meat would be eaten as readily as in the case of an ox."⁶⁹ I found no other positive assessments of donkeys by white officials.

Unfortunately, few statements about donkeys by people who benefited from them have been preserved from previous decades. As mentioned above, the documentary record contains some pro-donkey testimony at the "Meetings of Chiefs, Headmen and People" in the early 1950s. Clearly, people who protected their animals during culls refuted the received wisdom. Some members of the Bophuthatswana National Assembly spoke in favor of donkeys before 1983, and despite the autocratic government, there were vehement objections during the cull.⁷⁰ However, because of the traumatic implementation of the donkey massacre and the consequent politicization of the subject, 1983 must be regarded as a critical point in the development of an alternative discourse. Although the alternative to the received wisdom existed before that point, the events of that year must have greatly affected it.

As killing donkeys became identified with Bophuthatswana and apartheid, the pro-donkey discourse strengthened. Today, donkeys carry an important load in the way people speak about the world, and the alternative position on donkeys has developed into donkey populism with an uncompromising opinion on their virtues. People maintained in our interviews that donkeys caused virtually no trouble or environmental damage, and they refuted each reason given for killing the donkeys. They denied that there were any feral donkeys or that the grass shortage was particularly severe before the massacre. Furthermore, they disagreed that donkeys eat a large amount of fodder. They recalled another justification used by the Bophuthatswana government—that donkeys had especially toxic urine that destroyed grass—and also denied this. Moreover, they rejected the most moderate reasons to control donkeys; one man dismissed a concern that would be familiar to anyone who has driven a car in the region. Emphasizing the responsibility of drivers, he mused, "You need a license to drive; a donkey doesn't get a license."⁷¹

People refuted the donkey killing on moral as well as practical grounds. The populist donkey position puts great emphasis on class-based injustice. As one member of the National Assembly said in 1983, "People now think the donkeys are being killed because the Government is rich. It is the rich people who have decided

⁶⁷ NAR, NTS 3007 368/305, memorandum, n.d. [probably October 1937].

⁶⁸ NAR, NTS 1948 256/278 (3), October 13, 1938.

⁶⁹ NAR, NTS 7387 305/327, Deputy Director of Native Agriculture Trip Report no. 44, Western Areas (Winter 1950).

⁷⁰ *Debates of the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly* (1981), 1: 391, 401; *Debates of the First Session of the Second Bophuthatswana National Assembly* (1983), 2: 750–99.

⁷¹ Interview C at Seodin.

that the donkeys should be killed.”⁷² The interviews showed the class analysis to be ubiquitous. One man theorized that donkey and cattle ownership defined classes:

The situation of our people in the Kudumane area is like this: we have different peoples who lived differently. People who own cattle, you find that most do not own donkeys. They only farm cattle. These people who own donkeys are the people who live a very low life. They do not even have a motor car—a donkey to them means a lot. With it they do most of their work, transport for water, bricks, gravel, sand, wood . . . mostly for building. Since we have such a high rate of unemployment, some with these donkeys, they can help the others who do not have donkeys to draw water for them and bring them wood when they built their houses, and in return they got paid and that is how they create life. So these are the two different types of people we have in our area.⁷³

Others supported him in blaming the class of cattle owners for the event: “What actually disturbed me most was that the people who made the decision do not have donkeys. Although they know the importance of donkeys in our lives, they themselves have cows and sheep.”⁷⁴ “I started not to trust anybody who is a wealthy cattle owner, because they could take any decision that would affect even the lives of ordinary donkeys.”⁷⁵ One informant asserted that ungrateful, “faceless” people motivated the government to shoot donkeys: “Even though those faceless people used donkeys to reach the standard where they are having cows and horses, they have actually forgotten that.”⁷⁶ One informant contrasted the way capitalizing white and black farmers treated donkeys. “I was once asked at work by a white man why it was that when the white men became rich he gave his donkeys to blacks, but why when blacks were rich, they did not give the donkeys to people who are poor, but they decided to kill them?”⁷⁷

They emphasize that donkey killing brought great disadvantages to poor people. Many people claimed that they had earned an income from transporting goods with their donkey carts, or that the death of donkeys forced them to pay cash for services they could previously provide for themselves. The death of the draft animals made it more difficult to plow. An older woman believed that the killing was especially disadvantageous for women: “Widows and divorcees who had donkeys, those donkeys acted as their husbands . . . Since then their suffering was exacerbated, and they are still suffering even now.”⁷⁸ It was expensive to replace donkeys after the shootings, because their prices rose.

In the populist discourse, the donkey killing is a serious moral transgression, because donkeys have a special significance to Christians and the environment. A very high proportion of the population identifies itself as Christian, and my informants often asserted that the donkey killing was especially immoral because of a biblical endorsement of donkeys. Referring to Jesus on Palm Sunday, a man explained, “We must understand that God wanted us to use the donkeys, because

⁷² *Debates of the First Session of the Second Bophuthatswana National Assembly* (1983), 2: 770–71.

⁷³ Interview D at Seodin.

⁷⁴ Interview L at Ncweng.

⁷⁵ Interview C at Seodin.

⁷⁶ Interview C at Seodin.

⁷⁷ Interview C at Seodin.

⁷⁸ Interview L at Ncweng.

there is a quote in the Bible which states that you would find the donkey tied to a pole and bring it to me.”⁷⁹ It is significant that in 1981, even before the donkey massacre, a member of the National Assembly mentioned Jesus’ selection of a donkey. “Our Lord Jesus Christ had to make use of the services of a donkey because he was not used to riding a horse, even then if he had a horse, he could have been thrown by the horse and could also have been forced to train this horse to be ridden.”⁸⁰ With reference to the environment, people regularly claimed that the drought became severe only after the donkeys were killed. Some asserted that the drought finally lessened only after many cattle succumbed, a clear statement on the moral weight of killing donkeys. In a variation on the theme of retribution, one man recounted, to gales of laughter, that a police officer who had been particularly brutal had suffered a condition that caused his skin to peel off.⁸¹

Discussion of the donkey massacre also brought up the issue of good government and democracy. Many people stated that they had no ability to protest this or other actions of the Bophuthatswana government. The significance of the donkey killing was not lost on the political opposition, weak as it was, in Bophuthatswana. After the killings, J. B. Toto, the chief of the Tlharo people near Kuruman and a member of the opposition Seoposengwe Party, made the donkey killing an issue and thus became known as “Rra-Ditonki” or “Mr. Donkeys.”⁸² In addition, an African National Congress (ANC) partisan and protest singer, Blondie Makhene, wrote a song about the donkey killings. It describes ghosts of donkeys haunting Mangope and goes on to urge people to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. The song was written and sung publicly shortly after the donkey massacre but not recorded until 1991 or 1992. It was sung at opposition rallies in Bophuthatswana during the transition to majority rule, and people sang it to me in interviews.⁸³

The contrast between donkey-killing Bophuthatswana and a democratic ANC government is not lost on those who spoke with me. Prompted by the subject of the donkey killing, a young woman spoke with great emotion when she contrasted Bophuthatswana rule with that of the ANC:

We were very happy in 1994 that we voted in the government of the people by the people, a democratic government in which if a person has something that affects him or her, he or she is in a position to raise the concern. Unlike if you have something that does not satisfy you, then you are not in a position to say it. During Mangope’s reign, there was no cooperation. Even though they called themselves democrats, they did not practice democracy. The only thing they knew was to oppress people, as they were pawns of the apartheid government which used him to oppress other people.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Interview C at Seodin. On Christianity among southern Tswana people, see Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 1: *Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991); Vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997).

⁸⁰ *Debates of the Fourth Session of the First National Assembly* (1981), 1: 401.

⁸¹ Interview C at Seodin.

⁸² Mosiamane, “What Lies Behind the Glittering Bophuthatswana Façade,” 19–23.

⁸³ Telephone interview by the author with Blondie Makhene, November 27, 1998. I thank Angela Impey for locating Mr. Makhene for me.

⁸⁴ Interview C at Seodin.

An older woman who had one surviving donkey was still fearful: "The small donkey that survived has reproduced and I am so afraid that I do not even trust the present government. I am always afraid that it will do the same."⁸⁵ Probably, donkey reduction is now a political impossibility.

Not everyone ascribes to the tenets of donkey populism. Mangope is still politically active, leading the United Christian Democratic Party, which has some supporters in this corner of former Bophuthatswana territory. In the 1999 elections, the UCDP received 18 percent of the vote there,⁸⁶ but I did not hear his supporters defending his donkey policy. In earlier interviews on less politicized aspects of environmental history, people in the groups expressed a variety of opinions, but on the subject of donkeys there was great conformity with the populist position. We witnessed the pressures for conformity in Seodin, where we held our interviews after a community meeting. When the assembled group heard that we wanted to discuss the donkey massacre, there was a public discussion of whether we should be allowed to hold interviews on such a sensitive subject. To address their concerns, I met with the headman and a few leading men to explain my purpose and hear their statements. Thereafter, we were allowed to proceed, and it was resolved that people should talk freely. All the same, I noticed one Mangope supporter fleeing the scene. I was not successful in my attempts to interview this man or officials; their continued reticence and my impending return to the United States made it prohibitively difficult.

WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE DONKEY MASSACRE exposes some limitations to recovering the history of domesticated animals, colonized subjects, and environmental crises. Like other domesticated animals, donkeys are dominated and represented by humans. Yet, to their owners, they are also fellow living beings. The challenge to historians is to treat them not just as material objects but also as historical subjects.⁸⁷ Also evident are the difficulties in basing history on politicized memories. It is standard practice to read colonial documents "against the grain," but it is equally important to treat an alternative populist discourse critically, even one decrying injustice to poor black people and lowly hard-working animals. Because they convey personal experiences, testimonies on the events of the massacre seem authentic. Commentary on the environmental implications of donkey keeping and killing is more problematic. Christian meanings and resentment about colonial control and class privilege have created an extreme loyalty to

⁸⁵ Interview L at Ncweng.

⁸⁶ On the 1999 election in North-West Province, see Andrew Reynolds, ed., *Election '99 South Africa: From Mandela to Mbeki* (New York, 1999), 134–36, 189, 194. I thank John Seiler for the Kuruman voting results. Information was also available on the Independent Electoral Commission web site: www.elections.org.za.

⁸⁷ This challenge is similar to those faced—and often overcome—by historians, such as those of the Subaltern Studies group, who have worked on restoring to history the experiences of underprivileged people. To frame the situation in an admittedly provocative way, it may be useful to think of domesticated animals as especially disadvantaged subaltern subjects. This would require us to view the donkey massacre as an act of injustice against not only the owners but also the animals themselves.

donkeys that refutes any negative allegation. In this discourse, donkeys are valorized, and thus the transgression of the massacre is magnified.

Donkey populism appears to exist even in areas of South Africa that were not included in Bophuthatswana, as the South African Network of Animal Traction Survey in 1994 reveals. The report of the 1994 survey gives a vigorous defense of donkeys and attributes all anti-donkey thinking to government officials and urban people. It argues that donkeys are not destructive or wasteful and transmits popular refutations of anti-donkey "myths."⁸⁸ However, like the received wisdom, tenets of donkey populism cannot be taken as a neutral assessment of their environmental impact, especially the impact in previous decades. People in Namaqualand in the 1990s believed that large numbers of donkeys impaired goat keeping, and perhaps the same was true among subsistence herders in Bophuthatswana in 1983. In subsequent years, the powerful populist discourse could have filtered out memories of their negative environmental impact. An assessment of their current environmental impact and economic costs and benefits would be possible through experimental investigation by researchers who understand that both the received wisdom and the alternative populism are historical productions.

Like the anti-donkey received wisdom, the pro-donkey populism has transcended race in South Africa. In fact, during the same decade as the massacre in Bophuthatswana, two white municipalities erected monuments to the animals.⁸⁹ In 1984, the Municipality of Upington erected a bronze statue of a donkey attached to a pump, a perfectly life-like animal that stands frozen in its step on a circular path around the machine. In 1986, the Pietersburg District Agricultural Union erected a statue of a donkey at repose. In Upington, donkey-powered machines allowed white farmers to pump water for commercial fruit production, while in Pietersburg donkeys carried rock during the late nineteenth-century gold rush. Both statues have inscriptions acknowledging donkeys' hard work and contribution to the human economy. The recognition by these white communities of donkeys (and not black workers!) at about the same time that Bophuthatswana massacred donkeys is a remarkable expression of the pervasive irony of South African history. The great discrepancy in these treatments of South African donkeys results from divisions of both race and class among humans. In Upington and Pietersburg, donkeys grazed on privately held farms, where owners had rights over the land and its use. A white owner had the right to decide whether a donkey destroyed, or should be put out to, pasture. Furthermore, donkeys in Upington and Pietersburg contributed to capitalization, while donkeys in Bophuthatswana supported those who could not capitalize. The memorialized donkeys aided those who had power, and did so on terms set by the powerful. Therefore, in these two cities, donkeys inspired monuments, while only a song of revolution commemorates their history in Bophuthatswana.

⁸⁸ Starkey, *Animal Traction in South Africa*, 21–22, 139–51.

⁸⁹ On the material and cultural value of donkeys for white South Africans, see Brian du Toit, *People of the Valley: Life in an Isolated Afrikaner Community in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1974), 36, 45–46, 75–77. On the donkey monuments, see photographs in James Walton, *A Tribute to the Donkey* (n.p., 1999), 24–25; and Starkey, *Animal Traction in South Africa*, color photograph insert, 4. There is also a donkey statue in Brazil; see Frank Brookshier, *The Burro* (Norman, Okla., 1974), 223.

Nancy J. Jacobs is an assistant professor of African History in the History Department and Afro-American Studies Program at Brown University. Her previous articles have been published in the *Journal of African History*, the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, and *Environment and History*. The donkey killing is the final episode in her book, *Eyes on the Thornveld: A Socio-Environmental History of the Kalahari's Edge*, forthcoming from Cambridge University Press. Jacobs received her PhD in history from Indiana University in 1995, where her major adviser was Phyllis Martin. She is now beginning research on African and European knowledge about and interest in birds in colonial and postcolonial southern Africa.

Review Essay
The Fates of Human Societies: A Review of Recent
Macrohistories

GALE STOKES

NOT MANY HISTORIANS would subtitle their book "The Fates of Human Societies."¹ History on that scale is far removed from the "brick-by-brick, life-by-life, day-by-day foundations" of which Margaret Atwood spoke recently in these pages.² And indeed, Jared Diamond, the author of the book with that subtitle, is neither a historian nor a novelist. He is an evolutionary biologist. Nevertheless, in the past few years, a number of scholars like Diamond have published historical studies that confront the broadest kind of macrohistorical issues.³ Many of these works focus on variants of the question that inspired Diamond to write his book. While he was doing fieldwork in New Guinea, a native informant asked him, "Why is it that you white people developed so much cargo and brought it to New Guinea, but we black people had little cargo of our own?"⁴ Diamond knows that from a genetic point of view humans have been essentially equivalent for tens of thousands of years, and his fieldwork in New Guinea convinced him that the peoples he worked with there were on the average more intelligent than Westerners; thus the question seemed to him both puzzling and worth pursuing.⁵ And so it has seemed to many others.

The issue that has occupied many macrohistorians over the past generation can be stated quite succinctly: "Why Europe?" Why did a relatively small and backward periphery on the western fringes of the Eurasian continent burst out into the world

I would like to thank Richard Smith and Patricia Seed, as well as the staff of the *AHR* and its anonymous readers, for their many valuable comments and suggestions.

¹ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York, 1997).

² Margaret Atwood, "In Search of *Alias Grace*: On Writing Canadian Historical Fiction," *AHR* 103 (December 1998): 1505. A relatively recent historiographical genre that follows Atwood's advice with a vengeance is microhistory, almost the precise opposite of macrohistory. For an introduction, see Jacques Revel, "Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social," in Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Histories: French Constructions of the Past*, Vol. 1: *Postwar French Thought* (New York, 1995), 492–502; and the collection edited by Revel, *Jeux d'échelles: La micro-analyse à l'expérience* (Paris, 1996).

³ By macrohistory, I refer to what Charles Tilly calls "world history," which falls in between broad metahistory and narrower national history. See Tilly, "A Grand Tour of Exotic Landes," *AHR* 104 (October 1999): 1253–57. David Christian argues that really big history should comprise all of time. In his thirteen-week introductory course, he takes eight weeks to move from the Big Bang to early Near Eastern civilizations. Christian, "The Case for 'Big History,'" *Journal of World History* 2 (Fall 1991): 223–38.

⁴ Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 14.

⁵ For Diamond's argument that "Stone Age" peoples are "more intelligent, more alert, more expressive, and more interested in things and people around them than the average European or American," see *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 20–21.

in the sixteenth century and by the nineteenth century become a dominant force in almost all corners of the earth? Until recently, two responses have dominated the answers to this question. The first is that something unique in the European past lay behind its eventual economic development and power. This something special is often seen as a universal good, such as reason, freedom, or individualism, that relates, or should relate, to all human beings. The best-known recent study in this school is David Landes's *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor*.⁶

The second response is that there was nothing particularly special about Europe until at least 1500, and probably not until 1800. Even then, its rise to dominance by the nineteenth century was due not to any exceptional qualities but to its good fortune in being able to seize vast amounts of gold and silver in the New World and to create other forms of wealth through colonial trade. The second group tends to see the last thousand years as an era dominated primarily by the cultures and economies of Asia, especially China, with a relatively brief and likely to be transient burst of European power in the last quarter of the millennium.⁷ The most successful synthetic study in this vein is Andre Gunder Frank's *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*.⁸

Both of these approaches tend to be polemical. For example, Landes calls criticism of works that emphasize European uniqueness "simply anti-intellectual; also contrary to fact," while Frank believes his analysis "pulls the historical rug out from under the *anti*-historical/scientific—really ideological—Eurocentrism of Marx, Weber, Toynbee, Polanyi, Braudel, Wallerstein, and most other contemporary social theorists."⁹ Recently, a less polarized way of attacking macrohistorical issues has begun to emerge, the world-historical approach.¹⁰ World historians tend to see the past thousand years, and maybe even longer, as a system of interactions and encounters in which humanity as a whole participated in a vast adventure of development, the sources of which were varied and the impact of which was worldwide. Historians in this school remain interested in issues of development, but they tend to focus on encounters and comparisons rather than on hegemony and dominance. In this way, they offer narratives more appropriate for the post-Cold War era of globalization than the essentializing styles of the first two approaches. Two important examples are R. Bin Wong's *China Transformed: Historical Change*

⁶ New York, 1998.

⁷ A typical comment: "East Asia is a great region of the past, having been in the forefront of world development for at least two thousand years, until the sixteenth, seventeenth, or even eighteenth century, after which it suffered a relatively brief but deeply felt eclipse." Gilbert Rozman, "The East Asian Region in Comparative Perspective," in Rozman, ed., *The East Asian Region: Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaption* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 6.

⁸ Berkeley, Calif., 1998. In the last years of the 1990s, comparisons of Landes and Frank became almost a historical parlor game, with discussions ranging from conferences and special meetings to a debate between the two protagonists on the cable channel that covers Congress, C-SPAN.

⁹ Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 514; Frank, *ReOrient*, xv–xvi. For heated attacks on Frank by three former collaborators—Samir Amin, Giovanni Arrighi, and Immanuel Wallerstein—see *Review* 22, no. 3 (1999): 291–371.

¹⁰ The approach is not necessarily new. Marshall G. S. Hodgson began moving toward this sort of analysis a generation ago. However, its momentum has only recently accelerated. See Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, Edmund Burke III, ed. (Cambridge, 1993).

and the Limits of European Experience and Kenneth Pomeranz's *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*.¹¹

One approaches these issues with considerable trepidation. Indeed, one might ask if it is even possible to write scholarly work on a macrohistorical scale. Histories that sweep across centuries, languages, and cultures cannot be based on detailed archival research, which disqualifies them from the ranks of the serious for some historians. The low esteem in which Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee have been held by professional historians grows in part out of the conviction that their work is not solidly grounded.¹² William H. McNeill, who is one of the two universally admired macrohistorians—the other is Fernand Braudel—does not agree that macrohistorical investigations are methodologically unsound. While primary sources are important, he argues, it is not the scale of the topic that is the key to good history writing. It is quite possible to write poor history on the basis of the most impeccable documentary evidence. The fundamental desideratum is the skill with which the historian chooses questions and the integrity that he or she brings to the task.¹³ The logic of explanation does not change with the generality of the developments and outcomes to be explained.¹⁴ Accepting this view, but also acknowledging that few people are fully qualified to comment on all the controversial subjects that arise in writing macrohistories, I will discuss the two contending (and contentious) schools and then outline the beginnings of a new approach.

DAVID LANDES'S RICH STUDY unapologetically argues that the key factor in the last one thousand years of progress has been "Western civilization and its dissemination."¹⁵ The reason is that Europeans invented systematic economic development. Even though this invention is related to technological improvements, Landes argues that three nonmaterial and unique aspects of European culture were central to Europe's propensity for economic growth. First, he places great importance on the development of science as an autonomous method of intellectual inquiry that succeeded in disengaging itself from the social constraints imposed by organized religion and from the political constraints of centralized authority. Paradoxically, given the diversity of Europe that he and others believe was vital in permitting it to break out into the Atlantic in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European scholars used a single vehicle of communication: Latin. This commonality facilitated an adversarial discourse in which advances in understanding of the physical world could be tested, demonstrated, and then accepted across the continent and eventually across the world, even though Europe lacked a political center.¹⁶

¹¹ R. Bin Wong, *China Transformed* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1997); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

¹² For a sympathetic entry into the Toynbee phenomenon, see William H. McNeill, *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* (New York, 1989).

¹³ See McNeill's remarks on the occasion of his receipt of the Erasmus Award in 1996, in *Praemium Erasmianum 1996* (Amsterdam, 1996).

¹⁴ For a powerful theoretical support of this view, see Fritz Ringer, *Max Weber's Methodology: The Unification of the Cultural and Social Sciences* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).

¹⁵ Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 513.

¹⁶ Printing presses with movable type, which Landes does not emphasize, were also vital here. See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural*

Second, Landes advocates a generalized form of the Max Weber thesis that values of work, initiative, and investment made the difference for Europe. Unlike some, he does not stress the notion of rationality as such. In Landes's view, "What counts is work, thrift, honesty, patience, [and] tenacity.¹⁷ The only route to economic success for individuals or states is working hard, spending less than you earn, and investing the rest in productive capacity. This is his fundamental answer to the problem posed by the subtitle of his book: "Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor." For historical reasons—not because of any racial, genetic, or special intellectual endowments—Europeans have, on balance, followed those practices, and therefore they have prospered.¹⁸

The third quality Landes proposes is perhaps the most important one. Europeans were learners—they "learned rather greedily," as Joel Mokyr puts it in his review of Landes's book.¹⁹ Even if the Europeans possessed indigenous technology that gave them an advantage, as Landes believed they did (spectacles, for example), their most important asset was the ability to put knowledge to use wherever they found it—as in borrowing the concept of zero and rediscovering Aristotle's *Logic* from the Arabs, and taking paper and gunpowder from the Chinese via the Muslim world. Landes argues that a systematic resistance to learning from other cultures was the greatest handicap that faced the Chinese by the eighteenth century and remains the greatest handicap of Arab countries today.²⁰

Despite his belief in Europe's significance, Landes does not argue that the Europeans were beneficent bearers of civilization to a benighted world, although his analysis of European expansion is almost nonexistent. Landes relies on his own commonsense law, "When one group is strong enough to push another around and stands to gain by it, it will do so." In contrast to the complex approaches of the new school of world historians (to be discussed later), Landes simply holds that technological advances achieved on the basis of specific cultural values made some Europeans strong enough to dominate people in other parts of the world, and therefore they proceeded to do so with great viciousness and cruelty.²¹ By focusing

Transformations in Early Modern Europe, 2 vols. (New York, 1979). For the limitations of movable type in Chinese printing, see Joseph Needham, ed., *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 5, Pt. 1: Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei, *Paper and Printing* (Cambridge, 1985), 220–22.

¹⁷ Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 523.

¹⁸ Surprisingly, Landes does not stress property rights. The most powerful discussion of that aspect of Western development remains Douglass C. North and Robert Paul Thomas, *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History* (Cambridge, 1973).

¹⁹ Joel Mokyr, "Eurocentricity Triumphant," *AHR* 104 (October 1999): 1243. See also Donna J. Guy, "The Morality of Economic History and the Immorality of Imperialism," *AHR* 104 (October 1999): 1247–52; and Tilly, "Grand Tour."

²⁰ Fouad Ajami and Toby E. Huff, although writing about completely different phenomena, hold similar views. Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey* (New York, 1998); Huff, *The Rise of Early Modern Science: Islam, China, and the West* (Cambridge, 1993). Huff shows how the Arabs successfully learned from others in the early days of Islam but have since erected cultural barriers to scientific learning that are not connected to faith. Even Joanna Waley-Cohen, *The Sextants of Beijing: Global Currents in Chinese History* (New York, 1999), who argues that the Chinese were more open to outside influences than is generally known, agrees that the Chinese were "extremely cautious" in regard to the circulation of influences that threatened "their political autonomy and distinctive cultural identity"; p. 284.

²¹ For a harrowing narrative of one example, see Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (Boston, 1998).

on their victimization in this process, Landes believes, some postcolonial states have wasted much of the energy that they could otherwise have put into productive work and investment. If one could sum up Landes's advice to these states in one sentence, it might be, "Stop whining and get to work." This is particularly important advice, he would argue, because success is not permanent. Comparative advantage is not fixed, gains from trade are unequal, and different societies react differently to market signals. Therefore, not only is there hope for the undeveloped, but the developed countries have little cause to be complacent, because the current situation "will press hard" on them.²²

Despite this hint of possible decline, the usual thrust of studies like Landes's is to find the short list of the elements of European civilization that lie behind the creation of modernity. Two recent books in this genre emphasize the importance of the medieval church, as does Landes's, but for different reasons. Landes's argument is that the European propensity for growth is linked with the ancient idea of private property, which church pretensions against medieval rulers helped support.²³ David Gress develops this point by criticizing what he calls the "Grand Narrative" of European history, which allegedly claims that liberty is an abstract principle traceable through the great books back to ancient Greece. While the original ingredient of the West is indeed liberty, Gress argues that this relationship grew slowly, not as an ideological legacy of the classical world but as a set of practices and institutions that served the interests of power, specifically the independence of the church in the Middle Ages. Deepak Lal, on the other hand, argues that individualism, the rise of which he also links to the medieval church, is the key element in the long-term economic success of the West.²⁴ Gress and Lal remain rather traditional. Craig Clunas in a review essay lists some less common proposals for key Western ingredients in the invention of modernity that go beyond the ideas of church, liberty, and individualism: the propensity of Westerners to think quantitatively, the invention of pornography, a commitment to certain forms of picturing, food styles, fashion, diversity, a new understanding of public trust, and overseas colonization. Jacques Barzun takes a different tack, listing seven cultural themes that run through European history of the last five hundred years: abstraction, analysis, emancipation, primitivism, reductivism, secularism, self-consciousness, scientism, and specialism. Barzun is more pessimistic than Gress or Lal, but he does believe that "the peoples of the West offered the world a set of ideas and institutions not found earlier or elsewhere."²⁵

These proposals assume the fundamental rightness of their question: What are the factors that characterize European success? It is a short leap from this assumption to outright triumphalism. The paradigmatic book of this school is, of course, *The End of History and the Last Man*, in which Francis Fukuyama argues

²² Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 63, 434, and 522.

²³ Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 35–36.

²⁴ David Gress, *From Plato to NATO: The Idea of the West and Its Opponents* (New York, 1998); and Deepak Lal, *Unintended Consequences: The Impact of Factor Endowments, Culture, and Politics on Long-Run Economic Performance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).

²⁵ Craig Clunas, "Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West," *AHR* 104 (December 1999): 1508–09; and Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 500 Years of Western Culture Life* (New York, 2000), xv.

that, after the collapse of both Nazism and Communism in the twentieth century, the only possible remaining model for human organization in the industrial and communications ages was a combination of market economics and limited, pluralist, democratic government.²⁶ But even theoretically inclined and sophisticated sociologists are not immune to the temptation, as Anthony Giddens shows in *The Consequences of Modernity*. Is modernity, which has characteristics like disembedding mechanisms and the reflexive appropriation of knowledge, and which is inherently globalizing, a Western project? "[T]he blunt answer must be 'yes,'" says Giddens.²⁷

THIS KIND OF CONFIDENCE provokes not only heavy fire but also resentment and downright anger. Critics argue that the undoubted ascendancy of Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is substantially less inevitable than most have assumed and certainly not due to any inherent European superiorities.²⁸ Instead of growing out of unique European experiences, Western domination was almost accidental; it has been brief, and it will remain short-lived. "The myth of the European miracle," James M. Blaut writes, making use of the title of E. L. Jones's widely read book of twenty years ago, "is the doctrine that the rise of Europe resulted, essentially, from historical forces generated within Europe itself."²⁹ By assembling a multitude of data undermining the demographic, climatic, and geographic arguments of European uniqueness, Blaut critiques religious, rationalist, and social claims. He makes a strong case that European success was due primarily to its good fortune of being well placed geographically to exploit the gold and silver of the Americas and the colonial trade that these resources made possible.

Blaut's critique of Eurocentrism is the most systematic within the critical school, but Andre Gunder Frank offers the most thorough alternative theory. Frank does not give an inch to Europe, which in his view made little or no contribution to its own nineteenth-century hegemony. Early modern Europe was not more advanced

²⁶ New York, 1992. For useful retrospectives by Fukuyama, see "Reflections on *The End of History*, Five Years Later," in Philip Pomper, Richard H. Elphick, and Richard T. Vann, eds., *World History: Ideologies, Structures, and Identities* (Malden, Mass., 1998), 199–216; and the discussion in *The National Interest* 56 (Summer 1999).

²⁷ (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 175.

²⁸ In addition to the works discussed here, see also the following: Samir Amin, *Eurocentrism* (London, 1989), argues that capitalism has led to an international impasse and that socialism is "at the end of this long tunnel"; p. 152; Bobby S. Sayyid, *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism* (London, 1997), posits that resurgent Islamicism fills a space left by the erosion of Kemalism, which disarticulated Islam from the state; Peter Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1996), seeks to replace Eurocentrism with four national "roads" of development; and Rajani Kannepalli Kanth, *Breaking with the Enlightenment: The Twilight of History and the Rediscovery of Utopia* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1997), holds that the Enlightenment produced Euro-centered visions that were always "materialist, androcentric, statist, violent, intolerant, and misogynist"; p. 105.

²⁹ J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York, 1993), 59; E. L. Jones, *The European Miracle: Environment, Economics, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge, 1981). See also John Goudsblom, Eric Jones, and Stephen Mennell, *The Course of Human History: Economic Growth, Social Process, and Civilization* (Armonk, N.Y., 1996).

"in any way than other regions of the world." "Europeans did not do anything—let alone modernize—by themselves." "The Europeans did not in any sense 'create' the world economic system itself nor develop world 'capitalism.'" "The Europeans had no exceptional, let alone superior, ethnic, rational, organizational, or spirit-of-capitalist advantages to offer, diffuse, or do anything else in Asia."³⁰

Instead, Frank argues, European successes were the result of the operation of the world economic system, which has been in operation since at least 1400 and probably substantially before that time. As a structuralist, Frank believes that local and regional events take place within the system of trade linkages through which products and money are exchanged on a worldwide basis, or at least on a very large intercontinental scale.³¹ During most of the last one thousand years, that system was centered in Asia, especially in China, which under the Song dynasty experienced remarkable economic growth. Janet Abu-Lughod has argued that when this system began to decline, as part of a worldwide decline in population in the fourteenth century, the stage was set for the emergence of the truly worldwide system of the post-Columbus era.³² Frank does not agree. Believing that the world system operates in very long-term cycles of rise and decline, Frank argues that Asia began an "A" phase of economic upturn about 1400 that continued into the seventeenth century. Only when that cycle went into its "B" phase, or decline, did the by now rising cycle of European development pass it in about 1815. In other words, 1500 is not the dramatic milestone of a new era for Frank, as it is for many other historians, but rather a moment when the world system was restructured, or "inflected," because the Europeans fortuitously stumbled onto the Western Hemisphere.

Frank buttresses his larger theory with, among other things, a substantial discussion of global trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He also presents five excellent maps that show in easily comprehended detail early modern trade flows.³³ He identifies three areas of surplus production (India, China, and Southeast Asia) and four deficit regions (the Americas, Japan, Africa, and Europe). In order to be able to obtain some of the surpluses of the former areas, the Americas and Japan exported specie and Africa exported slaves. Europe, with nothing of great value to sell, achieved success by managing the exports of the deficit areas. Frank particularly emphasizes the importance of silver. Because the price of silver was approximately twice as high in China as it was in Europe or the New World, because Asian trade was highly developed, and because Europe had few products that the sophisticated Asian traders wanted, about one quarter to one third (and perhaps more) of the silver produced in the New World ended up in Asia, especially in China.³⁴ This, Frank argues, and nothing more, is what provided

³⁰ Frank, *ReOrient*, 5, 259, 167, 284.

³¹ Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, eds., *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London, 1993).

³² Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989).

³³ For informative maps of Indian Ocean trade routes, emporia, winds, and other factors, see K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750* (Cambridge, 1985).

³⁴ Given this imbalance, one is surprised to learn that the Chinese state did not actually mint silver coins. Millions of foreign coins circulated, and so did chunks, ingots, and bits of silver, but no Chinese

the basis for European development. As he puts it, "the Europeans bought themselves a seat, and then even a whole railway car, on the Asian train."³⁵

As this formulation suggests, Frank has even more of a tendency toward overkill than Landes. According to Frank, Asians were superior or at least equal to Europeans in the fields of guns, ships, printing, textiles, metallurgy, and transport. State institutions had little or no importance in deflecting processes. Even the Crusades was nothing more than a European effort "to plug its marginal economy more effectively into the new Afro-Eurasian dynamic." And, unlike Landes, Frank has very little room for people. For Frank, structure is all. For example: "[I]t was this Kondratieff 'B' phase that generated the industrial revolution (as well as the American and French political revolutions)."³⁶ Frank calls this approach "humano-centric." That is, rather than taking one relatively small group of human beings as his central point, he tries to comprehend humanity as a whole. There is merit in this idea. After all, in the long run of human experience, worldwide industrialization has taken but an instant. However, it is a profoundly anti-humanistic approach. Cycles occur and structures inflect, but human agents do not really exist.

Frank's reliance on economic motivations and activities is typical of most analyses, but another common thread is the Weberian notion that in some sense rationality lay behind Europe's success. We have already seen the importance Landes places on science, and recently Alfred W. Crosby has argued that the West's lead in its ability to quantify reality was fundamental to its commercial and other successes.³⁷ Crosby holds that the quantification of notions of time and space, as well as the development of skills such as art, writing, and bookkeeping, gave Europe a unique conceptual advantage by the sixteenth century. British anthropologist Jack Goody takes a countervailing position. He argues that many of those features sometimes claimed as European developmental advantages are in fact not uniquely European.³⁸ If we judge by actions rather than by post hoc observations of who ended up in the dominant position, it is difficult to make global assessments about the relative rationality of such things as bookkeeping practices or family relations. Goody's underlying point is that the primary cultures of the Eurasian continent, especially those of the Mediterranean, India, and China, all grew out of similar Bronze Age innovations. Whereas mercantile activities may have prospered first in one region and then in another, the developmental process had broad similarities across Eurasia.

silver coins; Ray Huang, *Taxation and Governmental Finance in Sixteenth-Century Ming China* (Cambridge, 1988), 79. For the silver trade that came directly from the New World to Asia through Manila, see Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born with a 'Silver Spoon': The Origin of World Trade in 1571," *Journal of World History* 6 (Fall 1995): 201–21; and the articles in Flynn, *World Silver and Monetary History in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1996).

³⁵ Frank, *ReOrient*, 277.

³⁶ Frank, *ReOrient*, 353, 293.

³⁷ Alfred W. Crosby, *The Measure of Reality: Quantification and Western Society, 1250–1600* (Cambridge, 1997). See also the discussion of this book by Roger Hart, Jack A. Goldstone, and Margaret C. Jacob, *AHR* 102 (April 2000): 485–508.

³⁸ Jack Goody, *The East in the West* (Cambridge, 1996).

IMPLICIT IN ALL THESE WRITINGS is the obverse of the question "Why Europe?"—namely, "Why not China?"³⁹ Many specific issues separate the advocates of European uniqueness and their critics, but they are united in their interest in the why/why not issue. A neuralgic moment on both sides of the debate is the cancellation of the Chinese voyages initiated early in the fifteenth century by the influential court eunuch Zheng He. Zheng He's initial treasure fleet consisted of 317 ships, the largest of which were 400 feet long (compared to the 85 feet of Columbus's *Santa Maria*), and 27,000 crewmen, the largest fleet assembled for a single voyage until the twentieth century.⁴⁰ The Chinese made seven major voyages to the Indian Ocean, reaching as far as Madagascar. But because of internal political conflicts, the emperor eventually ordered the fleets destroyed and went so far as to ban the building of ships with more than two masts or even making oceangoing voyages.

Authors who begin from a European perspective almost uniformly find this moment crucial in their discussions of why Europeans rather than Asians came to dominate the seas of the world. They adopt the same general theme: China was a centralized empire and Europe was not. If and when the central regime in China wished to prohibit the construction of ships with more than two masts, as it did by 1500, it could do so. Europe, by contrast, consisted of a large variety of competing kingdoms and proto-states in which no such blanket prohibition could be sustained. Jared Diamond's version of this conventional wisdom has a typically geographic twist: China is a compact landmass with a relatively limited coastline, while Europe consists of numerous peninsulas and major islands with very extensive coastlines. Therefore, when the Han Chinese of northwest China developed agriculture around 7500 BCE, bronze metallurgy in the third millennium BCE, and iron technology in 500 BCE, they were able, over a space of two or three thousand years, to spread their culture to the southeast, eliminate hundreds of indigenous peoples, and create a centralized state in a way not possible in Europe.⁴¹

Cultural differences have also been used to explain why the Europeans, not the Chinese, came to dominance in the nineteenth century. Typical arguments include that Confucianism, with its ethic of harmonious living, contrasts with the aggressive nature of monotheistic Christianity; that the Chinese sense of being at the center of the world contrasts with the obvious realization of peoples like the Portuguese that they were not even in the center of Europe, let alone the world; and that the social position of the merchant in China was inferior to that of the merchant in the West, so that property rights were poorly protected. These cultural differences could be neatly summed up in the contrasting ways the emperor of China and the king of Portugal styled themselves. The Chinese emperor was the "Son of Heaven," around whom the rest of the world revolved, whereas King Manuel I, king of Portugal from

³⁹ One also might ask, "Why not India?" For good discussions of this question, see Goody, *East in the West*; and the several works of K. N. Chaudhuri, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, C. A. Bayly, and Frank Perlin.

⁴⁰ Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405–1433* (New York, 1994). The Spanish Armada of 1588, for example, consisted of 130 ships; Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston, 1959), 247.

⁴¹ Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, 322–33; Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 23–28. See also Jared Diamond, "Peeling the Chinese Onion," *Nature* 391 (January 29, 1998): 433–34.

1495 to 1521, styled himself the "Lord of Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Asia, Persia, and India."⁴² Landes makes the cultural argument in a typically aggressive way, repeating the refrain of a changeless China.⁴³ After the Ming prohibited oceangoing voyages, he writes, "the Celestial Empire purred along for hundreds of years more, impervious and imperturbable."⁴⁴

Felipe Fernández-Armesto, a historian of the Spanish expansion to the Atlantic islands prior to the sixteenth century, makes the most bizarre response to these assertions in a recent history of the past thousand years that he entitles *Millennium*. Fernández-Armesto agrees that, under the Ming, conservative Confucians achieved a "near-exclusive triumph," to the detriment of development, although sinologists by no means support such a bald assertion. He believes that, in the long run of the next ten thousand years, this may prove to have been a "clever long-term strategy." By choosing not to enter into world trade competition, China created a "homeland more defensible, a culture more durable, and a power more concentrated."⁴⁵

Blaut's critique is considerably sharper. He points out that if length of coastline and pluralist politics are criteria for development, then South and Southeast Asia should have been the innovators, since the Indian coastline is relatively long in relation to its landmass, and the islands of what is today Indonesia provide both diversity and coastline.⁴⁶ Blaut agrees that Chinese technological innovation slowed significantly after the fifteenth century, but the important question for him is not why it stopped but why it should have happened in the first place.

The most powerful reply to the argument that Chinese advances stopped with Zheng He again comes from Frank. Basing his analysis on a wide reading of the latest scholarship, Frank makes a convincing case of something that has been known to sinologists for some time, but not to Europeanists. Rather than remaining static in the late Ming and early Qing, the Chinese economy showed considerable vigor, as did the Asian trading system of which it was a part.⁴⁷ Frank bases his argument on the fact that the Chinese population grew substantially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which implies a concomitant economic growth. Other factors intervened as well. Weather patterns made it reasonable for the Chinese to travel to accessible entrepôts such as Melaka, where they could trade with merchants coming from the Indian Ocean rather than mounting lengthy, and therefore expensive, round trips to South Asia. As forests close to rivers were cut

⁴² For Manuel, see Patricia Seed, "Taking Possession and Reading Texts: Establishing the Authority of Overseas Empires," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 49 (1992): 197, n. 55.

⁴³ For a fascinating discussion of these impressions, see Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York, 1998). Contrary to more recent interpretations from the imperialist era that may have influenced Landes, over the centuries European interpretations of China tended to be respectful of what was perceived to be an ancient and wise culture. See also David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800* (Lanham, Md., 1999), who briefly chronicles both the fascination and repulsion each civilization felt for the other.

⁴⁴ Landes, *Wealth and Poverty of Nations*, 98.

⁴⁵ Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Millennium: A History of the Last Thousand Years* (New York, 1995), 149.

⁴⁶ Blaut, *Colonizer's Model*, 92–93.

⁴⁷ For a review of the substantial literature demonstrating this point, see Evelyn S. Rawski, "Research Themes in Ming-Qing Socioeconomic History—The State of the Field," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50 (1991): 84–111.

down and accessible lumber supplies dwindled, it also became less and less economical to build large ships. Chinese merchants responded by building smaller ones and traveling shorter distances with them.⁴⁸

Frank does not deal with culture, but here, too, China exhibited a number of characteristics that seem similar to those of pre-capitalist Europe. As early as the fourteenth century, for example, a machine for spinning hemp thread that could be powered by a water wheel came into widespread use in North China, and a potentially automatic loom for ramie and silk production was invented.⁴⁹ During the Ming dynasty, authors wrote theoretical treatises about the market and about modes of behavior that have a startling similarity to the Calvinist virtues of diligence, stewardship, and accountability. In 1506, Qiu Jun defined a market and argued that marketing should be left to the merchants without state interference (except in food supplies). In 1635, Li Jinde advised merchants who wished to be successful to be diligent, make sure expenses do not exceed income, go to bed early and rise early, avoid ostentation, and keep careful accounts. Both of these books were couched in Confucian terms, but the last one in particular indicated that "the core philosophy of the age was being molded to accept commerce in a way that previously had not been thought possible."⁵⁰ And yet, despite a booming trade in cotton goods under the Ming, spinning and weaving technology was never transferred to the production of cotton. Styles of what elsewhere have been called capitalist modes of behavior never became widespread.⁵¹

Of the many proposed explanations for this failure, an intriguing recent entry is Jack Goldstone's suggestion that the unavailability of female workers prevented the development of a cotton industry in China. Many have argued that one reason behind Chinese unwillingness to put its technological inventions to the aggressive uses the Europeans did was family structure.⁵² Typically, these arguments have danced around the rationality issue. By marrying late and having fewer children, European families allegedly showed a propensity for economically rational behavior that did not exist in China, where early marriage and large families were the custom.⁵³

⁴⁸ Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik, *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400–the Present* (Armonk, N.Y., 1999), 51–53.

⁴⁹ Ramie is a nettle plant whose fiber can be woven. On the remarkable hemp-thread spinning machine, see Mark Elvin, "The High-Level Equilibrium Trap: The Causes of the Decline of Invention in the Traditional Chinese Textile Industries," in W. E. Willmott, ed., *Economic Organization in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1972), 137–72.

⁵⁰ Timothy Brook, "Communications and Commerce," in Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644, Part 2* (Cambridge, 1998), 673–75, 704–05.

⁵¹ Despite a highly developed cotton trade, a putting-out system similar to the European proto-capitalism did not appear in Qing China. Brook, "Communications and Commerce," 692.

⁵² Primary among them was Max Weber. For a balanced discussion, see Martin King Whyte, "The Chinese Family and Economic Development: Obstacle or Engine?" *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 45 (1996): 1–30.

⁵³ Jack Goody argues that, despite a mythology to the contrary, family links in the capitalist world have often been just as important in deciding who succeeds in business as they were in Asian societies, thus undercutting the rationality argument. Besides *East in the West*, see Goody, *The Development of Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983); and *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive* (Cambridge, 1990). The classic article from the European perspective is John Hajnal, "Two Kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System," *Population and Development Review* 8 (September 1982): 449–94.

Goldstone points out that much recent research into Chinese family patterns has exploded this view. He moves beyond these arguments to suggest that differences in the life path of women was the decisive factor. In the West, women between puberty and marriage were typically wage earners. Considered to be individuals, they were available to work for a wage under the supervision of a non-family adult as a servant or later a factory worker. The pay was meager, less than a man might earn doing the same thing, but in earning it they produced more than they could living at home. In China, spinning and weaving were traditionally household tasks performed by women, even though the product might enter into far-flung trade networks. In contrast to Europe, women were not considered individuals but, rather, members of a family. The Confucian life path of women did not take them out of the household until marriage; they were “‘locked’ into upholding family continuity by restricting them to household life.”⁵⁴ Consequently, Goldstone argues, appropriately cheap female and child labor was not available to Chinese cotton entrepreneurs. Unlike their European counterparts, such entrepreneurs would have had to hire more expensive male labor, the product of which would not have been competitive with the very much cheaper household production of family-bound women. Therefore, the tendency was to make the economically rational choice not to build cotton mills.

Philip Huang generalizes this argument. As the Qing population grew and the implicit wage of unpaid household labor declined, labor-saving machinery became increasingly pointless. As Huang puts it, the economy became “involuting.” Kenneth Pomeranz does not accept Huang’s argument, but he does agree that gender norms made it proper for women to work indoors spinning and weaving and that it was difficult for women to migrate alone in China. This may have hindered “the replacement of domestic textile production by factory production,” but Pomeranz holds that this was a “temporary conjuncture, rather than a fundamental feature of long-term Chinese development.”⁵⁵ In short, Goldstone’s proposal sheds considerable light on a blockage to development that is characteristic of China but not Europe.

IN DISCUSSING THESE AND OTHER ISSUES, the main protagonists of both sides engage, in their own ways, in conversations initiated more than a generation ago. Argu-

⁵⁴ Jack Goldstone, “Gender, Work, and Culture: Why the Industrial Revolution Came Early to England But Late to China,” *Sociological Perspectives* 39 (1996): 8. By the 1920s, however, two-thirds of the workers in Shanghai’s cotton mills were women; Emily Honig, *Sisters and Strangers: Women in the Shanghai Cotton Mills, 1919–1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986). In Japan, women were millworkers from the beginning of the Meiji period; E. Patricia Tsurumi, *Factory Girls: Women in the Thread Mills of Meiji Japan* (Princeton, N.J., 1990). “It may be,” comments Gail Hershatler, “that the widespread use of female labor [in Shanghai after World War I] was a pattern imported by Japanese millowners from mills in Japan, and that Chinese millowners followed suit in Shanghai in order to keep labor costs competitive.” Hershatler, *The Workers of Tianjin, 1900–1949* (Stanford, Calif., 1986), 54. I would like to thank Angus Lockyer for help on these points. Finally, see Richard John Lufrano, *Honorable Merchants: Commerce and Self-Cultivation in Late Imperial China* (Honolulu, 1997), for the absence of women in small Chinese businesses.

⁵⁵ Philip Huang, *The Peasant Family and Rural Development in the Lower Yangzi Region, 1350–1988* (Stanford, Calif., 1990). For Pomeranz’s critique of Huang’s position, see *Great Divergence*, 91–106. For the two quotations in this paragraph, see Pomeranz, 292. See also Pomeranz, 85 and 248–50.

ments for European uniqueness grow out of the Western Civilization tradition that goes back at least to the 1920s, and their critics grow out of a Marxist style of criticism that became particularly salient in the 1960s.⁵⁶ Both of them are concerned with origins and hegemony. Why did Europe (or Japan) break out as it did? Why didn't China (or India)? When did Europe become hegemonic in the world system of capitalism? Was China hegemonic for most of the last millennium? Questions of this sort were part and parcel of a way of thinking that identified East and West as somehow opposed. Practitioners of the new field of world history have begun to sidestep or ignore questions such as these in favor of what Pomeranz calls "reciprocal comparisons."⁵⁷ This approach recognizes that a truly comprehensive account of the past thousand years must concentrate on polycentric interactions rather than questions of priority or hegemony that have exercised scholars like Landes or Frank for the past generation. This approach—less essentialist, less polemical, and less focused on origins—is on the verge of entering the mainstream of the American historical profession. In a clear, succinct exposition of the "Shapes of World History in Twentieth Century Scholarship," Jerry H. Bentley traces the origins of the field back to Spengler and Toynbee and to its great early practitioners McNeill and Braudel. But only in the last decade has world history begun to achieve a youthful maturity, as the formation of that sine qua non of respectability, its own journal, eleven years ago suggests.⁵⁸

Many of the critics of the European perspective are, or consider themselves, world historians, of course, but what I mean by the term here is the growing group of scholars who put aside questions of hegemony and *ressentiment* and attempt to write truly comparative history. An ambitious, but not entirely successful, example is Victor Lieberman's effort to demonstrate that, between 1450 and 1830, "localized societies in widely separated regions [Burma, Siam, Vietnam, France, Russia, and Japan] coalesced into larger units—politically, culturally, commercially." That is, "sustained integrative patterns were not restricted to Europe" but were "variants of more general Eurasian patterns."⁵⁹ Jack Goody takes a much larger view, arguing that the main regions of Eurasian development can be shown to be similar because they are all variations on the same theme—the Bronze Age innovations connected with agriculture and metal industries. The two most important works in this new genre, however, are Wong's *China Transformed* and Pomeranz's *Great Divergence*. The analyses presented in both books go well beyond Landes's difficult-to-pin-down arguments and Frank's aggressive polemicizing to create sustained and substantial interpretations.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ For a good set of readings and arguments from both traditions, as well as many other useful views, see Ross E. Dunn, ed., *The New World History: A Teacher's Companion* (Boston, 2000).

⁵⁷ Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*, 10. A good introductory text in this style is David R. Ringrose, *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200–1700* (New York, 2000).

⁵⁸ Bentley's pamphlet appears in the series *Essays on Global and Comparative History*, edited by Michael Adas for the American Historical Association (1996). Bentley also edits the *Journal of World History*, which is published by the University of Hawaii Press.

⁵⁹ Victor Lieberman, "Transcending East-West Dichotomies: State and Culture Formation in Six Ostensibly Disparate Areas," *Modern Asian Studies* 31 (1997): 468.

⁶⁰ David D. Buck reviews Landes, Frank, and Wong in "Was It Pluck or Luck That Made the West Grow Rich?" *Journal of World History* 10 (Fall 1999): 413–30. He suggests that "it is Wong's comparativist approach . . . that will probably be most copied in the next few years"; p. 429.

Wong not only compares Europe and China in terms of economic development, but he investigates political issues of state formation and social movements of protest. Rather than attempting to answer the question "Why Europe?" or "Why not China?" Wong simply seeks to uncover where China and Europe are similar, where they differ, and what this implies for our understanding of these two worlds. Wong argues that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both the Chinese and the Europeans faced economic problems characteristic of societies based on agricultural production. They approached harvest insecurities, material limitation, and demographic issues in ways that would be familiar to Adam Smith: by the division of labor and specialization, for example. The European and Chinese economies were not exactly the same, of course. A large proportion of Chinese production was always rural, not urban, whereas in Europe some production that began in towns and cities migrated to the countryside in proto-industries. But in general, Wong extends and elaborates the argument made by others that Smithian economic development was characteristic of both China and Europe. E. L. Jones has called this kind of development "extensive"; that is, growth occurs primarily because of an increase in inputs, such as land (expansion of the arable) or labor (population growth).⁶¹ Technological improvements and better farming practices have been important in permitting agricultural societies to grow, but extensive growth has been roughly characteristic of agriculturally based societies that rely on organic materials as their source of energy. This is the kind of growth Frank is talking about when he notes how the Chinese economy kept up with population growth in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. But extensive growth, even when technological improvements are factored in, does not necessarily imply any kind of breakout to industrial revolution. Wong does not believe one could look at China and Europe in, say, 1700 and predict what was going to happen.

What did happen, in his view, was something entirely new—the discovery of how to extract energy systematically from mineral rather than organic material.⁶² The steam engine turned coal into energy at a stupendously greater rate than ever before possible, thus setting off "intensive" growth based on the increased efficiency made possible by technology rather than on expanded inputs. Frank, because he is so wedded to his structural explanations, mentions this momentous event only in passing as a subheading in a list of various factors. Landes, while agreeing that the steam engine was important, does not give the energy transformation it wrought a central place in his analysis. Wong, on the other hand, fully recognizes its importance. He is correct when he states that "the world of material

⁶¹ E. L. Jones, *Growth Recurring: Economic Change in World History* (Oxford, 1988). The fundamental work on growth is Simon Kuznets, *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread* (New Haven, Conn., 1966). Fernand Braudel distinguishes between the market economy and capitalism, as does Albert Feuerwerker, "Presidential Address: Questions about China's Early Modern Economic History That I Wish I Could Answer," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 4 (1992): 757–69. See, too, John Lee, "Trade and Economy in Preindustrial East Asia, c. 1500–c. 1800: East Asia in the Age of Global Integration," *Journal of Asian Studies* 58 (1999): 2–26.

⁶² For the organic/mineral categories, see E. A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge, 1988). Wong relies on Wrigley's view that classical economists did not foresee industrialization and economic growth but instead described an agrarian economy bounded by longstanding limitations. See Wrigley, "The Limits to Growth: Malthus and the Classical Economists," in Michael S. Teitelbaum and Jay M. Winter, eds., *Population and Resources in Western Intellectual Traditions* (Cambridge, 1989), 30–48.

possibilities was dramatically altered between 1780 and 1880.⁶³ No previous century witnessed such changes.”⁶⁴ This does not, however, lead him to any essentializing speculations. Instead, through a discussion of state formation and function, he shows how the competing European states, with their semi-autonomous social classes and independent church, provided a structure amenable to development and growth. This did not mean that the European state system was superior to the Chinese. The Chinese state’s concern for the welfare and moral education of the public, especially the poor, produced social policies that European states could not even imagine until very recently. Since at least 1100, China had been ruled by a bureaucracy “according to rules and regulations created by a policy-making process that limited the arbitrary actions of the ruler.”⁶⁵ And the Chinese state’s ability to raise taxes, albeit using very different principles, would have been the envy of any European monarch who had been aware of it. The fact that they were not aware of it helps demonstrate Wong’s point that Europe and China developed politically along separate courses until the nineteenth century. Unlike Frank, who sees everything linked in one way or another within the world system of exchange, Wong accepts the relative autonomy of the state as well as the ability of those conducting public affairs to make creative decisions.

Pomeranz mounts an even more detailed and complete argument that, prior to 1800, European and Chinese political economies did not differ in ways that would obviously lead one to nineteenth-century domination and the other to decay.⁶⁶ If Wong concentrates on the structural elements within the developing European political economy that permitted it to take full advantage of the unanticipated energy breakthrough, Pomeranz provides an explanation of how the external features of the Atlantic trading system, as part of a larger world system, made the breakthrough possible. Parts of both China and Europe were experiencing Smithian growth from at least the sixteenth century if not before, but by the eighteenth century, ecological constraints, such as shortages of wood and fiber and declining soil fertility, were pushing both economies to their limits. Traditional trade practices, such as those followed earlier when Europeans traded silver for Asian porcelain, silk, copper, and gold, could not solve this problem because the foundation of the Eurasian economies was land-based production. A freely functioning market could not solve the problem either, because as populations grew it became increasingly difficult to switch land from food production to industrial products. In any event, Pomeranz argues that Asian trade was actually closer to a neoclassical idea of multiple, competing buyers and sellers, especially in grain and cotton, than European trade was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁶³ For a fascinating argument based on this point, see Jack Goldstone, “The Problem of the ‘Early Modern’ World,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 249–84. Goldstone argues that use of the term “early modern,” implying a pathway toward modernity, makes it difficult to appreciate the similarities among Eurasian societies in the period 1500 to 1800 and makes misinterpretation of the unanticipated breakthrough almost inevitable.

⁶⁴ Wong, *China Transformed*, 279. Jones argues that one other moment of “intensive” growth that led to a simultaneous growth in population as well as in per capita income took place in Song China. *Growth Recurring*, 73–84.

⁶⁵ Wong, *China Transformed*, 79.

⁶⁶ Note that Pomeranz is careful not to essentialize “Europe” and “China.” Instead, he speaks of specific regions and locations, recognizing the enormous diversity within each concept.

The solution was a new kind of trade network in which non-market factors played a fundamental role. The most important innovation in this process was not new technology or rational markets, according to Pomeranz, but an innovative combination of entrepreneurship and coercion, especially though not exclusively in the Atlantic. Whereas the Qing government did not try to protect the sizable Chinese trading enclaves in East Asia, the Europeans, especially the British, did. Furthermore, the special characteristics of slave economies, in which the slaves produced agricultural products for export but not their own food or clothing, encouraged a complex trading system that permitted the British to escape the approaching Malthusian trap. Essentially, the system traded land-based products, such as sugar and cotton grown in the Caribbean, for manufactured goods produced in England, such as cloth and later iron goods, that used very little land.⁶⁷ Pomeranz is not a doomsayer—he does not predict what might have happened had this exchange not eventuated, except to say that Denmark provides a good example of how a labor-intensive political economy might have looked. But, like Wong, he does say that when the coal breakthrough occurred, the British in particular were in a position to take maximum advantage of it. The breakthrough itself, Wong and Pomeranz agree, was as much a product of geographical good luck—the proximity of English coal and iron ore deposits, as well as the chemical qualities of some of the coal—as it was anything else. Pomeranz’s argument, however, is that when it happened, the industrial revolution completed “abolishing the land constraint” not only in Britain but, in a very short time, throughout most of Eurasia. “Thus a combination of inventiveness, markets, coercion, and fortunate global conjunctures produced a breakthrough in the Atlantic world, while the much earlier spread of what were likely better-functioning markets in east Asia had led instead to an ecological impasse.”⁶⁸

Clearly, Pomeranz is a critic of those who posit a special kind of European uniqueness. He does not deny that in some areas, such as in scientific instruments, Europeans had an edge by the eighteenth century. But he makes a persuasive argument that the great breakthrough was not primarily the product of internal European developments, as Landes claims. Pomeranz is also skeptical of those like Frank who are so anxious to counter the tradition of stressing European uniqueness that they overcorrect on the other side. In discussing the role of silver as a commodity, for example, he recognizes the significance of the silver windfall for Europe, but he criticizes Frank’s contention that the sole driving force is the Chinese demand for silver. After all, European elites did desire luxury goods such as porcelain and silk, while others sought the copper and gold that China exported to Europe. “[S]urely the growth of European demand,” Pomeranz comments, “needs to be *part* of the story.”⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Of course, the system was much more complex than this simplistic statement suggests, with North America providing foodstuffs, Africa slaves, India cloth and cotton, and so forth.

⁶⁸ Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*, 23. The entire question of consumption has begun to inspire its own literature. See Clunas, “Modernity Global and Local.”

⁶⁹ Pomeranz, *Great Divergence*, 191.

WONG AND POMERANZ AGREE that the coal revolution was the defining moment of the modern world. Wong sees Europe and China developing in similar Smithian ways quite independently, although neither end of the Eurasian continent was necessarily heading toward that breakthrough, whereas Pomeranz finds that the interactions of the Atlantic system made it possible for Britain to overcome a possible Malthusian trap. What neither author suggests, however, and what the most critical authors fail to even approach, is the nature of the impact of the European domination that the coal breakthrough brought about. One-sided though the Eurocentric approaches may be, by attempting to find the uniqueness of the European experience they implicitly suggest that Europe has left important legacies to our contemporary world. Gress, Lal, and Barzun may or may not have their causal strings correct, but at least they make the warranted assumption that ideas of liberty and individualism are new ingredients in a globalized world that need explaining. It is difficult to see how other widespread contemporary ideas such as equity, which is the basis of the entire genre of human rights concerns, or popular sovereignty, which is the basis of at least the formal structure of a majority of states in today's world, can be seen as growing equally out of the traditions of Asia and the traditions of Europe. They are not the ideals of an entirely Smithian world, even if their roots might be found there. Everyone admits that the Europeans exploded into the world over the past few hundred years. Wong and Pomeranz show how late the key moments in this process were, and at the same time how unique the coal breakthrough really was. But they do not tell us what happened next: how that sudden European incursion into a Smithian world created an entirely new worldwide situation and what the elements of that situation are. This is the next step that the world historians need to take. They have provided powerful arguments that are pushing the "European miracle" up to about 1800. It remains to be seen whether they will be able to use their relatively balanced methods of reciprocal comparison to assess the significance of the European domination they all agree occurred.⁷⁰

Macrohistory is not a new field, but it is a maturing one. In part because of the division of the world into two camps after World War II, some of the best work on the fates of human societies during the last generation has taken place on a terrain occupied by those who emphasize the uniqueness of the West and those who criticize them. Even the best examples of this recent work, such as the engaged studies of Landes and Frank, ask us to choose—one or the other but not both. The practitioners of the new world history do not ask us to make that choice. They are moving away from Eurocentric versus anti-Eurocentric polemicizing into a style of work in which encounters, system-neutral analysis, and gendered interpretations emphasize the contingent nature of historical events. The suppleness of their intercultural understanding seems more appropriate for a globalized world than the harsher judgments of the earlier approaches.

Macrohistorical works will never supplant the narrower monographic studies that

⁷⁰ For a sophisticated start on this project, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000). "European thought is both indispensable and inadequate," Chakrabarty argues. "[P]rovincializing Europe becomes the task of exploring how this thought—which is now everybody's heritage and which affects us all—may be renewed from and for the margins"; p. 16.

constitute the solid basis of the academic historical profession. Indeed, they cannot, because without monographic studies there are no resources for metahistorical works that cut across languages, cultures, and centuries. But for those with an interest in the fates of human societies, for those who have to teach the wide-ranging courses that are common in universities and secondary schools, and for those with a taste for scale, the new style of world history is beginning to provide a balanced alternative to the “us or them” approach.

Gale Stokes is Mary Gibbs Jones Professor of History and Interim Dean of Humanities at Rice University. He is a specialist in the history of Eastern Europe, especially the former Yugoslavia, but has also written on broader themes. Two of his books, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* and *From Stalinism to Pluralism: A Documentary History of Eastern Europe since 1945*, are widely used in college courses. His interest in world history grew out of the research that went into writing the modern portion of a Western Civilization textbook, *The West Transformed* (2000), with Warren Hollister and Sears McGee.

Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

SHEPARD KRECH III. *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1999. Pp. 318. \$27.95.

In this provocative study, the anthropologist Shepard Krech III seeks "to determine the extent to which Indians were ecologists and conservationists (as is commonly understood today)" (p. 212). As Krech has phrased the question, the answer can only be negative. In a book impressively grounded in anthropological and historical literature on Indian resource use, Krech argues that Indians were poor conservationists because, among other reasons, their local economies took little account of larger environments, and their hunting cultures encouraged as well as restrained the harvesting of game. The behavior of Indian hunters bore little resemblance to the culturally idealized image of the "ecological Indian," an image that Krech roundly (and rightly) criticizes as "dehumanizing" (p. 26).

Krech attacks the image of the ecological Indian in a series of chapters organized around what might be called the classic questions from Native American environmental history: what caused the extinction of North America's large mammals at the end of the Ice Age? What became of the Hohokam civilization of the Southwest? Why, and to what effect, did Indians set fires? What caused the near-extinctions of the bison, deer, and beaver? His answers are not always what one might expect. Especially in the early chapters, he as often exculpates Indians for their alleged ecological misdeeds as he accuses them. He pins the extermination of the Ice Age mammals and the demise of the Hohokam villages, for instance, not on Indian mismanagement of the environment but primarily on climatic changes.

The more balanced tone of these early chapters gives way later in the book to a more controversial one. Many readers will define the book by its third chapter, "Eden," which asks how precolumbian America could "be simultaneously paradise seemingly untouched by human hands and—as archaeologists and other scholars have often proposed—inhabited by people who, prior to the arrival of Europeans, exploited lands and animals in order to live" (pp. 75–76). In Krech's

analysis, the abundance of wildlife in precolumbian America owed itself to the Indians' "low-impact technology" (p. 78) and sparse population. Krech largely dismisses any Indian intentionality in this situation. He gives little credence to the idea that Indians managed either their own populations or those of wildlife. He downplays evidence that many Indian groups kept their populations small by means of cultural taboos that delayed marriage and spaced births. He scarcely considers that the Indians' so-called "low-impact technology" could have great impact when the Indians wanted it to. Indians who hunted bison and deer (with devastating results) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for trade with Europeans used traditional hunting tools and techniques. Clearly, for these Indians, something more than technology—something cultural—had helped to keep their pre-contact pressures on resources in check.

In many ways, this book is the product of a debate over Indian resource use that began over two decades ago. That debate is echoed in the organizing questions Krech poses in each chapter. Krech frames these questions based on scholarly disputes dating back to the 1960s. Twenty or thirty years ago, the debate over Indian resource use was often strident and polemical, pitting an image of saintly proto-ecologists against an equally dehumanizing image of Hobbesian exploiters. The time has long since arrived for historians and anthropologists to transcend that debate and strive for a balanced, integrated, and historically contextualized understanding of Indian resource use. To this end, Krech's effort to dispense with the romantic myth of the Indian is welcome. That this effort is muddled by occasional lapses into the polemical terms of the old debate should be viewed as an indication of how difficult that transcendence remains.

ANDREW C. ISENBERG
Princeton University

RICHARD A. MULLER. *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition*. (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 308.

Richard A. Muller begins this extraordinary book by doing something modern scholars too seldom do: he

puts John Calvin and his thought back into their sixteenth-century historical context. Equally important is Muller's understanding of the evolutionary nature of Calvin's thought, which began to take form especially in the years between 1537 and 1541. The author argues convincingly that Calvin's "doctrine" has been systematically distorted by nineteenth and twentieth-century scholars who have for the most part repeated without question the ideas of their predecessors. He argues that they have failed to take into account all of Calvin's writings or, worse, ordered the reformer's ideas in ways that would have made little sense in the sixteenth century. Scholarly assertions notwithstanding, Calvin's thought was not monolithic. As Muller points out clearly, "Calvin himself might well object to the notion of 'Calvin's doctrine' of anything, inasmuch as the doctrines that Calvin held and taught were in large part, not his own" (p. 7). Muller sees Calvin fully within the context of medieval, humanist, and early reformed traditions and not as a man with unchanging or unchangeable views.

Muller explores an oft-neglected part of Calvin's writings—prefaces—which definitively show continuities between his thought and that of earlier times. The prefaces also allow the reader to track the development of Calvin's thinking in response to events. Calvin's interest in John Chrysostom provided him with a path of "continuous exposition" but also, the reader might infer, one for continuous growth and understanding of scripture and its meanings for human relationship with the divine. Many of the reformer's writings were direct outgrowths of his preaching and teaching and were often intended for those who wanted a guidebook to carry about or upon which to meditate.

Muller demonstrates persuasively what many scholars in recent years have recognized: there was not a great divide separating medieval and Reformation thought, but change with continuity was the norm. In fact, Calvin was quite adept at using scholastic *distinctiones* even if he often criticized the Roman Catholic content. It is quite likely, as Muller states, that what Calvin meant when he attacked scholastics was not scholastics *per se* but the theologians of the University of Paris. His polemic aimed at the *Sorbonnistes* only intensified in later years. This observation points to the contemporary political and theological elements that informed Calvin's thought.

In chapter four, Muller looks at later constructions—literally—of the *Institutes*. Depending on which apparatus is used to divide the chapters, the resulting analysis is radically changed. As Muller states, "the cumulative effect is virtually the creation of two different documents" (p. 77). Modern interpreters have imposed on Calvin something that he might not have recognized. In chapter five, Muller takes on William J. Bouwsma's view of a "terrified Calvin," pointing to the passages in which Bouwsma emphasizes Calvin's "abyss of death." Muller shows instead the essentially comforting nature of such passages. This should alert

all scholars to the dangers of extrapolating grand arguments from select passages.

Muller, through his close reading of these oft-neglected texts and his analysis of the structure of the *Institutes*, shows that "[p]iety was to be conjoined with 'teaching' or 'doctrine' (*doctrina*): Calvin did not understand it as an exercise separate from his teaching, preaching, and debating" (p. 107). Why has something so obvious been so little recognized? All were equally integral to the thought of most sixteenth-century religious figures; Muller's astute analysis reveals the complex and evolving relationships among all the aspects of Calvin's ministry. The *Institutes*, even taken alone, were for Calvin "an expandable set of *loci communes* and *disputationes*" (p. 123). Changes he made in the work reflected a larger integration of his pastoral work with theological understanding.

Muller also examines the additions and restructurings done by later publishers, editors, and scholars, which give an entirely new face to the *Institutes*, one that would have been virtually unrecognizable to a sixteenth or seventeenth-century reader. By looking at the original editions of the *Institutes* and studying the developmental aspects of Calvin's thought in the context of all his religious work, Muller shows how Calvin's view of faith was not radically different from that of medieval scholastics such as Thomas Aquinas. This buttresses Muller's assertion that many of Calvin's attacks were aimed not so much at scholastics as at theologians of Paris in his day. This is not to suggest there were no differences between medieval and reformed theology. But for Calvin, the differences were in content, not method.

Muller sums up this stimulating and impressive analysis with a pithy statement that should give all scholars pause: "To know the whole Calvin, one must read the whole Calvin, and then some!" (p. 182). It is a lesson scholars need to take seriously.

LARISSA TAYLOR
Colby College

NICCOLÒ GUICCIARDINI. *Reading the Principia: The Debate on Newton's Mathematical Methods for Natural Philosophy from 1687 to 1736*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. 285. \$80.00.

In the 1970s, a full dress international conference on the work of Isaac Newton held at the University of Cambridge made palpable the enormous differences that had developed in the field, and in the history of science more generally. Those assembled (including two rather transparent KGB agents posing as physicists) broke down roughly into two camps: the historians of physics and mathematics, who saw little to no value in the work being done on Newton by the other camp—let us call them historians of culture—whose research focused on Newton's alchemy, his religion, and, giving the greatest offense, the relationship of Newton, his followers, and their ideas to the unstable world in which they lived. During those three days the

tensions were unpleasant and the intellectual by-product became Newton as Humpty Dumpty. His mind lay in pieces as one scholar discussed his mathematics, another his alchemy, and even (I was the offender) his ideological interests. No piece fitted back together again with any other piece.

In 2000, the Clark Library held a conference on Newton's intellectual interests and the tensions were gone. So, too, were the historians of his physics and mathematics. The field now simply has two camps, and they just do not talk much to one another. Niccolò Guicciardini's workmanlike book on Newton's mathematics and that of his contemporaries helps us to understand the division. It is a perfectly competent explication of Newton's geometrical style in the *Principia mathematica* (1687), and is well worth using for help with what remains a very difficult book. Guicciardini also demonstrates, contrary to much that has been written, that Newton could do many of his calculations using the calculus he invented but in his great work chose to use geometry for its classical elegance. Considerable attention is paid to Newton's associates in the enterprise of mathematics and to their continental rivals like Jakob Bernoulli who effected the revolution that made calculus king. At 1700 it was by no means clear what use the calculus would serve, and Guicciardini is excellent at recapturing the moment. But why did the British hold back and lose the mathematical field to the continental experts? Could this have had something to do with the marketplace that Newton's British explicators, textbook writers, and lecturers, sought to master?

Guicciardini claims to have an interest in culture but the larger historical universe wherein the mathematics developed goes unaddressed. None of the hard questions about why these different styles emerged even in Newton's lifetime (he died in 1727) appear to interest him. Surely, it is churlish of a reviewer to accept so much fine work explicating the history of mathematics and then demand that it all be placed in a larger historical setting. Yes, but there is the Humpty Dumpty problem waiting to be solved. Until someone takes up the challenge of synthesizing the mathematics, the natural philosophy, and the historical setting, the two camps will continue on their courses, like ships in the night, and Newton will remain remote to all but the specialists. It is now possible to teach a course in Tudor-Stuart history or Western Civilization without spending so much as fifteen minutes on Isaac Newton. We need to reorder our historical universe just as he reordered the physical universe for us back in 1687.

MARGARET C. JACOB
University of California,
Los Angeles

LISBET KOERNER. *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 298. \$39.95.

This unconventional scholarly biography of Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) is not primarily about issues of classification in natural history, gender-biased concepts of plant sexuality, or Eurocentric categorization of humans. For fundamental issues in Linnaeus's scientific work, the indispensable English accounts remain Tore Frängsmyr, *Linnaeus, The Man and His Work* (2d ed. 1994) and Gunnar Broberg, *Linnaeus: Progress and Prospects in Linnaean Research* (1980). In an extraordinarily thorough study of Linnaeus's Swedish and Latin publications, manuscript correspondence, diaries, and lecture notes, Lisbet Koerner relates the quest for natural knowledge to the ultimate goals of nation-building and eighteenth-century cameralist economics. Just as Isaac Newton valued alchemy and Biblical exegesis as much as natural philosophy, Linnaeus, according to the author, valued political economy as much as plant classification.

The focus of Linnaeus's vision was husbanding the natural world for economic purposes. Description of flora and fauna, although testimony to the profusion and harmony of divine providence, served primarily to recommend acclimatization of species to Sweden, even the inhospitable north. Koerner maintains, without quite proving, that even the binomial nomenclature system for genus and species arose from economic motives. Linnaeus's general motivation was compensation by import substitution for the inability of Sweden to recover from continental military defeats or to compete in the imperial sweepstakes with the Atlantic powers. Natural knowledge about living forms could realize the value of, for example, culturing pearls in Swedish river mussels: an effort that led contemporaries to label Linnaeus "lord of all the clams." At the very least, he thought plants grown elsewhere in the world at the same latitude or at the same mountain altitude would thrive in climatically equivalent regions. He sponsored dramatic, if largely unsuccessful, efforts to transplant tea, mulberry trees, and saffron. He hoped bananas and bison would adapt to Sweden, yet failed to recognize the economic value of the potato.

While Linnaeus was rarely a systematic economic thinker, his scattered reflections add up to a cameralist policy of state intervention, monopolistic or chartered enterprises, tariffs, and selective subsidies. He generally preferred autarky to the corrupting influences of international trade (even coffee and sugar were luxuries, in his view). Indeed, Koerner highlights the major contradiction between Linnaeus's concept of the self-regulating harmony of nature (transmuted into Adam Smith's "invisible hand") and his support of heavy-handed statism in human affairs.

Another contradiction in Linnaeus's thinking was his primitivist idealization of the Sami (Lapps) as exemplars of simplicity, health, and virtue, along with his self-promoting adoption of Sami costume on his travels. Yet he classified the supposedly unnaturally short Sami as a monstrous human variety, and his colonization and crop development schemes (Lapland

as the West Indies, in a contemporary comment) would have ended the Sami lifestyle.

Perhaps an unintended consequence of Koerner's careful portrait is that the pious representative of both science and simple faith emerges with less than endearing personality traits and no redeeming wit of an Enlightenment philosophe. Even allowing for eighteenth-century norms, he egregiously fabricated the extent of his Lapland voyage, mocked the Sami, had contempt for women, considered his university chair an inheritable office, and achieved nobility after submitting his dubious pearl culture project to the government. However, the suffering of Swedish children in famine was a genuine concern underlying his transplantation projects.

Romantic conservative nationalists in Sweden exploited for purposes of class unity and national greatness the image of the "flower king" in the early twentieth century. In the era of Social Democratic rule, commemorations of his life were principally regional and local.

Given the continued interest in issues of globalization and economic development versus national independence, building a theoretical framework for the consequences of cameralist thought remains worthwhile. However, Koerner compresses into a mere seven pages some rather heavy conclusions about more recent equivalents of cameralism, or advocates of "local modernity." The cast of characters runs the gamut from "socialism in one country" to neo-Marxist dependency theorists (Immanuel Wallerstein), politicians subsidizing failing enterprises (Edith Cresson), and even to neo-orthodox development economists who favor state or monopolistic capital accumulation. There is little space to develop Koerner's obsession with the theoretical inadequacy of cameralism. By contrast, the entire book proves the impracticality of Linnaeus's own schemes. Students of Linnaeus will find this book indispensable, with flashes of brilliant insight occasionally marred by tedious and repetitious passages.

MARTIN S. STAUM
University of Calgary

ERNST WOLFGANG BECKER. *Zeit der Revolution!—Revolution der Zeit? Zeiterfahrungen in Deutschland in der Ära der Revolutionen 1789–1848/49*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 129.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 396.

The starting points for this ambitious and challenging work are Reinhart Koselleck's suggestive distinction between "space of experience" (*Erfahrungsraum*) and "horizon of expectation" (*Erwartungshorizont*), his concept of accelerating historical time, and the importance of all of this for modernity. The French Revolution was a transitional era, signifying nothing less than a definitive rupture as expectations of a new social and political future raced ahead of anything hitherto experienced. The perception of time changed,

history having been dethroned as a guide to the future: experience and expectation became separated.

Ernst Wolfgang Becker's finding is that Koselleck's conceptual framework for the age of revolution is too ambitious for the German case: the gap between expectations and experience did not grow steadily larger, and progress did not leave the past ever further behind. The relationship between these metahistorical categories fluctuated in response to the experience of revolution and reaction. There were ruptures between 1789 and 1849, and there were blockage and stagnation. The meaningful idiom of an "age of transition"—meaningful for the project of *Begriffsgeschichte* (history of concepts)—that inaugurated a "new time" is dissolved by the acid wash of complex real time and the actual experience of revolution. Only in limited and qualified ways could time be "made" within the context of the revolutionary first half of the nineteenth century. The thought of revolution, however, served as a foundation for continuity, because it kept awake unredeemed national and constitutional expectations drawn from the past and so held out the promise of a new time. It was precisely the threatened decoupling of experience and expectation that necessitated a kind of compensatory recourse to the past. Hence Becker's observation that the relationship between expectation and experience as outlined by Koselleck ought to be reversed.

In order to test Koselleck's hypothesis, Becker systematically tracks experiences within specific segments of time dominated by an engagement with the phenomenon of revolution through discourse captured in publicist literature. Successively for each period, the reader is introduced to the prevalent views (how one sought to digest and extract meaning from the experience of radical discontinuity) animating liberal, democratic, and conservative movements.

In each of the three principal sections that comprise the book, Becker extrapolates positions taken by his bourgeois commentators on the important concepts of revolution and time, past and future. While the material is insightful, offering up a hermeneutic of a kind not found elsewhere, the broader profiles of the periods under examination provide no surprises. He notes that for the first three years after 1789, the confrontation with the revolution was too immediate and direct to have triggered much thoughtful reflection. It was less awareness of the ideas associated with 1789 and much more the shock of war that served to define political dispositions east of the Rhine. During the *Vormärz* (pre-March 1848) years, ambivalence about direction was the defining feature.

For the post-1830 years, considerable attention is also given to the rapid expansion of political movements informed by reformist and radical expectations and to the phenomenon of mass politicization. Here Becker does not manage to convince. From the 1830s, he draws on German populist radicalism, the jejeune ruminations of Philipp Jakob Siebenpfeiffer, Karl Joseph Wirth, and others, while from the 1840s the

analysis shifts to the more perceptive north German left-Hegelian radicalism of Arnold Ruge, Ludwig Feuerbach, and Max Stirner. He suggests that the possibility of influencing wider circles presented itself through the union of populist and intellectual radicalism in the anti-establishment opposition represented by groups such as the evangelical *Lichtfreunde* or "German Catholicism." The impact of both of these, however, was very limited in time and space.

For 1848, the approach is once more to exploit publicist literature in order to chart the experience of "epochal rupture" engendered by revolution for each of the political dispositions then in play. Revolution was put into the service of steadily ascending development. In the absence of effective reform, revolution was understood as a necessary attempt to keep pace with advancing time. Liberals were made uneasy by the rush toward social revolution, as the relentless erosion of structural continuity presaged complete disorientation. Democrats harbored fewer such presentiments.

This is an undeniably erudite contribution to the history of the age of revolution aimed at a very narrow readership. It promises intellectual adventure but leaves the reader dissatisfied, because it appears divorced from any appreciation of how the turbulent events of these years affected the lives of the ninety-nine percent of the people whose views were not recorded in bourgeois journals. There is an extensive corpus of research available, much of it Anglo-American, which goes some way toward elucidating just such matters. Inexplicably, this literature is almost entirely absent from Becker's book.

KARL WEGERT
Bishop's University

BOUDA ETEMAD. *La Possession du monde: Poids et mesures de la colonisation (XVIII^e-XX^e siècles)*. (Questions à l'Histoire.) Paris and Bruxelles: Éditions Complexe. 2000. Pp. 351. 139fr, 898 F.

The historiography of colonialism is huge. Why, asks Bouda Etemad in the introduction to his new synthesis, should another stone be added to an already imposing edifice? First, he argues, there are still gaps in the factual record. Second, current hopes and uncertainties prompt us to ask new questions of the past. Last, the sheer import of colonialism for the making of the modern world demands works of synthesis and global studies privileging the *longue durée* and comparative analysis. Does his book justify itself in these terms? Broadly, yes. It fills factual gaps by quantifying the territorial extent of the overseas colonial empires at different points in time—and the cost in European and non-European lives of acquiring them by conquest. There are no estimates of colonial trade or the contribution of colonial inputs to the material resources of the metropolitan powers, which seems a strange omission in a synthesis of this kind. Nevertheless, the data Etemad has compiled in "taking

colonialism's measure" will prove useful to students and teachers alike.

Etemad takes issue with Daniel R. Headrick in arguing that industrialization did little to equip the colonialists with new "tools of empire." Colonial conquests before 1880 cannot be explained by the industrialized production of weaponry, nor by advances in medical science, nor by the adoption of modern means of transport and communications, because these made little impact before the scramble for Africa (p. 287). The European powers acquired their most extensive, heavily populated, and richest colonies—British India, the Dutch East Indies, Algeria and French Indochina—with what were essentially preindustrial techniques of domination. In terms of weaponry, there was little qualitative difference between European and native armies in India; victories resulted from superior military organization and discipline. Etemad's thesis seems overstated: industrial innovation had some significance in equipping European-led forces with ample supplies of *cheap* weapons. The relative price of all weaponry fell considerably in Western Europe after 1760 because of the declining cost of the main industrial input, iron. In India and other capital-poor economies, iron was an expensive commodity, and weapons were precious.

Etemad also has reservations about quinine's role in the European conquest of the tropics. As Philip D. Curtin has demonstrated, the fall in the mortality rate of white soldiers in tropical stations began in the 1840s, when quinine was used only in a localized and sporadic way, and in dosages that meant its efficacy was doubtful. Life chances were mostly improved by simple sanitary measures, such as boiling water, and by locating barracks above 800 meters. The British grasped the prophylactic value of quinine but, in the French colonies, it was prescribed only as a curative, although it was known to be ineffective in treating *falciparum* malaria. Inadequate preventative measures turned the Madagascar campaign of 1895 into an epidemiological catastrophe. Of the 5,750 European deaths among the expeditionary corps, only twenty-five were due to combat.

Two chapters draw together the statistical information on European losses in colonial warfare and make a guess at the demographic impact of the colonial conquests on indigenous populations. By Etemad's reckoning, between 280,000 and 300,000 white soldiers died acquiring the European (and American) tropical empires between 1757 and 1936. In relation to the territories and populations brought under political control, this was a derisory number: the Crimean War alone accounted for almost as many military deaths as the colonial wars combined. Thirty percent of white fatalities occurred in Algeria, which was unusual in being conquered solely by European soldiers, although the vast majority succumbed to disease. Alcoholism probably killed five times as many French soldiers in Algeria as died in combat. Any estimates of the indigenous losses are highly speculative because of the

uncertainty that attaches to the civilian deaths as a result of the disruption of disease ecologies. Epidemics of sleeping sickness, venereal disease, smallpox, and influenza accompanied the invading forces in tropical Africa. Famine followed the devastating *razzias* by which the French imposed their will on Algeria. Etemad hazards global demographic losses of 25 to 29 million—and double that number if “excess” mortality in late nineteenth-century India is included.

There are a few errors—Richard Cobden’s forecast “It will be a happy day when England has not an acre of territory in Continental Asia” is wrongly attributed to John Bright—but they do little to detract from a clearly presented study that would be well worth translating.

BERNARD WAITES
The Open University

RUTH LEYS. *Trauma: A Genealogy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. x, 318. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.00.

In this book, Ruth Leys outlines the intellectual and medical zeitgeist that governed those who have “grappled tenaciously with [the] intractable material” (p. 307) of psychic trauma, principally Sigmund Freud, Morton Prince, Pierre Janet, Sandor Ferenczi, Abram Kardiner, William Sargent, Bessel A. van der Kolk, and Cathy Caruth. Her stated purpose is to explore the history not only of remembering but of forgetting by means of a Foucauldian analysis of a central conceptual struggle among, and within, these individuals between competing models of what she labels mimesis and antimimesis. According to Leys, the mimetic model argues that the subject is unable to integrate the trauma into the cognitive or perceptual system. The result is a type of hypnotic imitation. The antimimetic model holds that trauma is a completely external event that the patient, with the proper handling, can recall and master. Leys maintains that the genealogy—not, as even she sometimes interchanges, the history—of trauma represents “a tension or oscillation between the two paradigms” (p. 10) that has led not to integration and resolution but to a series of historical constructions marked by ambiguity and dissonance. Leys finds that even the work by Mikkel Borch-Jacobsen that has inspired hers is marked by the turn from an early mimetic point of view to a later antimimetic one, a change Leys finds less than satisfactory in its attempt to resolve the issue, its apparent rejection of unconscious dynamics, and its resultant flirtation with the reduction of traumatic neurosis to malingering.

The subject matter of the book is an appropriate one for the history of the twentieth century. From Freud’s and others’ exploration of childhood sexual trauma at the outset of the century through the series of wars and atrocities from the world wars through Vietnam and beyond, the last century was clearly one in which psychological as well as physical suffering took center stage. The accompanying growth of the psychological

sciences, particularly within medicine, offered unprecedented theory and practice with regard to damage done to the mind. Leys’s approach is marked by often brilliant textual exegesis that, while also often difficult, reveals in striking form fundamental questions about human memory and its vicissitudes. How much control do human beings exercise over the memory of traumatic experience? In what ways and to what extent are memories of trauma reliable? Does a patient under hypnosis reexperience the original event or recall it? Is the process and the result (“cure”) a function of emotional abreaction or cognitive mastery; that is, does a patient get better by forgetting the traumatic event or by remembering it? Can or does the patient even recall or remember the event? Who does most of the “curing,” the patient (the “participatory” model) or the therapist (the “surgical” model)? Are recollections a function of suggestion by the therapist, or do patient and therapist both engage in a fictive creation of memory? These questions and others that Leys explores have significant social, political, and legal implications. Whose “fault” is a traumatic reaction? Is the testimony of a victim of trauma reliable? If there are cultures and environments of trauma, to what extent does this erase necessary distinctions between perpetrators and victims? To what extent does a positivistic medical definition of trauma entail issues of social control?

As a genealogy, Leys’s book is therefore less than a fully satisfactory history. While her characterization of issues and debates in the medical and nonmedical literature on trauma is stimulating, her dialectic of the mimetic and antimimetic positions is itself a text that leaves out a great deal of history. Her conceptualization often floats outside relevant contexts. Her chapter on World War I, for example, has surprisingly little to say about “shell shock”; rather, it concentrates on prewar and postwar debates concerning how hypnosis cures. Leys also says little about the Holocaust, which had a huge impact on the study of trauma, because she sees it as just another instance of the discourse on “*the problem of imitation*” (p. 8; italics in original) and as part of subsequent historical constructions around posttraumatic stress disorder. While such selection makes sense in terms of Leys’s concentration on the texts constructed around mimesis and antimimesis, her postmodern deconstructive preoccupation with relatively few texts leaves out a great deal that would help explain the development, however marked by the contradictions Leys stresses, of the experience and apprehension of trauma in the twentieth century. Much of the field between the poles of Leys’s dichotomy remains unobserved in her account, both in terms of the exploration of the social and psychological origins of the values brought to the study of trauma by her subjects and of the degrees to which their ideas reflected—imperfectly, of course, in this most intangible of fields of study—some portions of reality upon which measures of continuous development over time might at least be adumbrated historically. As it is,

Leys's book is marked by impressive textual exegesis that makes it a necessary, but not a sufficient, source on the subject of trauma.

GEOFFREY COCKS
Albion College

GERALD N. IZENBERG. *Modernism and Masculinity: Mann, Wedekind, Kandinsky through World War I*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 257. \$35.50.

Within the ever-expanding field of gender studies, the Man Question (represented, in particular, by the supposed fin-de-siècle crisis of masculinity) now receives a great deal of attention. Gerald N. Izenberg laments that rather than explain this crisis, scholars often use it simply as an explanation of the misogyny or homophobia that characterized such thinkers as Otto Weininger. Izenberg contends that although modernist artists and intellectuals rarely, if ever, managed to rise completely above conventional anxieties about active, intellectual, liberated women, straightforward misogyny was not the typical modernist response to the New Woman. Many modernist artists, he emphasizes, regarded femininity as the supreme creative force: far from being misogynistic, the male modernist artist aimed to incorporate woman's creative power and thereby attain "godlike wholeness" (p. 17).

This thesis is illustrated by biographical studies of dramatist Frank Wedekind, novelist Thomas Mann, and painter Wassily Kandinsky. Why these three? Because, Izenberg explains, they range across a wide artistic spectrum (drama, fiction, painting), and, as far as biographical and regional aspects are concerned, they share a lot (such as a connection with Munich) while remaining distinct. I doubt whether this is a particularly compelling argument, but it is probably more profitable to concentrate on what Izenberg actually does with his selected figures. And here, one must be complimentary, even if one does not share Izenberg's fervent faith in psychoanalysis and psychobiography as historical tools. The skill, sympathy, and percipience with which Izenberg analyzes the lives and contexts of his subjects are simply outstanding. "Life and work," he argues, "mutually inform one another, each often supplying the hidden or suppressed text of the other; each is therefore an indispensable source for interpreting the other" (p. 16).

This is no mere assertion but exemplified repeatedly and admirably in the three biographical chapters. Wedekind's erotic plays, Izenberg demonstrates, cannot be adequately understood without an appreciation of the dramatist's childhood admiration for an unconventional, liberated mother and a father who was merely liberal. For the adult Wedekind, the symbol of freedom was a female circus artist, and the notorious Lulu "supplies, in fantasy at least, what each male lacks for his sense of masculinity . . . the qualities they see in her, the attributes they project onto her comprise Wedekind's diagnostic chart of the infirmities of

bourgeois masculinity" (p. 56). Wedekind himself, of course, was not free of those infirmities, and Izenberg shows us how in his personal life, convictions of female creativity, sensual superiority, and freedom were intertwined with stark insecurities and not a little ambivalence.

Mann's erotic life has been the focus of much investigation in recent times, and Izenberg builds upon them to analyze that long, strange, and jingoistic work, *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man* (1918) as a quest for the masculinity that eluded Mann in his life and in his other writing. Mann, of course, changed his views with the coming of the Third Reich, in effect splitting his personality into one that celebrated "feminine" self-abnegation in the aesthetic and romantic spheres and another, traditionally "virile" persona that fought fascism. "It was his war against political sadomasochism that offered him the countervailing traditional self-image he . . . so deeply desired" (p. 159).

The book ends with the Russian painter Kandinsky. Izenberg chronicles Kandinsky's romantic life, showing how its twists and turns paralleled transformations in his artistic style and aesthetic philosophy. Once again, much stress is laid on the individual's yearning to incorporate feminine creativity into his own self and thereby become the complete artist as well as the completely virile man.

As it stands, the book is an admirable collection of three capsule biographies. That is no mean achievement, but, if only because his critiques of earlier studies on the crisis of masculinity are so persuasive, one expects a broader, deeper treatise from Izenberg than he has actually given us. Izenberg is more of a psychoanalyst than a contextualist: the individual and his interpersonal relationships interest him far more than the cultural, social, and discursive contexts within which those individuals developed and which, arguably, influenced their subjectivity as deeply as did oedipal desires and sexual relationships. No serious study of a subjective concept like masculinity could, of course, do without psychology; one doubts, however, whether an exclusively psychological tool-kit is sufficient for analyzing a theme that is as much intellectual and sociocultural as psychological.

CHANDAK SENGUPTA
University of Manchester

NICHOLAS REEVES. *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?* New York: Cassell. 1999. Pp. viii, 262. £14.99.

This book is an outstanding corrective to those who continue, unwisely, to imagine that all great propaganda films have enormous impact. At the same time, Nicholas Reeves argues that some propaganda films do have an impact, even if it is hard to gauge precisely. His closely reasoned account focuses on five case studies: British World War I film production, including *The Battle of the Somme* (1916); Soviet film production in the 1920s, including *The Battleship Potemkin* (1926);

German film production in the 1930s, particularly *Triumph of the Will* (1935), *Jew Süss* (1940), and *The Eternal Jew* (1940); British film production during World War II; and Italian neorealist film after 1945, particularly *Rome, Open City* (1945) and *Paisan* (1946). Reeves provides careful summaries of each film and includes production details, but he puts most of his effort into that elusive matter of gauging audience size and response, the area generally overlooked by students of film, given the paucity of sources and their notorious lack of reliability. Reeves takes a tough look at audience response, arguing, in most cases, that these classic films failed to find a mass audience, or failed to have the impact sought by those who ordered the film produced.

Reeves believes that effective film propaganda "canalises an already existing stream," in other words reinforces a widespread belief already found in a given society at a particular moment in time. As he notes in his conclusion, "Of the films that did reach that mass audience, those that were positively received were almost always films that confirmed and reinforced existing ideas and attitudes" (p. 239). His tough-minded conclusion may surprise some, but not readers of the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio, and Television*, whose articles are carefully cited in many of his instructive footnotes.

One successful example of the propaganda film is *The Battle of the Somme*, seen quite possibly by twenty million British civilians in the fall of 1916. This film, Reeves argues, seemed absolutely new to viewers, giving what actually seemed to be the "face of war." The film did not actually show what battle consisted of but allowed civilians to comprehend something of the war in France unknowable from any other source. Its success in shoring up public opinion after the stupendous losses of the early days of the Somme offensive is capable of careful documentation, using the sorts of fragmentary sources good historians know how to use sensitively. Reeves argues that after March 1917, a weariness and skepticism in the minds of most British citizens made it impossible for additional successes in film propaganda. A different sort of conclusion attends his treatment of *The Battleship Potemkin*, Sergei Eisenstein's great classic. Reeves notes that the film failed to make sense to most illiterate Russian viewers, that it failed completely at the box office in comparison with a swashbuckling Douglas Fairbanks vehicle that swept Soviet cinemas (*The Thief of Bagdad*), and that however loved by cineastes, Eisenstein's film played no part in selling the Russian masses on a classless society. Germany is a different matter. Reeves believes that most of Josef Goebbels's efforts at explicit propaganda, including films endorsing euthanasia and the extermination of the Jews, failed, either because viewers would not pay to see the film or because other voices in German society spoke out.

Reeves feels that film propaganda in Germany was highly successful in promoting the myth of Hitler as the savior of Germany, a high point being celebrations

accompanying Hitler's fiftieth birthday in April 1939. German film propaganda failed utterly in making a losing war look good, and general German disillusionment after Stalingrad in February 1943 could not be changed, no matter what upbeat story appeared in the official newsreel.

Reeves writes expertly as a convert to his thesis that propaganda film rarely has anything like the impact ascribed to it; his book is clear enough to be effective with the upper-level undergraduate, and what he says will surely make a powerful impression on his fellow academics. Everyone interested in assessing German complicity in the Final Solution will need to see what Reeves says about the role of film propaganda.

DAVID CULBERT

Louisiana State University

MARCO MARIANO. *Lo storico nel suo labirinto: Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. tra ricerca storica, impegno civile e politica*. Milan: Francoangeli. 1999. Pp. 270.

Marco Mariano writes the biography of an "egghead" who in his experience emblematically synthesized the relationship between research and the civic engagement of an intellectual in the United States during the long period after World War II until now. Rich in content, Mariano's seven-chapter book presents to Italian historians the interactive plot sketched out by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who has proposed his thesis about the public use of the past in essays written with charm and literary ability.

Mariano demonstrates the constant connection between public experience and Schlesinger's private life. He had an ideological awareness and shared the values of a well-known cultural tradition thanks to the relationship with his father, also a historian, and to the net of "familial frequenting." This formative experience molded the citizen and the scholar, who became aware that in the universities the hegemony of the progressive school was over and that a new historical orthodoxy prevailed.

This consideration is the basis for the analysis of Schlesinger's famous biographical volumes. *The Age of Jackson* (1945) is not only a well-done book about a hero of American history but also a revelation of the context in which the historian works. This book made headlines within the academic circles for its ability to address actual problems using the past. Schlesinger's "presentism" has had its confirmation in *The Age of Roosevelt* (1956), evident in the canonization of the New Deal and its president as representative of the best political tradition of the nation. In these books, the past lives again in the biography of two renowned citizens, and the historical research becomes the foundation for Schlesinger's political and cultural engagement.

Mariano analyzes this element especially in reference to *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (1949), which is the manifesto of American Liberalism after World War II and a very convincing example of

Schlesinger's growing participation in the political debate. Well-known within the "establishment," he advised Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy. Mariano underlines his "activism": for example, his contribution to a new role for Italy in the politics of the Kennedy administration. Schlesinger's experience changed radically after 1965, when he increased his activity as a commentator and gradually decreased his direct political involvement. The civil rights movement, the protests against the Vietnam War, and the political and social crises in the country undermined American pride. Uncertainty eroded the sensation of superiority in comparison with other political and cultural experiences and ended the country's presumed "innocence." These radical changes induced Schlesinger to intensify his defense of the American way of life and its political system.

Schlesinger's works traced the history of liberalism, beginning with laissez-faire. When the success of industrialization led to the creation of powerful business lobbies, liberalism promoted democratic egalitarianism and sought to restrict corporations when they tried to curtail the rights of the citizen. This idea had its famous moment during the New Deal, when reformism limited the power of the party machines, mediating between cartels and unions to conciliate the needs of production with those of workers. The success of this design had an immediate and positive impact on the American political system, and for Schlesinger it was the answer for a society struggling to assure the basic rights of minorities.

Given the use of the word "labyrinth" in the title, some readers may wonder about the absence of references to Benedetto Croce, especially since Mariano addresses Italian historians. Even with this basic flaw and numerous misspellings, the book will be informative and interesting for the Italian reader.

LUIGI ROSSI
University of Salerno

PETER NOVICK. *The Holocaust in American Life*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 1999. Pp. 373. \$27.00.

I have been teaching a university course on the Holocaust for more than twenty-five years, and not since I first encountered Raul Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jews* (1961) have I found a book as stimulating and troubling. Stimulating, because Peter Novick raises nearly every critical issue confronting those who write and teach about the Holocaust; troubling, because nearly every conclusion he draws is the opposite of my own.

The topics he confronts include the role of Jews in presenting the Holocaust to a mass audience in America (Holocaust memory); the process of creating the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; the role of Jews in determining whether it would be inclusive (11 million) or exclusive (6 million); the implications of having what he calls "the primary address" of American Jewry at this museum on the Mall in Wash-

ington; American Jewry's increasing comfort level with achieving the gold medal in the victimization Olympics; the Jewish insistence on the so-called "uniqueness" of the Holocaust; the role of Jews in sensing the consumer appeal of the Holocaust and thus moving it to the center of American culture and American Jewish identity by making it holy or sacralized; the reason why Holocaust survivors kept quiet in the 1950s, although anxious to tell their tales (the Cold War made such tales an embarrassment); the manner in which American Jewry attached the Holocaust to Israel in the 1960s and 1970s (the Adolf Eichmann trial, Six Day War, Yom Kippur War) and pursued a deliberate strategy of seeing Israel, if not the entire Middle East, through the lens of the Holocaust; the connection between the Final Solution and the birth of the State of Israel/the myth of Israel as the world's atonement for complicity in the Holocaust; the issues of rescue and bombing during the war; and the Jewish emphasis on the so-called "lessons" of the Holocaust. Most of this is objectively argued, although there is considerable invective toward Zionists, secular Jewish organizations, and a handful of prominent Holocaust scholars.

In a word, Novick sees Holocaust memory as choreographed by American Jewish leaders (especially secular organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League) so that it would become the emblematic Jewish experience. He is right when he minimizes the relationship between the Holocaust and Israel; indeed, the Holocaust almost made the new state impossible by depriving it of its main ingredient, Jews, and the issue for the nations after World War II was not giving the Jews a state out of guilt (after all, the United Nations voted to create *two* states in Palestine, one Jewish and one Arab) but rather political considerations. But Novick is wrong when he argues that the Holocaust is the center of American Jewish life.

If Novick were to visit a synagogue—Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform—and follow the Judaic calendar's rituals, customs, ceremonies, and observances; listen to sermons; attend study sessions; or, alternatively, follow the rhythm of the Jewish calendar by personal observance of Jewish festivals, holydays/holidays, and the Sabbath, he would note the virtual absence of the Holocaust. It is simply a minor instrument in the orchestra of the Jewish calendar. Put differently, Novick writes without any awareness of Jewish peoplehood, and that peoplehood places the Holocaust into the context of one of several tragedies that have befallen the Jews but hardly makes it central to the life of anyone practicing the religious tradition of Judaism.

There are actually many lessons to be learned from the Holocaust. Many are nicely summarized in Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (1989) and David R. Blumenthal, *The Banality of Good and Evil: Moral Lessons from the Shoah and Jewish Tradition* (1999), but others have contributed to this conversation of what Jews and

non-Jews, Americans and others, may “learn” from the Holocaust. Even if it is true, as Novick charges, that Americans desire to find a redemptive meaning in every event, and there is no redemptive meaning in this event, it offers considerable evidence for understanding what kind of teachings facilitate prosocial deeds and what kind facilitate the actual praxis of evil.

MARC LEE RAPHAEL

College of William and Mary

EDMUND MORRIS. *Dutch: A Memoir of Ronald Reagan*. New York: Random House. 1999. Pp. xx, 874. \$35.00.

This is the first harlequin historical romance to be reviewed in the *AHR*, and it arrives covered in scandal. Everyone knows that Edmund Morris invented his own fictional family and counterfeit scholarly apparatus to propel himself back into the early life of the man known as Dutch only until Hollywood gave him back the name he had been born with. The fictional narrator keeps company with Ronald Reagan from his Duck River lifeguard early life through the Hollywood blacklist, the divorce, and the remarriage. The fictional narrator’s fictional son—co-author of the Port Huron statement, instigator with his “buddy” Mario Savio (p. 328) of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement’s first sit-down, then a violent black power militant and troublemaker at the Chicago Democratic convention, and finally lost in the Weather Underground—speaks for the un-American activities that elected Reagan governor of California. Instead of history taking over from fiction once Reagan is in the White House, the author’s inventions bleed seamlessly into the president’s.

Morris knows exactly what he is doing. The “revelations” of “what amounts to a new biographical style,” he explains on the jacket cover, “derive directly from Ronald Reagan’s own way of looking at his life.” “Revelations” is the right word. Any apologia that pretends that this president did not live in his imagination is vulnerable to documentary refutation. Morris’s Reagan believed he was present at the liberation of the death camps because he had seen the footage on film. In the world he inhabited, not that of ordinary mortals, he had employed a defensive super-weapon in the movies before he embraced Star Wars in life; he never traded arms for hostages; he did not orchestrate the Hollywood blacklist, since there never was such a thing; he recycled fiction as fact. Reagan transcended the mere earthly distinction between history and fantasy by answering to a higher call: “Imagination, not mendacity, was the key to Dutch’s mind” (p. 398). Dutch is Parsifal, the “innocent fool” who recovered the holy grail.

The Wagnerian leitmotif brings Parsifal on stage early in this quest romance by way of a screenplay scenario “(Softly we begin to hear the *Innocent Fool* motif from Parsifal),” in which young Dutch comes upon his father, “his arms spread out as if he were crucified,” passed out from drink (p. 39). There follows

the stage direction: “CHOIR: *Durch Mitleid wissend, Der reine Tor!*” Morris goes straight from Parsifal through John Bunyan to Reagan’s invocation of “a shining city on a hill” (p. 401). Since Reagan’s innocence of evil is the condition for his triumph over it, what seems like moral insensitivity—at Bitburg, about race discrimination, against the homeless—is the condition that allows him to “appeal for the protection of innocents from incoming missiles” (p. 477), whether he is opposing abortion (as in the phrase just quoted) or sponsoring the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). What defeated “the evil empire” was “the fundamentally childlike, bipolar quality of the President’s mind” (p. 458).

Innocent mind and glorious body, for the overheated descriptions of Dutch’s physique are as organic to this romance as is the Wagnerian theme. He won the Cold War not only by battering the Soviet Union with SDI but also by physically dominating his Soviet counterpart. At Geneva, the massive innocence of “*der reine Tor*” evoked “something akin to tenderness” from Mikhail Gorbachev (p. 566), who told the former Hollywood actor that he enjoyed “particularly [the movie] where you lost your legs” (p. 567). Even Gorbachev fell under Reagan’s spell. The book’s prologue has already pointed forward to this Cold War climax. “His shoulders were broad and he walked with extraordinary grace,” as the narrator describes seeing Dutch for the first time. “‘Who’s this fellow?’ I whispered. Paul shrugged. The square-cut youth and I briefly exchanged glances” (p. 56).

The sexual politics of this book place “Morris” in competition with each of Reagan’s wives. Himself an object of desire, the holy innocent manifests no libidinal interest in women, neither in the vindictively maligned Jane Wyman, whom he fails to satisfy sexually, nor in the “brittle little” Nancy Davis (p. xv), who becomes his caretaker. What gets Reagan’s attention is not sex appeal but helplessness. (“The Lifeguard” was the title of the first half of the four-hour PBS “documentary” on Reagan.) To underline the theme of rescue, “Morris” (who had lost a quarter-inch of his leg to boyhood polio) confesses on his final pilgrimage back to Dixon, Illinois, that Dutch the lifeguard had once rescued him.

Although most reviewers have failed to see it, *Dutch* the “memoir” returns the favor. Indignation over the subordination of fact to fiction has deflected attention from the more serious scandal: the breathtaking moral monstrosity of this tale. For the historical novelist organizes his quest romance around Reagan’s response to the extermination of the Jews. Morris claims that he had not yet agreed to write Reagan’s biography—because he feared that Reagan lacked the interiority of the great American presidents—when he watched him speak of the Holocaust at Bergen-Belsen and saw Reagan’s “slabby, alabaster-like quality . . . become flesh” on the television screen (p. 3). Reagan’s words connect the narrator to his own (fictional) losses—“a marriage in ashes, boy gone underground”

(p. 5), the Jewish heritage abandoned when his wealthy (fictional) father, "a Yale-educated Jew," became "an Episcopalian convert" (p. 6). Morris already knew that the president had transferred "'compassion' from welfare to the womb" (p. 4); but in praising Reagan's conversion from a pro-abortion governor with "blood on his hands" (p. 351) to presidential protector of the unborn, Morris subsumes the fetal right to life within the Holocaust.

The narrator's (fictional) opera-singing mother, "who called to me from Bergen-Belsen and thus impelled the writing of this book" (p. 6), supplies the link between the Holocaust and *Parsifal*. Morris knows that Reagan only went to Bergen-Belsen to balance his appearance at Bitburg. He must also be aware that Wagner conceived *Parsifal* in the service of Aryan Christianity. Even those who believe that the war begun against Nazism only ended with the defeat of the Soviet Union should quail at the appropriation of "Jewish blood" to redeem Reagan as holy crusader.

Morris professes to be shocked when Barbara and George Bush show him a duplicate of their parting gift to Reagan. "There, standing booted and spurred, are *Dutch's feet and lower legs*, supporting, like some flattened dwarfish torso, an embroidered seat" (p. 639). But in stigmatizing the vice-presidential gift as "the single most terrifying piece of kitch I have ever seen. It would not be out of place at Auschwitz," Morris (with yet another gratuitous reference to the Holocaust) is describing his own offering. The last line of Reagan's autobiography, "I have found the rest of me," acknowledges his second wife. With Morris also aspiring to give Reagan back the rest of him, this president finally found the biographer to do him justice.

MICHAEL ROGIN
University of California,
Berkeley

EWA DOMAŃSKA, *Encounters: Philosophy of History after Postmodernism*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. xii, 293. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.50.

History is in the interesting position of confronting its own historicity: this much has been enunciated and widely accepted during the past several decades. This volume is an attempt to tease out some of the implications of this fact. Its format is suitably miscellaneous, being a collection of interviews that provide fascinating and valuable glimpses into the interests and range of various European and, to a lesser extent, American historians.

The most attractive feature of this collection of interviews is its emphasis on the historian behind the history. Each of the ten interviews begins with the signature of the interviewee, his personal mark (no women are included among the interviewees, except for editor Ewa Domańska's coy "self-interview," about which the less said the better). A common fund of questions is presented to Hayden White, Hans Kellner,

Franklin Ankersmit, Georg Iggers, Jerzy Topolski, Jörn Rüsen, Arthur Danto, Lionel Gossman, Peter Burke, and Stephen Bann. All are asked to comment in various ways on the "new" problems and opportunities presented to historians by postmodernity (the usual term in this text is "postmodernism"). Given space limits, this review will attend mainly to general outlines and problems, not individual interviews.

The most striking feature of the volume is its almost total confusion about the term under which it seems to be selling itself: "postmodernism." The term is treated by the editor as something that apparently has a settled definition, and is often treated by her and occasionally by her subjects as something after "modernism"—in other words, a local dispute in the twentieth century—or, worse, as a "trivializing" movement. This kind of approach has often been derived—and never to good effect—from the evangelical Marxist formulations of Frederic Jameson, although he is scarcely mentioned. Several contributors mention the influence of Michel Foucault as significant in the development of various forms of "counterhistory" (White, Kellner, Ankersmit, Topolski), and White mentions Roland Barthes as seminal. Otherwise the theoretical writing from France that grounds any understanding of the postmodern is barely mentioned. The Anglo-Germanic emphasis of this volume renders its approaches to the "postmodern" entirely unsatisfactory, precisely because of the resistant commitments to empiricism and idealism in the English and Germanic traditions.

Postmodernity revises the formulae of modernity, including most especially its traditions of historical and political representation, and if these revisions concern not a local twentieth-century "modernism" but all of modernity stretching back to the Renaissance and Reformation, then the term "postmodern" deserves more careful attention than the miscellaneous and unexamined expressions collected here. The volume invites readers to assume the one thing that needs to be proved: what, exactly, postmodernity is; what is involved; what is at stake. The editor is no help here and often indicates her lack of knowledge and perhaps even lack of seriousness concerning those matters. For example, to ask a question that separates "language" from "experience" seems to me entirely to misunderstand postmodernity and to foreclose on any sensible approach to discussing it. Domańska is not alone in this. Some interviewees make unquestioning references to "the past" and "the future" that, despite sophisticated awareness, leave unquestioned the most basic assumptions of modern historical writing. When we can be permitted to associate postmodernism with modernism, and modernism with fascism (Danto), we are on the other side of the looking glass in a private iconography, not in the actual world of postmodern problematics that has been developing for more than a century through new technologies, new expressions in art and music and writing, new definitions of personal life, new scientific descriptions of nature and, yes, new challenges to democratic institutions.

Nevertheless, and this said, Domańska maintains focus and seriousness in general, and all of these interviews provide fascinating glimpses into the formative thinking of distinguished historians, although some of the more forward looking prefer to call themselves "writers." Most of the interviews demonstrate the range and complexity of the issues at hand in ways that are valuable precisely because they appear as ruminations, not armed systems, and thus as spurs to thought and contribution. Reading these interviews is like having a good conversation. Even drawbacks such as loaded questions and methodological conservatism in some of the responses do not obscure the way this volume registers many key problems posed by postmodernity for traditional historicism.

Important topics are raised here. The problem of "truth" claims is responsibly addressed in each interview. The limits of positivism, its hegemony, and its relative value are addressed especially well by White, Kellner, and Ankersmit; the last says what cannot too often be repeated, that so-called "relativism" is just a form of positivism. White's interview helps to explain his now-famously contested relationship to postmodernity, and his responses demonstrate the liberalizing complexity of his thinking. Kellner makes a valuable case for "getting it crooked" instead of getting it straight, although he seems to think that history's problems are only professional, not cultural. Gossman speaks interestingly about historical narrative as not so much an explanatory form as a way of freeing oneself "from the limitations of the present."

Topolski's comments are in some ways most interesting to me. Despite the fact that he dismisses postmodernity with negative definitions (led in part by a question about "perverse postmodernism"), and despite the obvious and acknowledged presence of ideological constraints having to do with Soviet domination in Poland, his comments indicate that range of reading, that depth of cultural intelligence, that intellectual resonance that is so characteristic of European culture, perhaps especially East European culture, and so much more rare in the United States. He can sum up in a phrase what most professional historians do and what cultural tradition frames their activity. He demonstrates that engagement and that "capacity to keep the world in mind," as Meyer Schapiro once called it, which is really the main alibi for professional intellectual life. I would be honored to disagree with him anytime.

The basso continuo in this volume is the relation between history and literature in general and White's work specifically. Several contributors touch on the "aesthetic" as a dimension for narrative. The term "aesthetic," of course, is an invention of the German Enlightenment and involves a ghettoizing of values and methods that formerly had more practical exercise as part of "philosophy" or "rhetoric." Today the term "aesthetic" has become increasingly trivialized until it is little more than an indicator for "marginal" and "unimportant" (Gossman touches on this). Even to

assert the importance of "aesthetics" as Danto does, or the "aesthetic dimension" and "essence" as Rüsén does, or to privilege "the aesthetic" over the "epistemological" as Ankersmit does, involves accepting the term ("aesthetic") that by definition trivializes the activity of imagination and that cannot register the code-and-system construction that (so I have argued) has replaced the objectifying "human sciences," including the historical conventions established by the nineteenth century. When the "aesthetic" is thus perceived, any real discussion of postmodernity must be thwarted. Topolski at one point takes to task my *Sequel to History: Postmodernism and the Crisis of Representational Time* (1992) for arguing in favor of writers who deprive history of its "chronological axis," because, he says, this would bring historical narrative close to being a "postmodernist novel." If we could lose the opposition between "aesthetic" and "important," perhaps I would be content to write what is "novel"; and in fact there are what I call "anthematic" forms that could support new kinds of history just as well as thetic and synthetic forms have supported the old. But the problem here is the premise: the key step beyond history does not involve (an aestheticizing) loss of chronology at all but instead a loss of neutrality: neutrality that by convention permits the objectification of the world and thus makes possible the mutually informative measurements upon which so much depends in all our representational institutions, including democratic politics, empirical science, realist art, and historical conventions. There is a politics to these "aesthetic" matters, and a politics to the turn toward "language" and code; these are urgent issues. I wish the interviewer had made more of them.

ELIZABETH DEEDS ERMARTH
Edinburgh University

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

KURT RAAFLAUB and NATHAN ROSENSTEIN, editors. *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Asia, the Mediterranean, Europe, and Mesoamerica*. (Center for the Hellenic Studies Colloquia, number 3.) Cambridge: Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University. 1999. Pp. viii, 484. \$50.00.

This volume is the product of a colloquium held at the Center for Hellenic Studies in 1996. There are fifteen chapters, penned by sixteen participants. The first thirteen are topical: a specialist in the subfield in question surveys the interaction of war and society in a given premodern culture. The last two chapters cut across these disciplinary divides. The penultimate features a theoretical perspective that is informed by anthropological research (R. Brian Ferguson); the final chapter situates recurrent themes in a generalized historical framework (Victor Davis Hanson and Barry S. Strauss).

The thirteen core chapters are regionally grouped. The first four essays take us to early China (Robin

Yates) and Japan (William Wayne Farris), pharaonic Egypt (Andrea M. Gnirs) and the Persian Empire (Pierre Briant). Unfortunately, a specialist on Mesopotamia was forced to withdraw at the last minute. A chapter that competently surveyed the changing face of warfare across the many centuries of ancient Near Eastern history would have been an invaluable addition to this mix.

The Mediterranean basin receives seven chapters. These are devoted to archaic and classical Greece (Kurt Raaflaub), the Hellenistic world (Charles D. Hamilton), republican (Nathan Rosenstein) and imperial Rome (Brian Campbell), Byzantium (John Haldon), the early medieval West (Bernard S. Bachrach), and early Islam (Patricia Crone). The later Roman Empire is conspicuous by its absence: Campbell gives it less than five pages. Two additional chapters traverse the Atlantic. Here a pair of anthropological specialists contribute papers on the Mayan (David Webster) and Aztec (Ross Hassig) worlds.

The editors claim as their rationale for the colloquium that "the interaction between military developments in Greece and Rome and their social, cultural, political, and economic contexts so far had [sic] not been studied systematically and comparatively" (p. 1). This comment slights an imposing literature—a point that they quickly concede with regard to archaic Greece, classical Athens, and republican Rome. One might immediately add imperial Rome, the study of which has benefited immensely from scholarly reaction to Edward N. Luttwak's *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire from the First Century A.D. to the Third* (1976). The relevant literature on the later Roman Empire is equally impressive, offering such classics as Ramsay MacMullen's *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (1963). Given the state of the evidence, it would also be difficult to generate new insights for Mycenaean and Dark Age Greece. What we know, and how we know it, have been efficiently distilled by Sarah B. Pomeroy et al. in *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History* (1999).

Hence an unconvincing rationale, behind which lurk a number of structural and conceptual problems. While the other eleven essays report the current "state of the question," the distinction that Briant draws between Achaemenid parade and war armies is eccentric. Raaflaub combines an idiosyncratic critique of the beleaguered "hoplite revolution" in archaic Greece with a crisp but conventional analysis of the interplay between naval warfare and democratic politics. There is a very real danger that nonspecialists will fail to distinguish between the conventional and the controversial in this volume.

Multiple authorship self-evidently threatens thematic unity. To overcome this problem, the participants were called upon to critique each paper at the colloquium, and the editors then collaborated with the authors in the process of revision. These efforts notwithstanding, this volume has many of the disjointed characteristics common to compendia. Thus Haldon

and Bachrach repeatedly emphasize the legal, administrative, and military continuity that connect Byzantium and the medieval West with the world of late Rome; however, Campbell's otherwise commendable essay lacks the depth to put these points in context. Yates concludes his study with the Han Dynasty because Confucian literati successfully devalued war during its course (pp. 9, 31–35), but Farris laments that the Chinese-style military that later dominated Japan cannot be understood without a working knowledge of Chinese political and military history in the post-Han period (p. 52). Structurally, there is nothing here to suggest that this was a cooperative enterprise.

The same point can be scored on the conceptual level. Webster was the only participant to offer a working definition of warfare (p. 342). Everyone else seems to have assumed that all forms of organized group violence constitute warfare. This is an untenable presumption, which markedly undermines several of the essays. One example must suffice. In his discussion of Samurai culture, Farris stresses the "individualized, highly ritualized form of combat." On the very next page, however, we are told that "a major responsibility of local warriors was to assemble peasants to work the fields. Samurai were often brutal . . . In the words of peasant protestors, 'when we refused to do things his way, the samurai chased down our wives and children, cut off their ears, shaved off their noses, clipped their hair, and said he was forcing them to take the ton-sure'" (pp. 61–62).

Is this warfare, or extortion? More to the point, if combat was in the nature of a highly ritualized duel, did either the samurai or his victims regard this as warfare? Much of this volume is about predation, but we do not generally include armed robbery under the heading of warfare.

I offer two broad points in conclusion. Ancient sources invite us to view the world through the eyes of the victors. It takes a concerted effort, missing here, to balance the record. In Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* (9.39), the Roman soldier is a bully and a thief—an image that permeates Egyptian papyri and Greek and Latin inscriptions in the imperial period. Secondly, there is a gender bias to overcome. Women are often the victims of war whether theirs is the winning or the losing side, and the silence of the sources can be deafening. In this respect Briant makes a telling concession. His assigned theme is war and society: "there exists, however, no 'Achaemenid society' as such" (p. 108). An insuperable problem, but the reader of this volume will throughout find most of the social fabric equally hard to penetrate. It deploys the comparative approach to enrich our understanding of classes with whom we are already well acquainted, and that is hardly the best use for comparative methodology. The historian of Greece and Rome will consequently discover little here that is novel or instructive.

JOHN K. EVANS

University of Minnesota

MARTIN VAN CREVELD. *The Rise and Decline of the State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 439. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.

Eminent military analyst Martin van Creveld takes strong positions on an issue that continues to vex and divide observers of capital markets, multinational corporations, the European Union, nongovernmental organizations, and other transnational institutions. For Creveld, states are rapidly losing the visibly vital power and autonomy they enjoyed until recently. It is therefore time, he reasons, to ask how the state came into being, how it functioned in its heyday, and what impact its decline will have on human life. By "states," Creveld means sovereign organizations exercising control over populations that live within delimited territories and enjoying abstract existence as corporations, legally constituted persons separate from any particular individual or set of individuals; true states sharply distinguish public from private affairs. This definition encourages Creveld to adopt some dubious practices: treatment of all chiefdoms, city-states, and empires as stateless regimes; consequent disposition of all the world's history before 1300 C.E. (deemed essentially stateless) in less than a sixth of his book; location of the state's rise in Western European experience between 1300 and 1648; analysis of world history from 1648 to 1975 as a dual process of diffusion and consolidation of an already defined form of government; and no more than passing discussion of China, Japan, India, or Africa before the twentieth century, with that discussion concentrating on European intervention.

"The earliest political units deserving to be called states," Creveld declares, "were France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, the countries composing the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia, and the Netherlands" (p. 263). The author's corporatist definition of the state also allows him to argue that other corporate entities originally formed in the welcoming contexts of states are now taking over state functions and thereby undermining their former hosts. Most of his book, however, consists not of systematic argument but of historical narrative. In unadorned, sinewy prose, Creveld describes forms of government before the state, the formation of European states from 1300 to 1648, the use of European and Europe-derived states as rulers' instruments from 1648 to 1789, the creation of nationalist and transforming states in the West between 1789 and 1945, the spread of state forms outside of the West from 1696 to 1975, and decline thereafter.

France, Britain, Spain, the Low Countries, and the Germanies receive far more attention than other parts of Europe. Even there, alas, Creveld's hand falters more than once. He presents France's Fronde, for example, as a rebellion led by the Prince of Condé and lasting from 1652 to 1658. He tells us that Jacques Necker was Louis XVI's minister of finance between 1767 and 1772. He places Britain's Reform Bill in 1831 and claims it increased the electorate by sixty percent.

He writes as though the United Provinces had a single Stadthouder (as he spells the title) always drawn from the House of Orange. Such carelessness with elementary dates and facts raises suspicion about the book's historical detail. Given Creveld's standing as a military analyst, furthermore, it is surprising to find him treating state formation as largely an act of will on the part of energetic rulers. Such kings as Frederick the Great and Louis XIV, on his account, deliberately constructed civilian and military bureaucracies to augment their personal power, only to discover that the bureaucrats acquired power of their own in the process. Creveld downplays the desperate expedients by which early modern rulers gathered money, men, and matériel for warfare; the ratchet effect by which mobilization for warfare expanded national budgets but demobilization never returned them to their prewar levels; the turbulent transition from mercenaries to standing national armies; and the process by which increasing reliance on national taxation and funded debt little by little subordinated military leaders to civilian control. A closer look at John Brewer's work would have helped him avoid the portrayal of Britain's public administration as corrupt and centuries "behind" that of France by 1800.

Creveld's hand steadies when it comes to recent military history: for example, his analysis of the obsolescence of high-technology armies in the face of civil and guerrilla warfare. It would nevertheless have been refreshing to see how Creveld would counter the standard objections to contemporary state-decline arguments: that the very institutions he sees as threatening state power formed as instruments of state power, and that the major capitalist states—especially the United States—now wield power of a scale and intensity that would have astonished eighteenth-century rulers. Creveld has addressed important questions, but he has by no means settled them.

CHARLES TILLY
Columbia University

INA BAGHDIAANTZ MCCABE. *The Shah's Silk for Europe's Silver: The Eurasian Trade of the Julfa Armenians in Safavid Iran and India (1530–1750)*. (Armenian Texts and Studies, number 15.) Georgia: Scholars Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 414. \$44.95.

Scholars working in languages that few others command invariably reach for comparisons, but Ina Baghdiantz McCabe's analogies to other parts of the world are too often flawed. References to the Armenians' European trading partners are marred by real blunders. For example, transactions between the Fuggers and the Holy Roman Emperor did not involve "the lending of money with an interest rate" (p. 3); the Dutch, rebels against Spain's Philip II in the late sixteenth century, knew "that [the king] was bankrupt, since they had long served as his financiers" (p. 25); and French traders in the sixteenth century had easy access to Spanish silver "because of their allegiance to

Spain" (p. 26). More serious for a scholar who understands that "Iran's economy cannot be studied in isolation" (p. 157), and despite titles listed in her bibliography, Baghdiantz McCabe seems unaware of the extent to which the terms of debate have changed over the last three decades for the economy of the Ottoman and Mughal empires. She is right to insist that the trade in Persian silk as far as entrepôts like Aleppo was controlled by Armenians, not by Europeans, but this point was made in Bruce Masters's *Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1660–1750* (1988). She is right, too, to insist that holders of New Julfa's great fortunes cannot be described as "peddlers." But any suggestion that indigenous merchants and revenue-collectors in India were mere peddlers is now buried under a good deal of solid work, including Sanjay Subrahmanyam's delineation of the phenomenon of the "portfolio capitalist."

On her own ground, however, Baghdiantz McCabe makes several important contributions. First, and partly on the basis of Safavid *farmans* not hitherto analyzed, she makes a convincing case that Shah 'Abbās I treated the inhabitants of Julfa very differently than the thousands of ordinary Armenians violently uprooted during his campaigns in the Caucasus. A year after peasants and artisans were force-marched back to Iran's newly conquered northeastern provinces, so that those who survived could be set to work as silk weavers, Julfa's merchant princes feted the Shah, a friend of long standing, and freely accepted his promise to build them a new and better Julfa outside his own new capital, Isfahan. Second, Baghdiantz McCabe provides the best account to date of how the royal silk monopoly was organized under the Shah and his immediate successor: while New Julfa's great men merely invested in the ventures of others, owners of storehouses commissioned traders to buy silk from the Shah's factors and take it to entrepôts like Aleppo and Smyrna, where they sold to whichever European group was most willing to pay for silk in New World silver, for shipment back to Iran and ultimately on to the India trade. Third, she shows that this partnership between New Julfa and the crown began to break down earlier than has been supposed, during the reign of Shah 'Abbās II (1642–1666): Armenian traders started bypassing the Shah's factors, buying directly from silk producers in the northeast. At a time when seigniorage fees demanded by the royal mint rose as high as 7.5 percent, they also found ways to bypass Iran itself when bringing their silver on to India.

The author contends that 'Abbās I's relocation of both sets of Armenians—the rich and the poor—fitted into a comprehensive "political economy," in which New Julfa's merchants, regarded as belonging "to the royal household" (p. 125), not only brought in foreign silver for the mint but also served as the "financial branch" of the administration. This part of the argument is less successful. Baghdiantz McCabe takes references to the "household" as meaning that the

New Julfans were part of an alternative administration, set up over against the traditional bureaucracy. But need the phrase mean more than that these were the Shah's Armenians, as (for example) Jews in medieval France were the king's Jews? Moreover, if less than fifty years later Armenian merchants were moving silver around Iran for their trade in India, why should one assume that their movement of silver through Iran under 'Abbās I served only the Shah's purposes? The question that needs to be posed is whether New Julfa's leading men functioned in ways similar to India's "portfolio capitalists." In other words, the good work done here could be a good deal better if properly fitted into the regional context.

JAMES D. TRACY
University of Minnesota

MIRA WILKINS and HARM SCHRÖTER, editors. *The Free-Standing Company in the World Economy 1830–1996*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. xxi, 480. \$95.00.

Reading this book made me feel a bit like Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1671), who was amazed to discover that he had been speaking "prose" for over forty years. In 1988, I coauthored a book with H. V. Nelles entitled *Southern Exposure: Canadian Promoters in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1896–1930*, in which we examined the activities of a group of entrepreneurs who established a clutch of electrical utilities south of the Rio Grande before World War I. Incorporated in Canada, these companies were financed largely in Great Britain and relied heavily upon engineering skills and equipment from the United States. Since it was only in that same year, 1988, that Mira Wilkins published her article, "The Free-Standing Company, 1870–1914: An Important Type of British Foreign Direct Investment" (*Economic History Review*), my coauthor and I failed to realize that we were providing one of the few monographic accounts about the financing and operation of a group of free-standing companies (FSCs). Over the past decade, however, economists and business historians have been prosing busily about this new typology suggested by Wilkins, and the volume under review here contains revised versions of papers presented at the 1994 Economic History Congress in Milan, along with several specially commissioned additional essays on the subject.

In her 1988 article, Wilkins argued that the FSC was a particular kind of enterprise, incorporated in one country for the specific purpose of raising capital to undertake business in another part of the world. She contended that such companies accounted for a significant portion of British overseas investment prior to World War I, distinguishable from more conventional multinational enterprises (MNEs) that operated branch plants abroad. The scholarly debate concerning FSCs arises not over whether such ventures existed, for they certainly did, but about the usefulness of treating these undertakings as a separate category, a particular

type, of foreign investment. Wilkins also contended that many of these FSCs failed, either because they were outright scams or because they consisted of little more than "brass nameplates" in the City of London that added little managerial value to these enterprises. The implication seems to be that those firms that survived were likely to turn themselves into more conventional MNEs over the course of time.

This book is divided into three sections. The first part contains an introduction by Wilkins, followed with three essays by economists that address the theoretical justifications for using FSCs as an analytical category. Both Jean-François Hennart and Mark Casson find the approach useful, while T. A. B. Corley stoutly insists that the FSC "cannot be justified in theory and had little, if any, validity in practice" (p. 144). Part two of the collection looks at the places where such ventures operated, ranging from tsarist Russia to South America and the Orient. All the authors of these studies seem to find the concept of the FSC fruitful for analysis. Finally, in part three, there are a number of essays examining the countries in Europe and North America from which such investments originated and considering how well the model of the FSC fits the evidence. Virtually all of the studies in the book concern the period from the late nineteenth century through the 1920s; the only essay that purports to cover the entire period from 1830 to 1996 is Geoffrey Jones's piece on British overseas banks, but the section devoted to the latter part of the twentieth century runs to only a few pages, which cannot provide much significant detail. Appropriately, the conclusion to the volume is given over to Wilkins to reflect upon the usefulness of the concept of the FSC as an approach to future research.

In the essays presented here, none of the authors delves very deeply into the internal operations of any FSC, concerning themselves more with compiling lists of these ventures and their backers. Yet empirical details about key business decisions are what can supply much of the illumination. Why did a group of Canadian capitalists acquire the rights to supply electrical and tramway service in São Paulo, Brazil, retaining an American engineer to design a hydroelectric system financed largely by funds raised in Britain, then do the same thing again for Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City? And why incorporate the companies involved in Canada? The answer seems to be that prospective investors preferred ventures legally domiciled within the British Empire rather than lodged in the unfamiliar realms of the Brazilian or Mexican legal code. The bonds could thus be sold more easily to investors in the shires of England. Yet the lax company laws of Canada permitted the original syndicate to operate with relatively little disclosure, while control of a majority of the common shares offered the opportunity for large capital gains if all went well. When trouble with the local authorities did strike, dramatically in the case of the Mexican Revolution after 1911, management might still look to London for some legal and diplo-

matic protection. Seen thus, the vehicle of the FSC made perfect sense.

Certainly the debate about FSCs sparked by Wilkins has led scholars to reconsider important issues. How valid is the commonplace distinction made between "direct" and "portfolio" investment, the former carrying control, the latter intended to earn investment income? Is it true that successful FSCs tended to undergo a "natural" evolution toward the MNE familiar these days? Does the FSC cast serious doubt upon the ability of scholars to determine the precise "nationality" of certain types of foreign investments? Wilkins is to be applauded for starting a debate that might clarify such issues, especially if, along the way, it produces lots of empirical grist for milling by business historians.

CHRISTOPHER ARMSTRONG
York University

ELISABETH W. SOMMER. *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727-1801*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. xvii, 234.

What do the backcountry of eighteenth-century North Carolina and the culture of the early Enlightenment era in Central Europe have in common? Intriguingly, such divergent forces as a frontier society and an intellectual movement that wrought havoc with the traditional beliefs and practices of a young Protestant body, the Moravian Brethren. Although committed to a culture-transcending purity, both settlements registered the impact of their surroundings.

The Moravian Brethren arose under the leadership of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf in eastern Saxony in the 1720s. Their calling was to establish a "simple, Christlike pattern of life." These pietists felt so close to the spiritual Christ that they thought and spoke of him as being right there with them in their common life. This spiritual sense was their defining mark, rather than any doctrinal distinctiveness. They relied on divine direction for making all choices, most dramatically through the use of the lot. They heeded Christ's call to live separate from their neighbors, forming their own spiritual, economic, organizational *Gemeinen*. They were not classic sectarians, however.

Elisabeth W. Sommer's thorough study of this highly literate people steers us through two conflicts that arose within the Brethren movement. The first reflected the encounter between their Christian utopian goals and the privileged status of several early leaders, together with the economic capacities of these skilled artisans and farmers. They were repeating an old pattern, the near impossibility of correlating the goal of simplicity with the actuality of economic know-how and substantial resources. The second, also a legendary pitfall of devout religious groups, was the transmission of a heart-felt faith from the founders to their children's generation. The passing of time revealed

that they were too well off and too "emotional." But their vision was purist, not prudentialist.

Admirably, Sommer keeps true to her profession as an historian, resisting any enticement to a sociological approach. (She makes no reference to Max Weber, R. H. Tawney, Ferdinand Tönnies, or Ernst Troeltsch.) Tenaciously honoring the historical evidence, she has produced a fine study indeed of the evolution of a social group from the firm intent of an original pure vision to adjustments and compromises prompted by circumstances.

The isolated setting of the Moravian community at Salem on the edge of the Anglo-American culture in the western piedmont of North Carolina would seem to have fostered endogamous developments. But that is not what happened. Nor were the other American *Gemeinen*, in Pennsylvania, immune to cooptation by the peoples around them and the emerging independent nation. In fact, the home communities in the German, Polish, and Czech border areas underwent comparable adjustments. Perhaps surprisingly, all these changes took place concurrently. Tersely stated, the "world was too much with" these pious Christians who longed to be "in the world but not of it." Of considerable interest is Sommer's interpretation that the winds of the American revolutionary spirit wafted eastward, contributing to the changes in the small Moravian communities in the heartland of Europe.

Two transformations illustrate the American influence. One was the use of the lot to discern the will of "the Savior." So intimate did the Brethren believe the divine presence to be that they relied on this neutral, group opinion-free device for discerning his leadership. From early days, this method of making community and personal decisions provoked objections; the issue that finally overturned it was the choice of one's mate in marriage. The other transformation had to do with the American idea of freedom, a value that proved to be irresistible. While the faithful continued to seek the divine will, the community moved steadily toward democratic modes for making decisions, most significantly in economic action, both private and corporate.

The international Moravian story is charming and powerful. The Brethren live on in our own time, with special strength in the same Pennsylvania and North Carolina vicinities. We are indebted to Sommer for arduous and skillful work in passing on their story to us.

SAMUEL S. HILL
University of Florida

YUKIKO KOSHIRO. *Trans-Pacific Racisms and the U.S. Occupation of Japan*. (The United States and Pacific Asia: Studies in Social, Economic, and Political Interaction.) New York: Columbia University Press, for the East Asia Institute, Columbia University. 1999. Pp. x, 295. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.50.

Race is a subject that has become laced with postmodernist complexity. In the world of political correctness, antidiscrimination laws, and genetic manipulation, race is a hypersensitive issue that is usually addressed through euphemism, liberally endowed with noble sentiment, and manifested in shape-shifting intangible yet powerful forms.

Racism exists as an object of vehement denial, but its positive existence is elusive. In racism, the historian is confronted with a Sherlock Holmes-type challenge. It is the significance of the dog that did not bark in the night, rather than the one that did, that assumes importance. For a professional historian, this poses a serious dilemma. How is empiricism to be achieved, when the subject is not visible?

This is the challenge tackled by Yukiko Koshiro. In the attempt, the lack of conventional evidence impedes the author somewhat; however in the process she performs the invaluable service of exposing and delineating a hitherto neglected dimension of occupied Japan and the U.S.-Japan relationship.

It is tempting to regard Koshiro's book as taking up the story from John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (1986). However, this is not a fair comparison. Dower's materials were abundant in the form of overtly racist propaganda, for which no apology was regarded necessary in its day. Koshiro is writing of a different world, and her materials are consequently much less accessible and obvious. When read alongside Dower's more recent book, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (1999), and Naoko Shimazu's *Japan, Race and Equality: The Racial Equality Proposal of 1919* (1998), Koshiro's book helps further elucidate Japanese thinking on race in its modern history.

Koshiro commences with the assumption that the race hatred driving the wartime propaganda in both the United States and Japan did not magically disappear on August 15, 1945. The combined impact of the Cold War, and the emotional accommodation involved in establishing a new relationship between former foes, merely diverted explicit expressions of racial bias underground. As Koshiro states, racism became "hidden though tacitly practised" (p. 1). This book is thus a study of a submerged phenomenon, consciously hidden and obliquely discussed.

The impact of Koshiro's analysis is blunt yet powerful. She declares that the distinguishing features of the race dynamic in the postwar U.S.-Japan relationship begin with its mutuality. As she succinctly remarks, "mutual racism . . . lured the two nations into a collaborative acceptance of the existing racial hierarchies of world politics" (p. 8).

A second insightful conclusion drawn by Koshiro is that by accepting a designated, conditional, and limited version of racial equality with the West (represented by the United States), Japan has effectively helped to sustain the unequal logic of race as an indicator of its own relative, inferior status. Koshiro's notion of "the dual racial identity of Japan" sees

Japanese positioned both as a "superior Asian race" relative to other Asians, and as a subordinate relative to the white West. The gradual advent of "culture" in place of the less palatable concept of "race" did not alter the dynamics of mutual racism; it merely gave it an inoffensive sheen.

These ideas may resonate with many readers, but it is the postwar context that causes the reader to pause. How did the logic of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere survive defeat? Koshiro leads us through several avenues of evidence concerning the experience of Japan and the United States in the immediate postwar era in fleshing out her argument. The non-fraternization policy of the U.S. occupation forces, quotas on Japanese emigration to the United States, and the treatment of mixed race children all served to expose the racism inhabiting the substrata of both societies. But gaps emerge when Koshiro addresses "street-level racism." As she points out, "there is very little on record from either American or Japanese sources of their individual racial experiences" (p. 49).

In deconstructing and exposing the unstated rationale behind these specific policies, Koshiro argues that racist thinking was sustained throughout the postwar period because the United States and Japan mutually consented to a conspiracy of silence. While this worked during the Occupation, by the 1980s neither the United States nor an economically rampant Japan needed to maintain the fiction.

In extrapolating the dynamics of Occupation-era bilateral relations through to the 1980s, Koshiro expresses curious optimism: "The recent exchange of hostile racial rhetoric on both sides of the Pacific may not be so much a clash of racist expression as an outlet for the suppressed mutual guilt accumulated over the half-century" (p. 219). Surely Koshiro's evidence suggests that racism within and between these two nations has been based on assumptions of singularity rather than affinity. If racial ideology is in accord in the United States and Japan, it is unidirectional and without self-criticism. Racism is imposed from outside but not practiced within; the "other" should reform, but the call for "guilt" is met at home with a resolute and righteous silence.

This book provides direction for other scholars to follow, having alerted us all to the overwhelming significance of the dissonance beneath the rhetoric of equality and mutual respect in postwar U.S.-Japan relations.

RIKKI KERSTEN
University of Leiden

URSULA LEHMKUHL. *Pax Anglo-Americana: Machtstrukturelle Grundlagen anglo-amerikanischer Asien- und Fernostpolitik in den 1950er Jahren*. (Studien zur internationalen Geschichte, number 7.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1999. Pp. 304.

After a visit to the United States in the summer of 1942, British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Richard Law warned his government in London that the United States would not assume international responsibility for maintaining peace after the war if that implied accepting British leadership. Law was aware that America would become the dominant power in the postwar world, but he was also hopeful that England would continue to play an important international role. His American counterparts had stated repeatedly that Anglo-American cooperation would be essential for a complete solution of the problems of postwar reconstruction.

In her book, Ursula Lehmkuhl returns to Law's wartime predictions. The United States did become the undisputed leader of the Western world but maintained a "special relationship" with Great Britain. Lehmkuhl seeks to explain the foundations of that relationship and to show how Britain used its close ties with the United States to maintain great power status after World War II, despite its serious economic and military predicament.

The basis of British power, the author argues, was not its economic or military capabilities but the country's ability to project itself as the most suitable partner to help in America's worldwide mission to contain communism. American politicians knew that they needed partners in the global confrontation with the Soviet Union in order to avoid an imperial overstretch. Britain was the most likely ally because it shared the same values as the United States and because, as a former colonial power, it possessed first-hand political and economic experience in Asian countries that had become important Cold War battlegrounds. For a decade after the end of World War II, Britain's loss of economic and military power therefore did not translate into an equivalent loss of influence in international politics. The Cold War, in other words, presented England with a bargaining chip in its relations with the United States: "Great Britain did not need fully developed 'bargaining powers' such as issuing military threats . . . in order to advance its interests . . . It was sufficient to know that [the U.S. and Britain] . . . were willing to place their political preferences on the bargaining table" (p. 224). Lehmkuhl concludes that the U.S. and Britain jointly rebuilt the Japanese economy and thereby created a "double hegemony"—hence the book's title. This special relationship ended abruptly with the British and French humiliation during the Suez crisis of 1956. Britain became aware that it was no longer a leading military power and—potentially more devastating—that it could no longer rely on unconditional American support in the pursuit of its foreign policy goals.

Lehmkuhl assembles an impressive array of documents from British and American archives (many of them printed in the appendix) to demonstrate the close proximity between leading representatives of both governments and to show the shifting mutual perceptions during the 1950s. Whereas a State Depart-

ment memorandum of June 1953 stated that "the British are our strongest and most reliable ally" (p. 252), British ambassador Harold Caccia wrote gloomily following the Suez crisis that "something has ended": the "sentimental attachment" created by the wartime experience and England's "largely unquestioned right to a special position" (p. 254).

The argument the author presents about the sources of British power in the postwar period is quite forceful. One has to ask, however, to what extent England was able to pursue its own national interests in East Asia. The debates about the future economic role of Japan suggest that Britain's role as co-hegemon came at the price of downplaying the interests of the Commonwealth; instead the British government acted as a "representative of American interests" (p. 185). The Suez crisis of 1956 (as well as President John F. Kennedy's cancellation of the Multilateral Force a few years later) therefore not only demonstrated the limits of British and French power but also the limited extent to which the Europeans were able to influence American policy during the Cold War.

Lehmkuhl demonstrates that the history of international relations has moved beyond the analysis of diplomatic exchanges and has opened up a fruitful new field in the analysis of cultural exchanges. The book deserves an English translation (and a more detailed index) to make it more easily accessible to American and British readers.

GEORG SCHILD
University of Bonn

RACHEL P. MAINES. *The Technology of Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, number 24.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 181. \$22.00.

Rachel P. Maines's book is a fascinating foray into an under-explored subject: the medicalization of women's orgasm. Throughout centuries of shifting nomenclature, the *lack* of female orgasm—it was rarely called orgasm, the word reserved for male ejaculation—has been called at various times hysteria, "suffocation of the mother," "uterine congestion," pelvic inflammation, hysterical paroxysm, hysteroneurasthenia, and frigidity.

Maine attributes this medicalization of women's orgasm to andocentrism: the belief that heterosexual vaginal penetration within marriage (resulting in male ejaculation) was the only "normal," healthy way for women to reach orgasm. She contends that vaginal sex failed to produce orgasm in more than fifty percent of women across time in Western cultures. This lack was presumed to be the result of the woman's physical (and, later, psychological) abnormalities. But the premise was never questioned that male sexual satisfaction equaled female sexual satisfaction—or the even more blasphemous premise that men might be

inadequate lovers. Pathologizing women's different sexual needs resulted in perceived "symptoms" such as temperamentality and aversion to heterosexual intercourse; female sexual *pleasure* being mistaken for orgasm; women being condemned for masturbating to climax; and male ejaculation heralded as mutually satisfying for both men and women.

Maines traces the medical naming and management of women's "lack" of vaginal orgasm through medical texts, physicians' treatises, their correspondence to professional journals, and the infrequent studies that actually surveyed women and gave them a discernable voice (albeit frequently misinterpreted). She documents hysteria from the medical corpus as early as 2000 B.C. in Egypt, through the abandonment of the term by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952, into the present day. Her extensive use of sources is solid and her analysis of them as texts, technically competent. She charts physicians' and philosophers' beliefs about heterosexual women's sexual responsiveness and its shortcomings.

Unfortunately, Maines's close reading of medical texts is not complemented by an equally diligent reading/analysis of extant relevant work in women's studies/history, or the social history of medicine. The secondary literature enlisted and cited from these fields is skeletal at best (Peter Gay's and Carl Decker's works are noted for their andocentrism and little else). Moreover, the near exclusion of feminist scholarship on this topic produced over the last thirty years impairs Maines's analytic voice. Repeatedly, andocentrism (the presumption that male sexuality and pleasure are the measure of normalcy for *both* men and women) is held accountable for men's perceptions of women's sexual dysfunction: first by husbands, then by cultural commentators, and ultimately by the medical experts who claim knowledge about this condition. Maines lacks the larger historical context within which to situate her work; this context is amply provided by feminist scholarship.

Specifically, Nancy Cott's essay on "Passionlessness . . ." as sexual strategy/ideology; Lillian Faderman's *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (1981); scholarship examining the antisexual rhetoric of female moral reformers in the northeastern United States; Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English's *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (1948); Barbara Welter's important 1975 essay, "The Cult of True Womanhood" (later corrections notwithstanding); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Woman and Her Role in Nineteenth-Century America"; Judith Leavitt's *Brought to Bed* (1986); Jane Donegan's *Hydropathic Highway to Health* (1986), and my own *Wash and Be Healed: The Water-Cure Movement and Women's Health* (1987/92); and Edward Shorters's *From Paralysis to Fatigue: A History of*

Psychosomatic Illness in the Modern Era are either not consulted at all or cited in their dissertation formats before significant revisions and more sophisticated analysis enhanced the authors' interpretations.

This creates frustrating analytic gaps in Maines's narrative. She does not link middle-class Anglo women's embrace of asexuality with the "moral guardianship" and authority that this denial provided them in the nineteenth century. Issues of race and social class, noted briefly in the early pages, are abandoned at crucial points (e.g. the presumed hypersexuality of black slave women goes unaddressed). Finally, the "outing" of the clitoral orgasm since the 1970s is discussed without a mention of the Women's Liberation Movement that emboldened the path-breaking claims that the vaginal orgasm was a myth. These are significant shortcomings.

However, Maines's focus on electromechanical devices is a worthy contribution to the study of the history of technology, albeit devoid of an adequate cultural context. The first battery-operated vibrator was invented by a physician in the 1880s and was advertised in popular American magazines beginning in 1906. Maines also contributes to the ever-growing literature on the medicalization of women's bodies and sexuality. Orgasm, like pregnancy, menses, childbirth, lactation, and menopause, was a medical "crisis" necessitating a physician's guidance and manipulation.

These pseudomedical devices are crucial to understanding the widely noted "masturbation phobia" in nineteenth-century Anglo-American middle-class culture. Unfortunately, Maines does not discuss medical views of "finite amounts of vital energy/nervous force" presumed to be found in sexual fluids and the blood as a primary cause of this masturbation phobia. The antimasturbation rhetoric and surgical procedures used on women who continued to be "self-abusers" put their "relief," literally, into the hands of physicians. Maines briefly discusses most physicians' aversion to manually manipulating women to orgasm, because their "prescription" was that marital penetration ought to relieve their "inflamed parts." Physicians, mostly male (Maines does not mention the role of female physicians on this issue) were loathe to usurp the duties of the husband. Some were troubled by the quasi-medico-moral issues that clitoral stimulation raised and the amount of time needed to massage a female patient to orgasm. This, physicians noted, was not always a successful venture by any means. Thus, physicians' invention and eager adoption of electromechanical devices to "do the job no one wanted" given these factors is compelling. These implements had in their favor three features: the "distancing" when a device was placed between the suffering female and the physician; income from office visits for a female condition only physicians could "relieve"; and much time saved.

Maines's placement of these devices at center stage is indeed innovative. They included water douches,

battery-powered vibrators, vaginal electrodes, mechanical massagers, muscle beaters, and vibrators. She also lends important insights into the medicalized language (or lack thereof) surrounding female orgasm. For example, heterosexual intercourse, experts declare, is disappointing only for "sick" women; the paroxysm, at various times, was called a "shame"; and the "symptoms" of arousal infer that pathology and perversity accompany the *existence* of female sexuality. Her contention that mechanical devices offered "social camouflage" is a strong one. It facilitated the medical status of women's condition and did not cast any aspersions on heterosexual marital "truths."

Maines discusses the factors that made vibrators commercially available to consumers post-1900, which signaled a shift toward "self-treatment" in the home. These include dramatic declines in the costs of devices; the availability of running water and electricity to power these devices in middle-class homes; the large number of women's print magazines in which to advertise them; the female modesty preserved through self-administration; and mail-order shipping. Further, advertisements extolled the healthful aspects of "release," including rest, strength, rejuvenation, and repair. This is a radically different construct than the earlier (medical) claim that the woman requiring the device is defective. Still, in the early twentieth century, these devices did not raise the forbidden topic of (what Maines calls) "male sexual inadequacy." That did not occur until the 1970s. Unfortunately, Maines does not conceptualize these shifting twentieth-century factors with larger social issues: the birth control movement, the widely held middle-class ideal of companionate marriage, or the trading of sexual favors by working-class women for economic "treats."

In a provocative concluding section, Maines challenges the reader to consider the implications of silencing the issue of male sexual inadequacy; the fact that physicians (presumed by Maines to be male) were never charged with providing illegal sexual services through manual manipulation (unlike women who induced male orgasm for money and were classed as criminals); and the faultiness of androcentrism that presumes vaginal penetration as a necessary element to female orgasm. As radical as these claims might seem, imbedded within them are curious silences: not a single mention of lesbian sexuality is part of this discussion. This is a notable omission, given that lesbian sexuality was medically and culturally then defined as the lack of vaginal penetration by an ejaculating male penis. The simultaneous medicalization of lesbian sexuality surely lends valuable insights.

Maines's book is an interesting and innovative text that is at times frustratingly blunted analytically. Her study illuminates a misunderstood and understudied aspect of women's sexuality and its medicalization.

SUSAN E. CAYLEFF
San Diego State University

ASIA

JOHN W. CHAFFEE. *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 183.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University East Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1999. Pp. xx, 441. \$45.00.

In his history of the imperial clan of Sung China (960–1279), John W. Chaffee has made a contribution not only to the study of middle period (tenth through thirteenth century) Chinese history but also to the comparative study of monarchical systems of power. Policies toward the imperial clan are one aspect of the multifaceted institution of emperorship as it evolved in the Sung. By showing how Sung emperors dealt with the complex problem of ever-increasing numbers of imperial kin, Chaffee presents a case study of institutional monarchy while he also relates the particular history of the Sung imperial clan.

Chaffee defines the Sung imperial clan as “a patrilineal kinship group unlimited in its generational depth, supported by the throne through allowances and privileges but also governed by state-imposed restrictions” (p. 3) and asserts that the imperial clan “in the Sung sense” was unique in world history. By this he means that state control, regulation, and support of the Sung imperial clan distinguish it from hereditary rulers’ kin in other monarchical systems. Chaffee also claims that, over the course of the three centuries of Sung rule, there was a “dramatic change in the roles of imperial clansmen” (p. 2). He documents the evolution of the imperial clan between Northern (960–1126) and Southern Sung (1127–1279) “from a group of cloistered kin to a multitude of privileged officials” (p. 17). The transformation of the imperial clan was spatial as well as social, and Chaffee accordingly demonstrates the shift in residency patterns—“from capital to countryside”—that accompanied the social changes he describes.

An important stage in the evolution of the imperial clan came in the late eleventh century with the appearance of the first generation outside the group of kin defined as ritually orthodox mourning relations (those within five degrees of relation to the emperor). A crucial decision was made at this point to allow the expansion of the officially registered imperial clan to include non-mourning kin. These non-mourning kin would no longer be granted names and titular offices but would be allowed to take the civil service examinations (as mourning kin were not), even though they were still relegated to holding minor official posts. This decision created the conditions for the enormous growth of the clan, and it also opened up the opportunity for clan members to be appointed to offices in the bureaucracy. By far the greatest change in the status of the imperial clan, however, came with the loss of the north to the Jurchen Chin state in the early twelfth century and the relocation of the capital to the south. Joining the southward flood of immigrants,

some members of the imperial clan were able to reestablish themselves among local elite society in the south and even gain relatively high positions in the bureaucracy. An extreme example of this was the appointment of Chao Ju-yü (1140–1196), an eighth-generation descendant of Emperor T’ai-tsung (r. 976–997), to the position of chief councilor in the late twelfth century.

The most interesting and dramatic part of this story comes with the creation of clan centers in the southern port cities of Fu-chou and Ch’üan-chou and the settlement of many clan families outside these centers in places such as the southeastern coastal city of Ming-chou. Chaffee’s account of the activities of clan members in the maritime economy and society of thirteenth-century Ch’üan-chou is perhaps the richest part of his narrative. He skillfully weaves together social, economic, political, and cultural history in this last section of the book and achieves a compelling depth here that may be possible because of fortuitously preserved sources, including the recent discovery of a sunken ship that has been shown to belong to the imperial clan.

As Chaffee points out, an ironic aspect of this study is the relative lack of interest in the imperial clan in the centuries following the Sung, despite voluminous historical documentation of a group that stood in many ways at the pinnacle of Sung society. Chaffee’s work redresses this omission, making use not only of standard historical sources but also—like many other historians of China in his generation—utilizing rich biographical material contained in epitaphs. Chaffee has ventured into an area of investigation that has social as well as political ramifications, expanding our knowledge of family in the Sung while providing insight into the inner workings of the imperial government and the meaning of emperorship. Like his path-breaking work on education and the examination system, this definitive study adds an essential piece of the political and social history of the Sung. Supporting matter includes an extensive list of clan members identified by a somewhat cumbersome method, though admittedly I cannot suggest a better way to handle this. One minor, but persistent, error is the misspelling of “descendant” throughout.

LINDA WALTON
Portland State University

MATTHEW H. SOMMER. *Sex, Law, and Society in Late Imperial China*. (Law, Society, and Culture in China.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 413. \$55.00.

During the last decade, an intellectual earthquake has rumbled through Chinese legal history. Aptly, its epicenter has been Los Angeles, where a number of scholars and graduate students in the history department at the University of California, Los Angeles—Matthew H. Sommer among them—have managed to shake the foundations of decades of received wisdom

about Chinese law, particularly during the Qing dynasty (1644-1911). Whereas previous legal scholarship on Chinese law focused on criminal law, and the near absence of litigation in civil matters, thanks to this new scholarship we now know that civil law was also important, that ordinary people frequently sued on another, and that lively debates took place about the role of law in politics and society. In China, as in the West, law was used, abused, and contested. The idea of Chinese as nonlitigious "consensus-seekers" can be safely laid to rest.

Entering into this paradigmatic revolution is Sommer's meticulously researched and highly original study of yet another important dimension of Chinese law in the Qing dynasty: the regulation of sexuality (hetero and homosexual). The Qing dynasty, he argues, marked a "watershed" (p. 9) in the regulation of sex. Based upon a close reading of Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasty statutes and over 600 legal cases (in addition to popular fiction, legal handbooks, treatises, and more), Sommer finds that the Qing prohibited prostitution, criminalized homosexual rape, and prosecuted rape only if a woman could prove "impeccable chastity" (p. 89). They also increased the penalties for "consensual illicit sexual intercourse" and greatly expanded the imperial "chastity cult." Older dynastic laws anticipated some of this legislation, such as the 1587 Ming law demanding that women who were raped prove both chastity and coercion, but the overall thrust of the Qing sexual regime was new. In the pre- and early Qing legal imagination, Chinese society was neatly divided into commoners (free-holding, settled peasants) and elites on the one hand, and debased or "mean" status groups (musicians, prostitutes, slaves) on the other. Expectations of proper sexual behavior were set according to one's inherited status, what Sommer calls "status performance." Prostitution, he points out, was tolerated and even seen as necessary to the social order, as long as it was practiced by the debased status groups. This changed dramatically with the Yongzheng Emperor's 1723 "Emancipation Proclamation," which removed the very notion of debased status. In a brushstroke, China was juridically transformed into a country of commoner peasants, all supposedly equal under the law.

While some scholars took this "emancipation" as signaling actual imperial intent, Sommer argues that this was not the case. Sommer cites Yongsheng himself preclaiming that reforms were intended to "extend the transformation of values" (p. 264), shorthand for cultural reform. His goal was to extend elite and commoner standards of sexual morality and practice to the formerly debased groups, not "liberate" them. All groups "were expected to conform to gender roles strictly defined in terms of marriage" (p. 5), what Sommer calls "gender performance." Anyone outside of this commoner-based standard (such as the now criminalized prostitutes, unmarried males, promiscuous females) was subject to greater surveillance. He makes the entirely novel argument that the Yongzheng

reforms were "an extension of the reach of penal law" (p. 272).

But what prompted this critical shift? Previous works on the Qing have attributed this sexual regime to sexual prudishness or outright homophobia. Not so, Sommer argues. In part, the Qing reforms were intended to achieve better congruence between law and social reality. Commercialization led to a more mobile society and fluid social structure, making it impossible to maintain the "legal fiction" (p. 211) that each group in society behaved according to status-based criteria. But the other, more important reason, Sommer argues, was the real threat to the sexual and social order posed by the swelling numbers of poor young males who could not afford to marry and therefore remained outside of the family order. They were rootless and mobile, and the judiciary envisioned them as dangerous sexual predators (threatening the sexual monopoly of husbands, the chastity of widows, and, in cases of sodomy, the masculinity of male adolescents) and potential rebels. This was not paranoia, as not a few rebel movements in China attracted these men. In his legal cases, Sommer finds that most sex-related crimes in the Qing involved these unmarried young men.

This book will become a landmark in the study of sex, law, and society in late imperial China. For social historians, the book will be particularly interesting for the richness of the legal cases and the microscopic vantage point on the lives of ordinary people during the Qing. It will also interest those working on rape, sodomy, and prostitution legislation in other periods of Chinese history and other countries. At the same time, however, Sommer's deep immersion in legal cases has certain limitations. He could have devoted more attention to documenting the precise dimensions of the demographic crisis that is his main cause for the change in legal regimes. Was the brouhaha over unmarried males real, or did it occur mainly in the imagination of the judiciary? He also could have conducted a rough "test" of his argument through comparative analysis. For instance, have other legal systems (such as Hindu or Islamic) and societies shifted from status to gender-based standards for evaluating proper or legal sexual behavior in response to similar demographic pressures? If not, is the argument confined to the unique circumstances of Qing dynasty China?

These questions in no way diminish Sommer's achievement. His impeccable scholarship and great sensitivity to the vicissitudes of life on the margins have brought to life a topic that has often been obscured by stereotypes and idealized images. No reader will emerge from reading this book with the same ideas about "Chinese values," the "Chinese family," or sexuality in China with which they began it.

NEIL J. DIAMANT
Tel Aviv University and
University of Pittsburgh

NORMAN KUTCHER. *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 210. \$64.95.

Norman Kutcher has written an engaging and provocative book about personal and political aspects of mourning in seventeenth and eighteenth-century China. It is engaging because it makes imaginative use of the expressions of loss and grief that accompanied the rise of ritualism. It is provocative because it demands that we take such personal expressions seriously as data in the increasingly complex discussion of ritual, scholarship, and politics in this period. With his extensive use of imperial archives as well as published literary and administrative documents, Kutcher forces us not only to consider the emotional crises of individuals who survived the widespread death and destruction of civil war and conquest but also to analyze the boundaries of "acceptable discourse" about death and mourning that unfolded during the decades surrounding these events.

From early Ming to mid-Qing times, making and breaking rules of mourning was an imperial prerogative, Kutcher argues, but by late Ming times scholar-officials began to presume this prerogative as a right of individuals in general. The concept of *qing*, or "emotion," which played a large role in late Ming thought and literary culture, also appeared in discussions of mourning, where the orthodox rules of Zhu Xi's twelfth-century *Family Rituals* seemed to hamper the expression of feelings they were intended to draw out. Also important to the unfolding discourse were the official rules governing *duoqing*, suspension of the prescribed twenty-seven-month mourning period, which traditionally the emperor could grant only to officials engaged in crucial military campaigns. When the great Ming grand secretary and reformer Zhang Juzheng was allowed to "mourn at his post" without such a reason, the case served to define political factions that contended until the fall of the Ming in 1644.

The discourse on mourning continued to unfold after the Qing conquest. Kutcher introduces case studies involving clear conflicts between demands of filial piety and loyalty to the throne. As scholar-officials whom the emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong favored and whose services they deemed indispensable sought leave to mourn parents, the emperors demanded they "mourn at their posts." Yet the emperors themselves took personal mourning seriously. Empathizing professionally with officials and emperors alike, Kutcher argues persuasively that contradiction, diversity, and discord were the norm. Significantly, the term *duoqing* disappeared from the discourse under Yongzheng as mourning at one's post became ensconced in administrative rule and bureaucratic procedure. Also significantly, Qianlong managed nominally to outlaw mourning at one's post while in practice insisting that officials finish their business

before taking leave. Ironically, when the influential statesman Chen Hongmou recommended a strict law against leaving parental corpses unburied for inordinate amounts of time, the imperial grand councilor Ortai prevailed with the subterfuge that only ritual, which healed and nourished, and not law, which coerced and punished, could solve the problem.

To hold this study together, Kutcher makes a case for the demise of what he calls the "parallel conception of society," meaning the world view in which loyalty to the state emanated from filial piety. While emperors continued to invoke the idea, practice changed. This argument will be contested from many angles, as will Kutcher's speculations concerning the role of survivor guilt and displacement in early Qing scholars' attention to mourning ritual, but the contributions are manifold. The detailed account of the crisis of state in 1748 occasioned by careless officials' failure to observe a less than explicit no-shaving rule when the emperor believed they shared his grief at the loss of his empress is compelling. In addition, the book addresses the relationship between the rise of ritualism and the seemingly contrary development of *kaozheng*, or "evidential scholarship." Kutcher acknowledges his debt to Benjamin Elman's *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (1984), which shows how *kaozheng* set the parameters for scholarly discourse across the Qing empire in the eighteenth century. But he agrees with Kai-wing Chow's significant revision in *The Rise of Confucian Ritualism in Late Imperial China: Ethics, Classics, and Lineage Discourse* (1994), which argues that *kaozheng* was more a means used by scholars to restore the purity of ritual than a progressive end. Beyond Chow, he argues that ritualism owed as much to the unfolding conflict between filial piety and loyalty since the late Ming as it did to conflict between scholars and the alien Qing regime. This book should be read by all who are interested in late imperial culture and politics.

JERRY DENNERLINE
Amherst College

SUSAN MANN. *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 326. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95.

Susan Mann's study has already been universally praised both as a provocative addition to the historical understanding of late imperial China and as an important contribution to the wider field of gender studies. Focusing on women and their writings in the period from the final consolidation of the Qing dynasty in 1683 to the outbreak of the Opium Wars in 1839, she aims to elucidate the actual thoughts and feelings of the women of the time, and to qualify the "distortions of the male gaze" that have hitherto informed the prevailing discourse on the history of the high Qing era.

We are reminded, to begin with, that more than

1,500 of the almost 3,000 extant Qing literary works by women date from this period. Most of these were produced in the lower Yangtze region, and perhaps seventy percent of them consist of poetry. Although these often brilliant works are somewhat conventional in theme, and are the products of women of the leisured class, Mann uses them skillfully both to site a wider spectrum of women at the center of eighteenth-century history in China and to raise new historiographical questions.

The corpus of women's writing, she suggests, challenges the longstanding paradigm of a smooth Ming-Qing continuum by emphasizing the cultural disruption of the Manchu conquest. Similarly, and in a different vein, she points out that however excellent they may be, the formulations of such leading theorists on gender and patriarchy as Gerda Lerner, Joan Kelly, and Joan Wallach Scott are inevitably ethnocentric. In premodern China, such factors as women's social space, the universality not just of marriage but of women "marrying out" of their natal families, along with the resultant nature of wife-husband relations demonstrate that China and the Confucian culture-world must be approached on their own terms.

Mann's book is wide in scope. In view of the social and regional restrictions of her sources, her treatment is surprisingly comprehensive. Beginning with careful reflections on her own methodology and on the meaning of gender in eighteenth-century China, she proceeds to examine the female life cycle and integrates women's life course with discussions of their writings and of their economic roles in the agrarian and urban economies, in the entertainment quarters, and in their own inner lives.

This approach yields numerous insights. We learn, for instance, that the "inner quarters" where elite women spent so much of their lives were seldom as calm and tranquil as they have often been portrayed. We learn of the constraints and pressures that women needed to transcend in their writing and how the societally ingrained moral authority of the mother meant that most women wrote for the edification of their sons. Little expression of sexuality and female desire is evident in the extant works, and we can only speculate on how much was lost in the literary inquiries of the Qianlong emperor. One thing made very clear by Mann's subjects, however, is the central role of Buddhism in the community life, domestic regime, and individual spirituality of persons of the high Qing era. We discern only glimpses of this fact in the writings of Confucian male literati.

These are but a few of Mann's perceptions, and her chapter on women's work, for instance, is worthy of a separate review. By filling a critical gap between Dorothy Ko's *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (1994) and Ono Kazuko's *Chinese Women in a Century of Revolution, 1850-1950* (1989), Mann has made possible a coherent teaching curriculum in the history of Chinese women. Her work will also lead scholars to think again

about that part of the Chinese population previously voiceless in the interpretation of the Ming-Qing era and in the transition from empire to republic.

R. W. L. GUISSO

University of Toronto

GREGOR BENTON. *New Fourth Army: Communist Resistance along the Yangtze and the Huai, 1938-1941*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 949. \$80.00.

This is a very important book. It describes events in the Yangzi (Yangze) Valley that culminated in a key episode during the Anti-Japanese War, when the headquarters of the Communist-controlled New Fourth Army, operating under the fragile United Front between the Guomindang government of China and the Chinese Communist Party, was destroyed. This was the South Anhui Incident, and it was significant in several ways. The destruction was engineered by the Guomindang, and thus marked the end of the United Front and any pretense of unity in the Chinese struggle against Japan. It also marked the final triumph of Mao Zedong's form of communism in China, and there is a strong implication that Mao's headquarters in Yanan helped to facilitate the debacle. Finally, it brought to an end the broad popular alliance for resistance that the New Fourth Army had led in the rich lower Yangzi Valley, among peasants, intellectuals, and the wealthy, which differed from the harsh class struggle favored by Mao in the poverty-stricken northwest. Each of the elements foreshadowed terrible future developments for China: the Civil War between the Guomindang and the Communists, the autocratic and eventually totalitarian rule of Mao, and the bitter class warfare that later engulfed China under his rule.

This key episode has been little discussed in the past, by either the Guomindang or the Communist side. Both have much to hide about the way that a fine and courageous body of people was eliminated. Gregor Benton has done an enormous service in bringing this story to light. To cope with the complexity of the story, the book is organized into different sections, with the bulk of the material falling in two sections: "Themes" and "Narratives." Benton's research is staggering and comprehensive. His sources include much material that has only come to light in the last two decades, since the Communist Party of China relaxed its iron grip on history and historical sources.

Having noted Benton's great research achievement, however, I must go on to say that, in its present form, the book cannot reach the wide audience of nonspecialists, especially people who are not experts on China but still want to know about the war in China, that its subject deserves. It is very long (over 900 pages) and heavy, both physically and in terms of presentation. The bibliography alone is a hundred pages long. Twenty-four different people called Li are mentioned, twenty-six called Chen; in each case only one is really important (Li Zongren, a major military commander

on the non-Communist side, and Chen Yi, one of the leading military figures on the Communist side). Only someone who already knows the story well could keep them sorted out. The book's style is referred to by William Jenner, in the introduction, as "dissection under the microscope." It could also be called refusing to give up any detail gleaned from research for the price of readability. What the book badly needs is another, abridged version, which would make it accessible for the great majority of potential readers who do not know the story but should.

A second element that an abridged version should include is more background. The New Fourth Army lost its headquarters at the depths of the Anti-Japanese War. The United Front itself was a product of Japanese aggression, and the failure of the United Front was one of the key reasons why Chinese resistance against the Japanese was weakened. And yet the Japanese hardly appear in this book.

I hope that the idea of an abridged version may be taken seriously, because it would be tragic to see the product of so much detailed, painstaking, and passionate research remain available only to the few scholars who can make their way through the dense and lengthy text.

DIANA LARY

University of British Columbia

JIN QIU. *The Culture of Power: The Lin Biao Incident in the Cultural Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 279. \$45.00.

The Cultural Revolution in China remains one of the most baffling events in recent Chinese history. Despite an increasing body of excellent research, much is still poorly understood in terms of the motivations of key participants. This is especially the case with respect to the death of Lin Biao, Mao Zedong's chosen successor, who according to official accounts died in a plane crash in Mongolia after trying to flee following a failed coup. How do we explain that China's top military figure, whose prowess on the battlefield was crucial in bringing the Communist Party to power in 1949, could have been so naïve to have turned against Mao, when he must have known that he could not win? Why would he have tried to flee to the Soviet Union of all places?

The increased availability of original sources in post-Mao China and the access to many of the participants in such events have allowed researchers to begin to answer a number of the conundrums. In so doing, they provide more plausible answers than either Chinese official accounts or those Western accounts that view the Cultural Revolution as a principled struggle over policy and the future of the revolution. Jin Qiu is in an ideal position to research the demise of Lin Biao, being the daughter of one of Lin's senior generals, air force chief Wu Faxian. She unabashedly notes that she began her research in order to clear her father, who was put on trial in 1980–1981 as a counterrevolutionary, together with others purged in the Cultural Rev-

olution, including Mao's wife Jiang Qing. Qiu combines her privileged access to key survivors and unpublished materials with secondary sources to provide a highly informative and persuasive account of what might have happened.

Essentially, she shows that Lin Biao and his fellow generals never had any intention of challenging Mao and certainly did not plan a coup d'état. The Lin Biao that emerges from these pages is sickly and passive. In fact, even when he knew that Mao was probably going to purge him, he did not rouse himself to fight back. This passive Lin is a far cry from the active conspirator portrayed in official accounts. While Qiu does acknowledge that policy differences between Mao and Lin slowly emerged, they were not decisive in causing the split. In fact, she makes it quite clear that both Mao and Zhou Enlai knew that Lin was not engaged in some underhand plot and that he did not wish to usurp Mao's position nor turn the military against the party.

So what does explain these extraordinary events? To find the answer, Qiu takes us into the inner sanctuaries of Chinese politics and stresses the role of "extra-institutional" factors in the politics of the Cultural Revolution. She uses this micro view to recast our understanding of the macropolitics of the time. It is a world of a paranoid patriarch, a dysfunctional family, scheming wives, sycophants, and unruly children. Qiu blows away some of the fancy metatheorizing by showing how much of what happened was the response to palace intrigues and family enmities and jealousies. Insofar as there was a plot, it was pondered by Lin's ambitious son, Lin Ligu. The son used his famous father to push his own career in the air force and to build a loose association of officers who were willing to fantasize about killing Mao and setting up their own regime. In major part, Ligu saw this a response to the impending purge of his father. However, the plan was farcical and seemed to represent nothing more than youthful swagger and bravado.

Despite her access, even Qiu cannot answer for us what really happened on the ill-fated flight on September 12–13, 1971. Clearly, when the plane took off there was no intention to fly to the Soviet Union; rather Dalian in Northeast China was Lin's destination, and perhaps we shall never know what transpired. More importantly, Qiu has difficulty in explaining why Mao did turn against Lin so dramatically. While she does an excellent job of placing the specific events in the broader context of the unfolding Cultural Revolution, she relies on some rather simplistic writings drawn from psychology to explain the actions of an impatient, paranoid Mao. She concludes that what eventually brought his downfall was Lin's refusal to write a self-criticism following the Second Plenum of August 1970. Mao's patience appears to have worn out after a year, and he decided to remove Lin from the scene. The tragedy of Lin's flight and death was the result of Mao's paranoia and the machinations of a dysfunc-

tional family. Fancy theory it may not be, but it seems closer to the truth than many other accounts.

TONY SAICH
Harvard University

MARK RAVINA. *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 278. \$45.00.

Scholars on both sides of the Pacific have long debated the nature of the early modern order in Japan. They have dubbed it variously "centralized feudalism," a "federation," the "Tokugawa state," the *bakuh* state (a combination of *bakufu* and *han*, or domains), and the "flamboyant state," among others. Adding to this discourse is Mark Ravina, who offers a different model. Using Mizubayashi Takeshi's "revisionist" term, he argues that Japan during the years 1600–1868 is best explained as a "compound state." Focusing on the large domains of the "country-holding" daimyo, who were eighteen in number and whose territories comprised one-third of the territory of Japan, Ravina maintains that they functioned as autonomous states even as they acknowledged the legitimacy and authority of the Tokugawa *bakufu*. Japan was, in short, a collectivity of states within a state (here Ravina makes useful analogies with late eighteenth-century Prussia). The perspective adopted is important in that it takes the political order on its own terms and declines to view it as an imperfect precursor to the nation-state—a problem with some other studies. But Ravina also contends that below this group of eighteen "we can discern a more amorphous category of powerful lords and great domains . . . [which] manifested many of the same qualities" (p. 3). Although beyond the bounds of the present book, future work on some of these other domains is necessary to support that assertion.

The stated purpose of this work, which is written in fluid, felicitous prose, is to "examine the political implications of demographic change and protoindustrial development" (p. 9). In situating his study during the mid-Tokugawa period, Ravina is a part of a trend in recent scholarship that has concerned itself with this previously "dead" period. A political economy approach allows him to examine how daimyo rule was shaped by conflicting obligations (e.g. between the commoners he ruled and the samurai retainers who served him) and points to the ambiguous boundaries of daimyo autonomy.

Ravina aptly focuses on three of the eighteen largest or "country-holding" daimyo. These three domains point to the range of conditions in early modern Japan: Yonezawa, with a large samurai population and a commercial economy; Hirosaki, with a large samurai population and an underdeveloped economy; and Tokushima, which stands in sharp contrast to Hirosaki, with a small samurai population and a highly commercialized economy.

In examining how daimyo rule was situated in relation to shogunal authority, Ravina identifies three

bases for authority: feudal, patrimonial, and suzerain. Suzerain authority, the autonomy of the lord in civil affairs, was only one strand of political practice, however. Feudal authority tied daimyo and shogun as well as retainer and daimyo (including the shogunal house as the largest daimyo) but did not give the shogunate suzerainty over commoners outside its own holdings. Patrimonial authority could be a source of tension, since retainers subsumed their patrimony into the daimyo's household or house; as a result, a retainer could legitimately work to depose a lord who acted against the best interest of the house.

These multiple sources of legitimacy became a source of conflict and struggle that are examined in the three case studies. In each of these, Ravina takes a fiscal approach, since taxes were "the central link between state and society" (p. 24). Domain governments struggled to find a balance between the demands of their retainers for revenue and the resistance of their commoners to taxes; that balance was deeply affected by demographic factors and protoindustrialization, both of which the domains tried to influence or control. Yonezawa relied on patrimonial and suzerain authority to promote weaving among its samurai retainers; this was an activity that ran contrary to much samurai tradition but was called for by the lord as a form of service to his house (to help his retainers provide for themselves) as well as service in the interests of the lord's people (since it would obviate the need for higher taxes that might cause peasant contention). In Hirosaki, invocations of patrimonial and suzerain authority were similarly invoked in an abortive effort to promote samurai farming, i.e. to resettle retainers in the countryside where they could support themselves. (Programs in both domains provoked resistance from retainers whose patrimonial authority was challenged by these policies.) Lastly, in Tokushima, the daimyo's attempts to promote the domain's export crop of indigo, and to secure its reputation, led to conflict with the *bakufu*; the Tokugawa sought to invoke feudal authority in arguing that Tokushima, in its efforts to oppose *bakufu*-supported cartels in Osaka, had no authority to act independently. Still, in an interesting twist, Tokushima officials were willing to draw the *bakufu* in to domain politics when their own patrimonial perquisites were challenged by an adopted lord.

Clearly this book will not end the debate about the early modern order, nor will the term "compound state," in my estimation, find universal acceptance as the defining term for it. Yet the term, importantly, points to the multilayered bases of political authority that differentiated the early modern from the modern state. Ravina's study makes a sophisticated argument about the nature of Tokugawa politics and the political economy that greatly enriches existing discourse.

CONSTANTINE N. VAPORIS
University of Maryland-Baltimore County

ADEEB KHALID. *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia*. (Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies, number 27.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xx, 335. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.00.

Modernizing and reformist trends appeared in several parts of the Islamic world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mostly under the impact, direct or indirect, of contacts with European colonial empires. Notable examples are to be found in the history of Iran and the Ottoman lands, as well as of Muslim peoples under British, French, and Dutch rule. Such movements have received substantial scholarly attention in recent years. A similar phenomenon occurred in Central Asia, which was incorporated into the tsarist empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. The latter development, however, has been largely neglected. This is not entirely surprising. The reformist movement here was quite short-lived and fragmented. It had very little infrastructural support, emerging in the face of considerable opposition from the local rulers, the colonial administration, and conservative Muslim clerics. Under these conditions, it is not surprising that it had scarcely progressed beyond a rudimentary level when it was abruptly terminated by the imposition of Soviet rule in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Thereafter, Soviet scholars either ignored the history of Muslim reform in Central Asia or depicted it in a wholly negative light. Researchers from the West (very few scholars from Islamic countries evinced any interest in this subject) had almost no first-hand access to primary sources from the period and were thus unable to present a convincing alternative interpretation. Also, they tended to examine this episode mainly in the light of Central Asian-Russian confrontation, with very little understanding of the broader context of social and economic ferment in the region. Consequently, their analysis was almost always very superficial.

Adeeb Khalid's new book is a most welcome addition to the (meager) scholarly literature on the subject. Based on a doctoral thesis, it is a meticulous and wide-ranging study. It draws on an impressive range of primary sources, including a large number in the languages of the region. The bibliography also attests to a thorough familiarity with secondary literature on the subject. The theoretical framework is sound, rooted in recent sociological thinking on the phenomenology of cultural change and interchange. This furnishes the author with useful and appropriate tools with which to penetrate the complexities of what was, in effect, an extraordinary intellectual transition. Arguments are lucidly presented and illustrated by appropriate citations from contemporary works. If there is a criticism to be made of this otherwise excellent book, it is that there is too little attempt to locate Central Asian reformist thinking in the history of other modernizing trends in Islam of a similar period. A comparative approach of this type would have deep-

ened our understanding of the developments in Central Asia: comparisons and contrasts with movements elsewhere would have provided a yardstick against which to measure the Central Asian achievement and thereby to assess its dimensions more effectively. Perhaps future studies will examine this aspect of the subject in more detail.

The structure of the present book is clear and logical. The parameters of the work are concisely set out in a fluently written introduction. This is followed by separate chapters devoted to the historical background, such as "The Making of a Colonial Society" and "The Origins of Jadidism," as well as to discussions of broader themes such as "Knowledge and Society in the Nineteenth Century," "Knowledge as Salvation," and "The Politics of Admonition." The work is rounded off by an epilogue that sums up the period under review and looks ahead to developments under Soviet rule.

Factual information (some of it very difficult to find in other sources) on publications, associations, and individuals is complemented by nuanced discussions of, for example, Russian policies toward Central Asia in general and toward Islam in particular; hierarchical ranking and social bonds within Central Asian society; and notions of civility and sociability. There is, too, a thoughtful mapping of the intellectual fabric of society, with extended comments on such topics as the transmission of knowledge and perceptions of the purpose of education; literacy levels and reading practices; the transformation of cultural production (for example, by the introduction of print) and the creation of the new areas of public space (for example, the theater) that was precipitated by the colonial impact. The three final chapters, tracing the political awakening of Central Asia, are characterized by original and thought-provoking insights. They provide a good foundation for exploring the revival of the national debate that emerged with the collapse of the Soviet Union in the late twentieth century. In all, this is a book that must count as essential reading for any student of Central Asian affairs.

SHIRIN AKINER

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

JANE DRAKARD. *A Kingdom of Words: Language and Power in Sumatra*. (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 322. \$45.00.

Southeast Asia has proven to be fertile ground for those seeking to show the cultural variability of the state. Scholars who know the literature on the state in Southeast Asia will find the argument of this book thoroughly familiar. The setting is the Minangkabau world (*Alam Minangkabau*), a matrilineal society well covered by anthropological research. About Minangkabau kingship and statecraft, however, little had been written until now.

Jane Drakard draws her analysis from three sources: almost a score of royal letters from the nineteenth century that had not been previously analyzed as a genre; royal letters from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries written to the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC); and European observations, also from the latter period and gleaned from published reports and archival sources. Drakard shows not only how Minangkabau rulers exercised influence over their subjects but also how the Dutch misunderstood this influence, at times overestimating it and at other times underestimating it, but in any case presuming that kingly power and statecraft there could be understood and measured in the same terms as those used to gauge European states.

The Minangkabau heartland, situated in an upland region, was a gold-producing center that Europeans knew first through rumor. Minangkabau communities also dotted both of Sumatra's coasts, and it was through these that inland rulers exercised some control over trade. The Dutch first presumed they would find a single, powerful ruler whom they could control or influence for their own mercantile purposes. Instead, they gradually perceived a society riven into two great moieties and numerous matrilineal clans, and also a kingdom in which kingship was more often contested than not. The lines of authority between the upland center and the coastal settlements, furthermore, were rather weak. (Meanwhile, Minangkabau rulers had begun to speak of the Dutch as *their* subjects or representatives.) The Dutch, increasingly embroiled in and frustrated by the constant politicking, guessed that they were witnessing a polity in decline, one that was merely a pale glimmer of its past glory.

Drakard, however, is struck by the continuities among the historical traces of this polity that begin in the fourteenth century with the inscriptions of a ruler named Adityavarman and continue in the so-called seal letters (*surat cap*) that nineteenth-century rulers, now fully caught in an expanding colonial net, sent to their subjects on the coast. These formulaic letters often correspond word for word with each other for long passages. They typically begin with pious references to Allah and trace the sender's descent from Alexander the Great. They assert a divine mandate to rule, describing the ruler as a conduit for God's blessings and justice. The letters go on to enumerate the regalia and heirlooms of the royal line. Here, as elsewhere in Indonesia, heirlooms and regalia are not just the symbols or trappings of power; they are themselves supernaturally charged, and possessing them increases a ruler's power. Finally, the letters often remind readers that the ruler's enemies risk being ruined by his ability to curse them. Carefully saved as heirlooms and no doubt repeatedly read aloud, these letters were also constructed to be visually compelling. Scribes produced blocks of careful script, then framed the whole with annotated seals of the royal line and those of its allies or relatives.

It was the hubristic hyperbole of these letters that

repulsed the Calvinistic Dutch, especially after they saw that Minangkabau rulers could not command and control subjects as the Dutch wished. Profuse, hollow titles such as "Emperor of the World" and "King over All Kings" sounded delusionary, or perhaps just laughable. What the Dutch missed, Drakard thinks, is the extent to which Minangkabau power, such as it was, rested on supernatural authority, including the idea that words themselves—as oaths and curses, or in stunningly beautiful letters—could influence and awe people.

Although the Minangkabau and their rulers were mostly Muslim after the sixteenth century, Drakard thinks the kind of statecraft they practiced was similar to the pattern laid down centuries before in Southeast Asia when, following an Indic model, Hindu-Buddhist cosmologies propped up the divine right of kings. Other historians may well take issue with this continuity thesis. Drakard cracks a few old chestnuts (such as the idea that the Minangkabau had three kings, and that succession in the seventeenth century was patrilineal instead of matrilineal) that probably will not please some local historians, but she has written the book from which all future discussions of Minangkabau kingship will surely begin. Concise and clear, and built on careful scholarship, the book also extends the arguments about Southeast Asian states—variously termed theater states, mandalas, or galactic polities—by showing how words and rhetoric, not just ceremony and artifacts, shored up royal authority, at least in this Sumatran instance of the type.

RITA SMITH KIPP
Kenyon College

ALFRED W. MCCOY. *Closer Than Brothers: Manhood at the Philippine Military Academy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 425. \$40.00.

Alfred W. McCoy has presented scholars of recent Philippine history and those who study military elites on a comparative basis with a well-researched, dynamic, and engrossing monograph that is difficult to put down. However, as someone interested in the Philippines, I believe there are certain areas that could stand further examination. While some of these are touched upon by McCoy, more elucidation would have enhanced our understanding of the Philippine Military Academy classes of 1940 and 1971.

McCoy's family background is U.S. military and West Point. It was perhaps somewhat natural for him to be curious as to why many postwar Philippine Military Academy (PMA) graduates, especially from the class of 1971, were willing tools of the Marcos-era repression while the class of 1940 abstained—for the most part—from partisan politics and threats of coup d'état during the chaotic days of the 1950s.

PMA's graduates of 1940 were the first four-year students at the newly established academy designed to create an officer corps that would serve the state rather than become agents for partisan politics in the soon-

to-be-independent Philippines. We learn that young men from all over the Philippines (some barely eighteen years old) entered PMA, having passed an entrance test; that they took the traditions and curriculum of West Point, which PMA used initially, and in quick time offered their own traditions; that as graduates they fought against the Japanese; and that they strove in postindependence Philippines to hold fast to the ideals absorbed at PMA in the face of increasingly partisan politics. They became closer than brothers because of PMA and their wartime experiences. They banded together in war and peacetime to protect and nurture each other where possible according to the dictates of conscience formed at PMA.

It seems that more could be learned about the class of 1940 if we knew where they went to high school, who were their teachers, whether they met members (especially officers) of the American-established Philippine Constabulary or the Philippine Scouts (which was a prewar Filipino fighting force in the American army). Why? Those 120 young men were educated as youngsters in a milieu of the American ethos of fair play, rule of law, and the supremacy of the civilian over the military. Moreover, did they enter the academy solely because it was the ladder of success for the sons of the poor and middle-class families? They must have been aware that Japan was threatening the peace in Asia when they entered the academy in 1936. By 1940, war was imminent, and yet they did not flinch at the prospect of defending their country and supporting constitutional authority at the cost of their lives.

The class of 1971 left PMA when the Filipino polity was under assault by President Ferdinand Marcos, who was seeking any means to extend his presidency. By the time they were teenagers, most must have seen bitter provincial politics leading to the killing or maiming of politicians and innocent bystanders. They could not have been blind to the corruption and civil strife in the Philippines starting in the early 1950s. Did the trauma of the war and Japanese army brutalizing Filipinos rub off on their teachers and parents? The sad tale of the class of 1971 sinking to torturing countrymen and murdering many at the behest of one political leader leaves us wondering if we must look beyond their years at PMA. McCoy details the class of 1971's subservience to Marcos's reign of terror and later their efforts to seize power from him in order to substitute themselves and certain civilians as leaders of the nation. It seems to me, however, that the war and communist-led Huk rebellion created a milieu that made Marcos and his brutal repression, as well as the coopting of the PMA's graduates, especially the class of 1971, tolerable to the officer corps.

This reviewer's wishes for further elucidation aside, McCoy has written an important study explaining why one PMA class—within the context of the Filipino political scene—remained loyal to the ideal of military officers staying out of politics while another class attached itself to a dictator and then after his removal tried through coup attempts to thwart nascent Filipino

democratic practices. The class of 1971 was closer than brothers in its acquiescence and support of divergence from the ideals that formed the class of 1940. It is a painful story well told.

MICHAEL PAUL ONORATO
California State University,
Fullerton

PETER JACKSON. *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 367. \$64.95.

If it is possible to speak of a definitive history of the Delhi Sultanate for our time, this is it. Peter Jackson has written a book that is learned, literate, and judicious, and it must be counted one of the most distinguished contributions to Indian history in our time. Jackson is already well known as an authority in this field, although his contributions to Islamic scholarship range far from the banks of the Ganges and the Indus to embrace Central Asia and Iran in the Mongol epoch as well as Middle Eastern crusader studies. He was responsible for the final editing of volume six of *The Cambridge History of Iran* (on the Timurid and Safavid periods) and for a new Hakluyt Society edition of the travels of William of Rubruck.

Throughout his scholarly career, Jackson has been preoccupied with the interplay between the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire of the Chinghizids and the history of the Delhi Sultanate. He has written a seminal account of early Muslim Delhi ("Delhi: The Problems of a Vast Military Encampment," in R. E. Frykenberg, ed., *Delhi through the Ages* [1986], unaccountably omitted from the recent paperback edition) along with "The Mamluk Institution in Early Muslim India" (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1990]) and "Sultan Radiyya bint Iltutmish" (in Gavin R. G. Hambly, ed., *Women in the Medieval Islamic World* [1998]). The geographical extent of his scholarship and his understanding of the complex interdependence of the lands of the Delhi Sultanate with Iran and Central Asia, his linguistic skills, and his immense knowledge of medieval Islamic geography have enabled him to compress into a single volume this splendidly nuanced assessment of the period, which is rooted in close textual analysis and a mastery of the linguistic problems presented by his sources—a mastery all too rare today and reminiscent of the research of Simon Digby.

The Delhi Sultanate is usually dated from 1206 to 1555, but Jackson more or less ends his account with Timur's sack of Delhi in 1398, presumably regarding the last century and a half as a distinct period in which the once-mighty Delhi Sultanate was merely one among a dozen or more competing regional sultanates. In his first seven chapters, he meticulously investigates the earliest pre-Sultanate Muslim contacts between Central Asia and northwestern India, examining the role of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids, the mamluk institution, the inherent religious and ethnic tensions,

and, following the establishment of a mamluk sultanate in Delhi in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, the significance of the rise of the Mongol Empire in Central Asia for the isolated Muslim community in and around Delhi. These are themes of great complexity, but Jackson here proves masterly at striking the fine balance between lucid narrative and thoughtful analysis.

The final eight chapters carry the reader through the Khalji and Tughluq periods, the evolution of a service nobility involved in both military command and civil administration, and the predictable rivalries between the various ethnic and religious elites. In these chapters, the Central Asian borderlands and the doings of Central Asian rulers are convincingly shown to contribute to the problems and tensions of the Sultanate. Finally, Jackson offers interpretations of those two very different rulers, Muhammad ibn Tughluq and Firuz Shāh Tughluq, which demonstrate the extent to which historical personality can be squeezed out of even the most intractable source material. There are six useful appendixes, genealogical tables, a glossary, and a comprehensive bibliography. Seven maps will prove invaluable to historians of the period, and it is worth stressing the contribution of this volume to our understanding of the historical geography of the eastern Islamic world during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

As a period, the Delhi Sultanate has been somewhat neglected in recent years. The broad historical delineation of these three and a half centuries was undertaken by Anglo-Indian scholar-administrators prior to 1947, while both before and after that date indigenous historiography acquired an extreme contentiousness reflecting contemporary communal rivalries. Thus, Hindu historians conveyed the impression that the rule of these various Muslim dynasties was a monument to brutality and intolerance, with the sultans represented as monsters of cruelty and depravity, set against a modern Muslim idealization of those same sultans as paragons of the Islamic virtues. More recently, important studies by such scholars as Digby, Richard M. Eaton, Carl W. Ernst, Bruce B. Lawrence, K. A. Nizami, and André Wink have taken the field to a far higher plain on which rancor and contentious assertion has been replaced by sophisticated and distinguished scholarship.

In fact, the Delhi Sultanate, and the period of regional sultanates that followed it, are most important eras in both the history of India and of Islam. They laid the foundation of that Muslim presence in the subcontinent and that distinctive Indo-Islamic culture that reached its culmination under the Mughals (1526–1858), and of the Muslim population in modern India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Jackson has given us an indispensable interpretation of this era.

GAVIN R. G. HAMBLAY
University of Texas,
Dallas

SUSAN BAYLY. *The New Cambridge History of India. Volume 4, part 3: Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 421. \$59.95.

What are we to make of "caste" in Indian history and society? In a broad sense, quite a lot. The term "caste" has been mentioned, at least in passing, in the books of many historians, both Indian and foreign, writing of the various regions and periods of a vast subcontinental narrative. Some wrote of the institution as an enduring element of Indian civilization, while others noted how "caste" or "varna," or the "caste system," or similar social distinctions had varied in time and place. After the postmodern and postcolonial "turns," scholars went so far as to offer interpretations suggesting that "caste" was "invented" by the British as part of a colonial ethnographic project in India. The "invention of caste" has become a sort of historiographical sound bite that seems to conceal as much as it may reveal. Any attempt to sort out the questions of caste in modern Indian history would require a widely read scholar who is also brave. Susan Bayly is such a scholar.

Bayly has written an excellent, stimulating survey of the history of conception, description, analysis, and influence of the idea and institution of caste and community in modern South Asia. As part of the *New Cambridge History of India* series, it clearly fulfills the editorial mandate of presenting recent scholarship and changing historical conceptions of the modern subcontinent.

The story to be told is initially about the representations and uses of caste; the early chapters emphasize an intellectual history of the idea rather than the workings of the institution. Bayly explores visions of "caste" articulated by Europeans and Indians, the latter operating in an emerging arena of public opinion.

The term "caste" itself was derived from *casta*, a term used by the Portuguese to mean "type" or "kind" and applied by them to describe a variety of social distinctions that they encountered in India. It could encompass varna, the textually authorized theory of a fourfold hierarchical and hereditary social distinction of Brahmanical Hinduism. It also described the many *jatis* (or a single *jati*), the myriad localized units of kin and potential kin defined as belonging to a single birth or of a single kind. Over time, some writers, both British and Indian, invoked "caste" as one of the essential features of Indian society. Whether perceived as a social evil or as building blocks of a new nation, caste held a prominent place in the minds of all who thought about India.

In recent years, some scholars have suggested that "caste" was an invention of colonial orientalism. Bayly, while appreciating these arguments, does not accept them. She argues that caste was indeed fluid and malleable in a changing economic and social milieu. Through her analysis, Bayly maintains that caste did

exist in a variety of modes in different times and places, and that it shaped the evolution of India and was itself shaped by alterations in the history of the subcontinent. She suggests that growing power and wealth of rulers in late Mughal India, for example, promoted observances of religious values and practices. Economic changes under colonial rule produced conditions whereby purity and pollution were given new emphasis. Modern communications and urban networks produced new opportunities for use of caste in changing circumstances. The clearing of forests and spread of agriculture altered caste institutions in major regions of the subcontinent.

In later chapters, Bayly's analysis turns away somewhat from intellectual history to explore the role of caste and caste institutions in contemporary India. This transition is advanced by an extended narrative of the issues of caste within Gandhian nationalism in the decades leading up to independence, including the vexing problems of untouchability. After 1947, in light of Nehruvian ideals of democratic socialism, caste might have been expected to wither, yet in India's Constitution it became a basis of policies of welfare schemes and reservations of jobs and educational opportunities for members of traditionally low castes who had been victims of invidious discrimination. Democratic politics and modernization in both rural and urban India have seemingly contributed to erosion of the earlier bases of caste identities, yet as Bayly demonstrates, those caste identities now find new functions in the politics of mobilizing votes, in distributing patronage, and, regrettably, in disputes over claims to rights and assets. Recent acts of collective violence between land-holding and landless groups are portrayed in Indian newspaper headlines as "caste wars." Violence has also been a response to new "reservations" policies, not for the Dalits or ex-untouchable and tribal peoples but for a far broader strata of "other backward communities" whose political power yields recognition for claims of justice and redistribution.

In the end, Bayly suggests, her story is the story of the making of a caste society out of premodern social and cultural elements shaped by "a sequence of complex but intelligible changes in Indian life, most notably in the areas of religion, state power and the material environment" (p. 365). Caste has been a real and active part of Indian life for many centuries, but it has not been characterized by a single set of formal distinctions or manifestations nor depending solely on a single underlying foundation. It is, as Bayly concludes, "a multi-dimensional story of changing and interpenetrating reference points" (p. 365).

For a work in a series intended for a broader audience, Bayly's publishers have not quite held up their end. The illustrative maps do not contain important sites referenced in the text, and, in a sort of cartographic anarchy, in Map 3 Aurangabad moves from Maharashtra to Bihar, while Patna moves to Orissa! These lapses in such an excellent and impor-

tant publication are to be regretted. Based on broad readings and extensive analysis, this volume is an important and useful contribution to South Asian history.

FRANK F. CONLON

University of Washington

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

NANCY CHRISTIE. *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 459. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.50.

We have, until now, lacked a detailed, inclusive, "national" history of the Canadian welfare state that paid specific attention to its gender, class, and race imperatives. This book is consequently inaugural in its breadth and scope, providing the first detailed analysis of its formation during the critical years between 1900 and 1945. Moreover, as Nancy Christie explains, "this is as much a history of the ideology and social structures that gave rise to various welfare entitlements as it is a study of government legislation and administration," framed within "a deliberately cultural approach" (pp. 4, 7). The ideologies consist principally of those underpinning notions of female dependency, the work ethic, the male breadwinner family, and the "umpire" or "watchman" state; the social structures are those sustained by gender and class, with particular emphasis on the former, as the book's title suggests.

Christie's premise is that a widespread and consistent fear of family breakdown—seen to herald national degeneration—was the motive force of welfare legislation. Since family and gender roles are inextricable, this book's most important contribution to the literature is its delineation of welfare policy's gendered contours and how these were moulded by an initial emphasis on maternalism and social citizenship to a focus on wage labor as the basis of citizenship, or from a feminine to a masculine casting of the rights and duties of the citizen. She concludes that the evolution of the Canadian state reflected "gender rather than class imperatives." It is not entirely clear, however, how one can be neatly detached from the other, since the "male breadwinner ethic" was itself profoundly class-based, regardless of the cross-class, cross-gender support that it sustained throughout this period. It was a middle-class family model that working-class families aspired to but attained only with great difficulty, and for the most part only after World War II. The author's evidence, which provides much valuable information about the dynamics of the working-class family economy in the early twentieth century, also supports this point. What this study effectively demonstrates is that the male breadwinner ideal, if an abiding subtext in the connecting discourses of social reformers, clerics, organized labor, organized women, and government agents, nonetheless changed in its

implications over time and in response to sociocultural as well as economic changes.

Christie's main interests are each followed through chronologically in chapters based on exhaustive and wide-ranging archival research, not only in the usual records of officialdom but also in the popular media and, most important for what they tell us about the targets or beneficiaries of policy, in case files. She considers the "social Christianity" and evangelical influences at work in the evolution of state programs designed to meet the changing patriarchal family; the impact of the Great War, most especially in regard to the working-class family; the maternalist context of postwar trends; the development of mothers' allowances; the decline of maternalism and its "subversion" during the Great Depression; and, finally, the debate over family allowances and their role in sustaining the male breadwinner family in post-World War II Canada. Each of these intertwined subjects is painstakingly discussed through the participation of women, labor, the churches, and key government officials such as Charlotte Whitton, whose Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare (1920) was the period's chief social service tribunal.

The material on the churches, especially the Catholic Church, is particularly interesting, as the reform involvement of the Protestant churches usually eclipses any mention of Catholic participation or allows it to be depicted as uniformly reactionary and profoundly antistatist. More familiar is the discussion of maternalism and mothers' allowances, in view of earlier studies (of James Struthers, Veronica J. Strong-Boag, Andr  e L  vesque, and Margaret Jane Hillyard Little) that are acknowledged but do not appear to have been carefully read.

Christie's conclusion that the evolution of welfare policy in Canada was distinctly different, despite the British and American influences that she also recognizes, than its development in the latter nations raises questions about extant theories concerning the rise and decline of the maternalist state. I am thinking in particular of Sonya Michel and Seth Koven's groundbreaking work. There is much thought-provoking interpretation in this study, which will doubtless reactivate some old debates; for example, Christie's view that the breadwinner ideal was first articulated during the Great War (p. 6) and that the Depression focused attention away from the mother-centered home, casting the father not only as primary breadwinner but also encouraging him to "usurp the spiritual and educational roles traditionally reserved for women" (p. 175). Certainly the cacaphony of medical, psychological, and other "expert" discussion on the "normal" family throughout, and well after, her period shows no let-up of emphasis on the maternal role in shaping the citizenry.

Christie's conclusion about the so-called "cornerstone" of the new welfare state, the 1944 family allowances legislation, is incontestable: "Far from being a humanitarian social policy aimed at eliminating

poverty, [they] were conceived and introduced by the King government primarily as a means to foster post-war consumption, which in turn would ensure full employment, economic equilibrium and social stability," although one might speculate that the latter three should, in effect, go a long way toward eliminating poverty. It is clear that Canadian welfare policies, as she remarks, were rarely devised to address poverty, deriving from "the imperatives of national economic efficiency," but the argument was always circular: that lack of efficiency caused poverty, therefore increased efficiency would be its solution. And, although it is evident that the Canadian welfare state "emerged hand in hand with a strengthening of male citizenship rights," it is not quite as evident that "this eradicated the ideology of separate spheres according to which female and male functions were complementary" (p. 312). Why? How so? All in all, however, Christie has done an admirable job of uncovering the multileveled ideological and structural scaffolding of the welfare state, and of bringing to the fore some of the buried assumptions that both policy makers and historians might want to rethink.

CYNTHIA COMACCHIO
Wilfrid Laurier University

EDELGARD MAHANT and GRAEME S. MOUNT. *Invisible and Inaudible in Washington: American Policies toward Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 252. \$75.00.

One of the least-known traditions associated with the inauguration of a new administration in Washington, D.C., is that the first foreign visit by the new president is usually to Ottawa, where a summit meeting is held. For Canada, this has been an important symbol of its international status and position as America's "closest ally" and largest trading partner. Canadians were, therefore, quite upset when President George W. Bush decided to travel to Mexico on his first foreign visit. Ottawa scrambled to obtain a White House invitation for Prime Minister Jean Chr  tien prior to the president's trip to Mexico. Not surprisingly, little attention was paid to this meeting. In part, this is because, to most Americans, including those knowledgeable in international relations, Canada is not foreign, U.S. conduct toward it hardly merits the status of "policy," and a meeting with the prime minister of Canada cannot possibly reach the heights of summitry. This is consistent with the "Capone" school of thought regarding policy toward Canada: when accused of smuggling liquor from north of the border, the legendary gangster is reported to have replied, "Canada? I don't even know what street it's on!"

The title of this book may suggest that Edelgard Mahant and Graeme S. Mount agree with these long-held, popular assessments of where Canada fits into the global calculus of American foreign policy. However, the analysis contained in this book, and indeed, the authors' own conclusions, point to a different,

more sophisticated, and very useful understanding of how the United States deals with Ottawa, one in which Canada is neither invisible nor inaudible in Washington. The authors set out to place Canada in the general context of American foreign policy in its military/security and economic dimensions. What is more important, they seek to assess whether there is or ever has been a coherent American policy toward Canada. In answering these questions, the authors examine a wide range of issues and events in the bilateral relationship during the Cold War. Adopting a case-study method that emphasizes substance over policy, the book looks at matters relating to defense ties, especially the North American Aerospace Defense Command, natural resources, broader global north/south concerns, and, above all, trade, which is at the heart of the relationship. The historical account is rich in detail and clear in conveying an appreciation of the content, complexity, and conduct of relations between the two countries.

Equally compelling are the conclusions reached. Except perhaps during the period of the early Cold War, there is no all-encompassing American policy toward Canada, one that includes linkages across issue areas. Nor, given the vast array of issues and actors, should one be expected. Depending on the time and the agenda item, America has approached its relations with Canada in a number of ways, as part of a broad liberal internationalism, in a manner that puts pressure on Canada similar to that placed on other allies on the same issues, in a way that exempts Canada from actions taken against others, or from a perspective that assumes (sometimes wrongly) an identity of national interest and outlooks. Far from being disinterested, Washington has taken numerous initiatives in the bilateral relationship. As the authors conclude, "Where so many policy patterns apply, none predominates. There is no single American Canada policy, only a number of different policies, which applied at different times, and on different issues. What patterns do exist may be the result of habits, attitudes, or geographical facts, but not of a consistently thought-out or implemented policy" (p. 199).

The authors also make the important point that much of the analysis of Canada's place in American foreign policy has suffered from a subjectively hierarchical distinction between "high politics," which deal with international strategic relations and "low" politics, which deal with trade, investment, and environmental issues. For both Washington and Ottawa, so-called "low" politics have always been at the top of their respective bilateral agendas and the source of the greatest friction—and for good reason. These kinds of issues reach well into the domestic fabric and politics of both countries. For Canada and the United States, "all politics is local." (It is hard to get more local, or lower, than pork bellies, the subject of a recent bilateral dispute.) Moreover, as Mahant and Mount rightly note, since the end of the Cold War, the salience of economic issues in international relations

has increased, including in American foreign policy. That a president who entered office under the slogan "it's the economy, stupid!" should, upon leaving it, be regarded as one of the leading foreign policy leaders since 1945 suggests that America's relations with the rest of the world are coming to more approximate ties with Canada than the other way around.

In making their case, the authors actually refute the view that Canada is "invisible and inaudible" in Washington. It is evident from their historical narrative and careful analysis that a host of institutions and individuals in the American capital have taken cognizance of Canada and listened to Canadians over the years. Indeed, given the depth and scope of the relationship and the domestic impact of bilateral issues, it is hard to imagine any other country receiving as much sustained attention, on a day-to-day basis, in Washington as does Canada.

The difference with other countries is that issues relating to Canada are rarely those that pose immediate threats to vital American national security interests and thus do not require prompt decisions at the highest levels or attract widespread media attention. According to some, including the authors, Canadians should be thankful for this. Given the array of intractable problems the United States faces throughout the world, Americans, too, might be appreciative of the fact that most problems with their closest ally and largest trading partner can be resolved without the spectacles and loud noises usually associated with U.S. foreign policy. Thus, the title notwithstanding, this is a book that should be read on both sides of the border.

JOEL J. SOKOLSKY
Royal Military College of Canada,
Kingston, Ontario

DANA FRANK. *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 1999. Pp. xii, 316. \$26.00.

This is an interesting book doing what political history is supposed to do—use historical material to clarify current issues. Dana Frank gives insights, casting a refreshing, irreverent eye on global competition and economic nationalism.

Frank begins before the American Revolution, with a major argument: "Buy American" campaigns never do much for workers. The first order of business, for example, at the First Continental Congress in 1774 was the boycott of British products. Frank argues convincingly that nonimportation was loaded with hypocrisy. Symbolically, elites refused to wear European finery, only adorning themselves in local homespun. Throughout the North, they set up factories, hiring poor women to make clothes. Conditions were so abysmal and wages so low, however, that the "impoverished women fled . . . as fast as they could, quickly figuring out that the patriots paid wages below the starvation level" (p. 12). Colonial merchants also created shortages and higher prices for their own domestically produced

goods by supporting nonimportation. These merchants were often attacked by lower-class protesters, not because of importing but because they were price gouging. However, the biggest promoters of nonimportation, those who gained the most financially, were not above clandestinely importing European and British products. Thomas Jefferson ordered a long list of British goods to furnish his new house in 1771 (p. 19). John Hancock, prominent colonial shipping magnate, was exposed, with vessels loaded with British freight, even as he trumpeted homemade goods. Frank contrasts the stances of the rich with sailors who had little interest in nonimportation. Rather, they opposed ruthless shipowners and captains of whatever nationality, standing in solidarity with sailors around the world.

Likewise, heated tariff battles in the late nineteenth century obscured basic agreement between supporters and opponents on raging class issues. Both sides opposed labor unions (p. 45). The Knights of Labor was cognizant of this deficiency, as its correspondent Ralph Beaumont reported that the "tariff issue had about as much to do with settling of the burdens of . . . the working people . . . as my yellow dog—and I did not have a yellow dog" (p. 50). Although protectionist agitation, then as today, proclaimed the benefits for ordinary workers, the truth was different. Just after Andrew Carnegie received tariff protection for his steel in 1892, the company announced a twenty-two percent pay reduction at its Homestead plant in Pennsylvania. When the workers refused, their union was broken by armed violence. The unions themselves, however, were not detached from the worst aspects of economic nationalism; one criticism of Carnegie was his importation of foreign labor, described by labor organizations in chauvinistic terms.

These historical descriptions put contemporary issues in sharp relief. Frank describes the extent to which unions devote significant resources to Buy American campaigns, allying themselves with anti-union outfits (p. 219). The big question, of course, is why? Her main argument is that chauvinistic Buy American campaigns, supporting the agendas of employers, are a substitute for devoting energy and resources to new union organizing, and in general to battling the companies for the rights of union members.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) has become the prototypic example. By the 1970s, this previously mostly Italian and Jewish union had become majority Asian and Latino. The leadership was out of touch with the rank and file, largely insensitive to the plight of nonwhite workers. As garment jobs began to move abroad, the union not only refused to ally with foreign workers but gave up on domestic organizing. Instead, they put their energies into Buy American campaigns, often targeting Asian workers as the enemy, in racially charged advertisements. Frank argues that the will to organize had disappeared; "The ILGWU's topmost leadership was frozen in its chairs" (p. 151). Intense Cold War

commitment left them unwilling to consider Asians abroad as fellow workers, a perspective that came quite naturally to recent Asian immigrants in the garment industry.

The top leaders of the auto workers' union made a similar choice. While claiming international solidarity, they promoted extensive Buy American campaigns among auto workers, targeting Japanese products but not Canadian or European vehicles. They thus reinforced anti-Asian chauvinism among auto workers, leading to widespread harassment of Asian Americans, highlighted by the 1982 murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American resident of Detroit, by two white auto workers. These campaigns were far more popular, according to Frank, among white workers than among blacks or Latinos. Frank argues that in a time of crisis for auto workers, when concessions and worsening conditions were rampant, the union leadership consciously used Buy American campaigns as a scapegoat.

This insightful, informative book is not without its minor blemishes. Frank suggests that the Communist-led Farm Equipment Union (FE) collapsed soon after its 1949 expulsion from the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Rather, to the frustration of anticommunists, both the FE and the left-led Mine Mill union maintained their memberships, until they merged with more conservative unions: Mine Mill with the United Steel Workers in 1967, FE with the United Auto Workers (UAW) in 1955, its whole local leadership and international staff organization remaining intact. Perhaps more significant is Frank's mistaken assessment of certain changes in the AFL-CIO with the 1995 ascendancy of the John Sweeney leadership group, including international policy and the union's relation to the Democratic Party. In organizing, a whole new staff was created and the old group was put out to pasture. By contrast, in international affairs, none of the extreme anticommunist and CIA-connected operatives were released. Rather than breaking away from the Democratic Party, the Sweeney leadership has embraced the Democrats even more actively than the group it replaced. Frank's contrary assessment is really wishful thinking (p. 248).

The bottom line, however, is that this book is a must read for all those interested in the global economy, its effect on U.S. workers, and the proper approach toward the unsettling effects of globalization.

MICHAEL GOLDFIELD
Wayne State University

CHARLES K. HYDE. *Copper for America: The United States Copper Industry from Colonial Times to the 1990s*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 267. \$40.00.

Copper, as the second major metal industry in the United States for most of its history, has not always received the attention it deserves. General histories of technology give it little mention, and regional and corporate histories offer limited and uneven perspec-

tives. What has been missing is a comprehensive study of the industry establishing a context for an appreciation of its relative importance. Charles K. Hyde's book addresses that omission, examining "the economic and business histories of the producing companies, including the careers of their leaders; the evolving technologies of mining, concentrating, smelting, and refining; and the development of global copper production and consumption . . . (and) the impact of the varying forces that influenced the development of the copper industry" (pp. xvi-xvii).

The evolution of the American copper industry was both regional and chronological, and Hyde organizes his treatment accordingly. Chapter one, "Foundations," begins the story with the earliest colonial mines and follows the sporadic developments in the east down to the 1840s. By then, the opening up of the Upper Michigan-Lake Superior high-grade ore bodies was under way (chapter two). The evolution of the companies through their peak production period—during twenty-five of the thirty-four years between 1847 and 1880, for example, Michigan mines produced more than three-quarters of U.S. output (p. 66)—into their decline by 1920 is documented in chapter three.

In the 1870s, several silver claims were prospected at Butte, Montana. Within twenty years, those claims had metamorphosed into the country's largest copper producers in "The Richest Hill on Earth," the subject of chapter four. The copper kings of Butte emerge here as perhaps the most colorful entrepreneurs in the history of American copper mining. By contrast, the slightly later and more remote copper strikes in Arizona required the development of transportation and new technologies to succeed. To exploit the extensive low-grade sulphide ores (often less than two percent copper) required operators with traits closer to the business acumen and engineering mindsets of modern industrialists. The open-pit mining and smelting techniques were used in later mines, such as Bingham Canyon, Utah, and Ely, Nevada. Those developments provide the material for chapters five and six.

Hyde maintains the focus on his stated objectives throughout the broad sweep of time and region in the first six chapters. The creation of mining companies, their financing, the economic histories of the major producers, including production of ore, relative costs and profits, and labor issues all are addressed. As the twentieth century approaches, the sheer volume of material and complexity of issues requires some refocusing. As Hyde notes in chapter six, "Space does not allow a comprehensive discussion of all the copper mines begun in Arizona between 1870 and 1920" (pp. 136). Using corporate archives, the last two chapters examine an industry dominated by as few as six large producers, their attempts at foreign expansion, diversification and, by the 1970s, the takeover of much of the industry in the United States by oil companies and foreign corporations. In these chapters, the full influences of global production and market prices are brought to the fore.

Of all the issues the author hoped to present, only two appear to come up short. The technology of copper production, particularly after 1900, is very sketchy. For example, the introduction of two new recovery processes, froth flotation (p. 144) and sulfuric acid leaching (p. 147), is given brief mention without details. That history remains to be written. Also, there is the issue of consumption, noted as one of the author's objectives. It is clear that a lot of copper was produced, but where it all went, the demand side of the market equation, gets only intermittent general attention.

Hyde's book provides a badly needed overview of the rise of an important American metal industry. Its emphasis on the business histories of individual companies and regions, within the larger context of that industry, constitutes a scholarly contribution to a previously fragmented topic. Surely the author would acknowledge there is more to be written, there are other aspects to explore, but any future research into American copper should use this book as an initial reference.

JAMES A. MULHOLLAND
North Carolina State University

KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN, *Indians and English: Facing Off in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 297. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

This book deals with interaction between English colonists and North American Indians ("Americans") from the Roanoke settlement to the mid-seventeenth century. Karen Ordahl Kupperman is particularly struck that both sides "naturally sought to incorporate" the other "into their own systems" (p. 1). Although she avoids direct disagreement with other scholars, the author builds on her earlier work to challenge much received opinion. It is not true, she believes, that "American life was egalitarian and native political systems were consensual at the time of contact" (p. 38). The early colonists did not "dismiss the American natives as negligible or as cultureless savages" (p. 2). Nor did they denigrate them as racially inferior: "race . . . came later" (p. 75). Nor is it true that they "wished to sweep the Indians out of the way and did so without qualms" (p. 213).

Kupperman contends that "modern authors who portray the English as overconfident imperialists" rely uncritically on "clear and striking" epithets written by those who never left England (p. 11). Those who came to the colonies wrote more knowingly, and very ambivalently. Buffeted by rushes of fear and hope, their accounts oscillated accordingly. A brief report could be "contemptuous and admiring, hostile and friendly, self-confident and terrified" (p. x).

In her first chapter, "Mirror Images," Kupperman finds that the English were interested in Indians partly "because they wanted to learn more about themselves" (p. 40). The American "Other" did not seem totally alien but reminded them of their ancient ancestors, the

Britons. In perhaps her boldest statement, she goes on to declare that "eyewitnesses all agreed that the Indians ... lived in civil society." They had complex languages, "government by a hereditary hierarchy," settled towns, agriculture, religion, and "male-female distinctions" (pp. 78, 18).

Kupperman reminds us that, just as these Indians "are remote and foreign to us, so the English are as well" (p. 11). She points out that, among Europeans, the most important aspects of physical appearance were thought to derive from cultural choices. Turning the same lens toward Indians, the English "read" native bodies "in order to understand the underlying qualities of their culture" (p. 43). Intriguingly, the famous de Bry engravings meticulously followed the John White watercolor portraits of Roanoke Indians for tattoos, jewelry, and clothing. Yet de Bry "Europeanized" the natives' faces, postures, and bodily proportions as "unimportant" (p. 42). Skin color was seen as more akin to tattoos than facial features. Since English observers thought the Indians were born white, their darker hue "was a cultural artifact, self-consciously produced on a pale background" (p. 58). However, the English regarded the class distinction between common people and elite as natural rather than cultural. "Status distinctions ... were innate unlike mutable ethnic and cultural categories" (pp. 234-35).

The book's final chapters deal with "boundary crossing." Aiming to incorporate the other, each side chose youths to serve as interpreters and intermediaries. A few may have crossed totally, "but most entered a state of liminality" (p. 212). Even this proved impossible for the larger societies: the dream of incorporation flickered out amid suspicion and fear. Highly vulnerable, and having found the Indians to be so much like themselves, the English constantly worried about their "treacherous nature" (p. 223).

This book is ambitious, deeply researched, densely argued, and well written. Even the most skeptical readers will probably find it generally persuasive. Kupperman has produced an imaginative and important synthesis that will serve as a weighty corrective to one-sided simplicities that have been current too long.

Still, it is not flawless. Although every chapter contains material on Indian reactions toward the English, it is usually thinner than need be. In particular, unfamiliarity with classic anthropological works on Indian religion limits Kupperman's ability to interpret her trove of sources. Strangely, there is not a word about Africans, the other "Other" that Chesapeake colonists regularly and Indians often encountered. It is not likely that the English and Indians only had eyes for each other, or that perceptions of blacks by either had no effect on their views of their main rivals. Finally, there are a few too many overstatements: for example, "There was no action taken against 'savages' that was not also taken against Christian Europeans"

(p. 220). Englishmen did not enslave European war captives.

JOHN T. JURICEK
Emory University

JANE LANDERS. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Foreword by PETER H. WOOD. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 390. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Excepting an obligatory nod to Estevan, the black Moor who traveled with Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, and the identification of a few blacks and mulattos who showed up in muster roles or censuses, most scholars have reduced the Spanish borderlands' triracial society to a biracial story. Recently, however, works by Gilbert C. Din, Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, Kimberly S. Hanger, and Daniel H. Usner have made it impossible to ignore blacks in Spanish Louisiana. Now, in this admirable first book, Jane Landers restores blacks to their place in the history of Spanish Florida.

From Florida's inception in 1565, Spaniards imported black slaves, but appallingly high death rates and Florida's feeble economy kept their numbers low. They were augmented, however, by blacks who fled slavery in the Carolinas, and later Georgia, to seek sanctuary in Florida. Spanish officials in Florida welcomed them. Runaways who converted to Catholicism received generous treatment from Spaniards, who hoped to weaken the English colonies to the north by encouraging the flight of more slaves. Landers argues that this Spanish policy of asylum had its genesis with the very blacks who fled to Florida; she sees Spanish policy makers as reactive rather than proactive. From Florida, however, the idea of offering sanctuary to black slaves spread throughout the Spanish Caribbean, where Spain used it to annoy Dutch and French slaveholders as well as English ones.

In Florida, officials hoped to settle the newly freed blacks in a town of their own, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, just north of St. Augustine. That free black community, for which there was ample precedent in the Caribbean, segregated blacks only briefly. Founded in 1738, it succumbed to English raiders from Georgia in 1740; it was reestablished in 1752, but died again when the English took Florida in 1763. With the demise of Mose, many black runaways made their homes in St. Augustine, where they adapted to the Spanish world. Mostly males, they formed relationships with Indian or black Floridian women.

Florida's Spanish past had two parts, 1565-1763 and 1784-1821, punctuated by a British interregnum. When Spaniards returned in 1784, they constituted a minority. Some Englishmen and their slaves remained, as did Italians, Greeks, and Minorcans who had come during the British years. Blacks fleeing slavery in the United States also swelled the population of Florida until the United States pressured Spain to stop offering them sanctuary in 1790. Florida continued, however, to import black slaves from Africa, as well as to

welcome black refugees from Haiti. Late in the colonial period, free and enslaved blacks together constituted roughly half of the population of "Spanish" Florida.

After sketching out this chronology, Landers examines several areas of black life: ownership of property and business, religion, women, the slave trade, crime and punishment, and military service. In each case, she puts the Florida experience in context by providing smart, concise overviews of Spanish law and practice and by making comparisons with other parts of the Spanish empire and with English America. She provides abundant evidence to support her claim that Frank Tannenbaum's well-known thesis applied to Florida. Indeed, long before the appearance of Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen, the Negro in the Americas* (1946), blacks in the Carolinas and Georgia understood that their futures looked brighter under Spain. They not only fled to Florida from the Anglophone world, but, when the English took over Spanish Florida in 1763, and again when the Americans acquired it from Spain in 1821, blacks abandoned Florida for Cuba. So, too, did the United States understand the special status that blacks enjoyed in neighboring Spanish society. When the United States intervened in Florida in the 1810s, it was not simply to fulfill territorial ambitions, Landers argues, but because it could not tolerate the dangerous example of blacks and Indians (Seminoles in the main) living in freedom and fighting for Spain.

Florida's second Spanish period (1784–1821) constitutes the heart of Lander's study, for it provides the richest sources for reconstructing the lives of blacks, including court cases, notarial records, and land grants. The sources allow her to paint portraits of individuals and explore episodes in their lives. This is not group biography. Even the lists in the appendixes contain names, not mere numbers, of individuals: slaves who petitioned for freedom, free blacks in the militia, blacks who owned land; blacks—and their ages and families—who lived in the free town of Mose; baptismal sponsors; and black slaves imported into Florida between 1752 and 1763.

This is a fully realized book, clearly written, deeply researched in archival sources, and engaged with relevant historiography. Spanish Florida will never be the same.

DAVID J. WEBER
Southern Methodist University

JEFFREY ROBERT YOUNG. *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670–1837*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 336. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

This ambitious and eclectic work attempts to reconcile competing interpretations of the Old South by demonstrating that "corporate individualism," which combined elements of capitalism, bourgeois domesticity, and paternalism, was the ideology around which the

southern planter class cohered in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. According to Jeffrey Robert Young, the same transatlantic markets in capital and culture that spawned abolitionism also furnished South Carolina and Georgia planters with the reasons and the means to formulate and disseminate an aggressive defense of slavery. Planters cast slavery in familial terms, drawing heavily on bourgeois language of individual rights and domesticity, while at the same time emphasizing the claims of society on the individual and delimiting the rights of subordinate members of households. In a momentous, protracted act of collective self-deception (Young declares at one point that "slaveowners were in deep denial" [p. 174]), slaveholders convinced themselves and most other white southerners that African slavery was a respectable—even an admirable and indispensable—institution, one that protected the rights and promoted the happiness of all individuals according to their race, gender, and station. The ideology of corporate individualism legitimated planter rule in the South and, ultimately, justified the quest for southern independence.

How all this happened is a long story: Young's narrative begins with Christopher Columbus and ends with William Gilmore Simms. Colonial slaveholders were a crude, greedy, irreligious, brutal, and racist lot, yet some aspired to refinement and imitated the English gentry. Few reflected on slavery or condemned its evils; far more simply calculated the profits generated by chattels whom they barely recognized as human beings. It was not until the era of the American Revolution that Deep South patriot-masters felt compelled to develop more complex rationales for denying freedom to others. Young ingeniously contends that independence enabled planters to co-opt organic and familial arguments for submission to authority, which they had found so galling in British condemnations of colonial resistance, and to make themselves the heads instead of the limbs, the parents instead of the children. Between 1785 and 1815, planters amalgamated organicism, individualism, humanitarianism, and Christianity into a coherent slaveholding creed, and the expansion of evangelicalism, print culture, and the market enabled corporate individualism to take root in the Deep South. The "positive good" defense of slavery was in place well before the onslaught of immediate abolitionism, and slaveholders refined and extended corporate individualism in the 1820s and 1830s to meet the challenges of adult white male democracy and political party conflict. The resulting society rested on "inclusion without equality" (p. 233) for slaves, free blacks, and lesser whites. As Young puts it, "Slaveowners had managed to concoct a regional identity that centered on idealized notions of their own mastery" (p. 228).

This work displays a depth of research and a breadth of vision seldom found in first books. Young weaves together dozens of themes developed in the historiography of the past forty years, making slight modifica-

tions and blending opposites to produce a novel intellectual and cultural history of the development of a self-conscious master class in the Deep South. Young also reads anew many of the familiar sources from the hundreds of manuscript collections that he employs to document the evolving self-perceptions of slaveholders. Scholars in several fields will read, assign, discuss, and admire Young's study.

Young might, however, have handled several conceptual issues more deftly. While the book focuses on South Carolina (primarily) and Georgia (quite secondarily), Young's emphasis on transatlantic cultural commonalities logically forces him to write broadly about southerners, slaveowners, and slavery; it would be difficult to contend that the grand causes he identifies operated only in certain Deep South locales. Yet many historians likely will insist on important differences between Upper and Lower South and question whether Young's timeline for the development of corporate individualism applies outside South Carolina. Young, furthermore, uses the terms planter and slaveowner practically interchangeably, leaving open the question of who exactly belonged to the class that formed around the ideology of corporate individualism. Issues of agency and conscious motivation are also skirted by Young's reliance on self-deception as an explanation for the discrepancy between rosy depictions of slavery and the brutal realities of the institution. Finally, although Young separates himself from Eugene D. Genovese and rejects paternalism as a label for planter ideology, the distinctions between corporate individualism and paternalism are much clearer in the opening definitions than they are in the evidence and arguments in the body of the book. One might conclude by saying, though, that being confused with Genovese is not such a bad fate for a young historian.

ANTHONY GENE CAREY
Auburn University

CHARLES E. CLARK. *The Meetinghouse Tragedy: An Episode in the Life of a New England Town*. Assisted by JOHN W. HATCH. Hanover: University of New Hampshire, in association with the University Press of New England. 1998. Pp. xv, 152. \$14.95.

For people in the town of Wilton, New Hampshire, September 1773 brought both expectations of a new meetinghouse and the crushing of their highest hopes. As the roof of the building was being raised, timbers gave way. Tools and bodies hurtled to the floor below. Numerous men were injured, and five died from the accident. Given the loss of life and the social rifts such loss opened in Wilton and its nearby communities, the "meetinghouse tragedy," as Charles E. Clark terms it, stimulated local poets to versify the collective grief. The ballads they composed moved between oral and printed transmission. One manuscript version, entitled "Phebe Howard her verses given to her July ye 25, 1779" and preserved in a family Bible, gave Clark his initial view into the event.

This is microhistory at its best: a foundational text, augmented by other texts, newspaper accounts, appreciation of the tolls and techniques of timber-framed construction, and one small town's history spiral together in a smooth narrative. We learn about key individuals, families, kinship ties, power relations, and about the business of building a meetinghouse, arguably the largest public building that New England towns were faced with paying for during the colonial period. Clark is perhaps at his best as he confronts the ballad-making process that followed the tragedy. After research began, his own manuscript copy of Phebe Howard's written transcription of the ballad text was augmented by another manuscript version, "An Elegy upon the fall of 53 Men, at Wilton September ye 17 1773," and by a Boston broadside dated 1808. Clark compares these texts for conflicts in factual details and comments on the fluidity with which ballads, as a "traditional" expressive genre, move from oral to written form and back again, with modifications possible at every point. Building on this recognition, he argues that the ballads about the meetinghouse tragedy should *not* be considered as "true folksongs." Drawing from such scholars as George Malcolm Laws and Tristram Potter Coffin, Clark builds a case that true folksongs must be reliant on oral transmission for their continued vitality, a vitality that the relative fixity of writing or printing compromises. He then suggests that because oral transmission and the associated problems of "community authorship" are defining features, ballads with a single known author do not qualify as such; and that, according to Coffin, a folksong somehow depends upon the "loss of uniqueness" of its nominal subject matter. Here Clark quotes directly from Coffin: "Even what an individual claims to have happened is less important than what the group or groups felt must have happened. Events are personal, subjective, unique; folk records of them are general, formulaic, trite" (p. 67). Arguing that his ballad texts are rooted in a scribal culture and never attain the descriptive reductionism or thematic compression demanded by the "loss of uniqueness" argument, Clark prefers his texts to be "popular," or more often, "vernacular," with all of the latter's evocation of being rooted in a single place.

This argument works well enough. However, to rely on the work of Laws (1964) or Coffin (1966) begs the question: has anything been written since then on ballad making that would rescue the "folksong" and thereby anchor this example of narrative obituary verse in the genre's long and diverse history? A good place to have begun might have been *Folksongs and Their Makers* (1970), coauthored by Edward D. Ives, Henry Glassie, and John F. Szwed. In three long case studies, these folklorists, a generation younger than Laws and Coffin, dismantled much of the wisdom they had inherited. Folksongs could and did easily migrate between oral, scribal, and printed media, and each one thus likely had a different life history of its own. More importantly, these authors asserted that all folksongs

are, at base, the work of a single, often known, author, and the personal or subjective quality of any text can persist alongside attempts by subsequent listeners to shift the story to new contexts. The myth of communal authorship has been dead among ballad scholars—including David Buchan, Kenneth S. Goldstein, and Jamie Moreira—for the past thirty years. This is worth pointing out here in order to stress that while “vernacular” may be an adept label these days for legend formation and local architecture as well as for ballad making, its universal adoption risks splitting local forms away from comparative examples from other places, other times. While the rhetoric of the “true folksong” may have fallen on hard times among microhistorians, its advantage has always tied to the opening it allows for intercultural analysis.

Clark’s book deserves wide reading. He approaches the “meaning” of catastrophic loss in a small New Hampshire community through what may have been its highest art form—the ballad—and he does so sensitively and succinctly. Given that vernacular art compresses within its boundaries the felt tensions of beauty and loss, of sanctity and sacrifice, it should be a primary skill of the cultural historian to address its disciplined use as evidence. As it takes on this great challenge, this is a jewel of a book.

ROBERT BLAIR ST. GEORGE
University of Pennsylvania

EDWARD J. CASHIN. *William Bartram and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 319. \$39.95.

In all of the literature about the American Revolution, the details of life and change on the southern frontier have often been neglected. Edward J. Cashin addresses this oversight in a unique way by analyzing the well known *Travels* (1791) of naturalist William Bartram in the context of his experiences on that frontier. By juxtaposing Bartram’s encounters while taking his notes for *Travels* with the political, military, and social history of the American Revolution on the southern frontier in the 1770s, Cashin succeeds at adding understanding to both stories.

Bartram’s association with men in South Carolina and Georgia inevitably gave him knowledge of the events leading to the conflict, but he chose not to comment on them. According to Cashin, Bartram “intended to describe an ideal America, an America as he wished it to be” (p. 87). A Quaker who believed that all men should live together in brotherly love, Bartram greeted patriots, tories, and especially Native Americans equally with compassion and friendship. He relished the long hours and days he spent alone with only the company of nature. Harping upon that theme throughout his book, Cashin maintains that Bartram “deliberately ignored the fractious world of humans and focused on the ideal world of plants, animals, and a few selected good people” (p. 159). Once the conflict had ended, Bartram’s interest in the welfare of his

friends had no relationship to which side they had supported.

In his travels from Charleston, South Carolina, to the Mississippi River, Bartram was never far away from many of the events leading to the Revolution. In Charleston, he witnessed the slave culture, the pursuit of wealth and pleasure, and the radical Christopher Gadsden’s condemnation of royal authority in America. Ignoring the talk of war, Bartram reveled in the beauty of the flowers, trees, and shrubs and in his plans to head into the wilderness of Georgia. Since he maintained his connection with his surrogate father, the reluctant patriot Henry Laurens who later became president of the Continental Congress, Bartram must have known of the debates that ultimately led to independence and war. In Augusta and Savannah, Georgia, and in East Florida, Bartram listened to the talk of politics but busied himself preparing for his lonely expeditions into the backcountry. Nevertheless, “history seemed to follow him about” (p. 118) as the uneasy relationship between the Americans and Great Britain deteriorated and often found expression on the frontier.

Bartram’s fascination with Native Americans allowed him the opportunity to comment on their relationship to British authorities and other white settlers on the frontier. Since he liked the Indians so much, he approached them in friendship, which they reciprocated. They sometimes invited him to their congresses and urged him to test his physical prowess against that of their own strong young men. In an almost incredible encounter with a warrior in East Florida who had vowed to kill the next white man he saw, the unarmed Bartram thrust out his hand and said “brother” (p. 81). The disconcerted Indian responded in kind and directed Bartram to the nearest trading post. An unofficial diplomat, Bartram made peace with every tribe of Indians he encountered. Likewise, he would “use his notes to teach Americans about the Cherokees and the Muscogulges, those other Americans” (p. 207).

Cashin’s research and analysis of Bartram is extensive and complete, giving his book the weight of a major authority on the man and his travels. For sources on the revolutionary era, however, he avoids some recent monographs and biographies in favor of more general accounts. His work adds at least a chapter to the study of the southern frontier on the eve of the Revolution, and he reminds scholars that the comprehensive monograph about the southern colonies on the frontier remains to be written. By pairing Bartram with the political and military events which the naturalist chose to disregard, Cashin offers us a valuable lesson in the art of historiography.

E. STANLY GODBOLD, JR.
Mississippi State University

JOHN KUO WEI TCHEN. *New York before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture 1776–1882*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 385. \$42.50.

This is a work of singular importance. By connecting the history of Chinese settlement in New York City beginning in the early decades of the nineteenth century to American ideas about China and Chinese people during the Revolution and the early republic, John Kuo Wei Tchen opens up a new paradigm for understanding the centrality of the "Orient" to the formation of American culture.

Although most studies of racial formation in the nineteenth century that have included Asian Americans (such as Ronald Takaki's *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in nineteenth-Century America* [1979]) have focused on the relationship of racial formation to production, Tchen brilliantly ties the racial construction of the Oriental not only to labor agitation over the "Chinese question" but also to the question of trade and consumption in the construction of American culture. Tchen shows how multiple discourses of the Oriental shaped class status across American society in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and how notions of the "Orient" permeated every level of society and influenced American culture.

Tchen shows how the taste for Chinese goods from porcelain to tea defined the status of new commercial elites in the early republic. By the first decades of the nineteenth century, an emergent middle class became fascinated with the raced Asian body displayed in museums, dioramas, and on the stage. By the 1870s, members of the largely immigrant, white working class feared both the specter of Chinese labor and the loss of their own racial privilege through the marriage of Chinese immigrant men and Irish immigrant women.

As a result of Tchen's book, the standard narrative of Asian immigration history—which begins with Chinese migration to the California gold rush—will need considerable revision. Tracing Chinese settlement in New York to Chinese sailors and transmigrant workers from the Caribbean two decades before gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill, Tchen transforms our geographic and chronological frameworks for understanding the history of Asian immigration to the United States. Furthermore, Tchen shows the extraordinary range of occupations among Chinese settlers in mid-nineteenth-century New York. He notes that, in 1873, there were sailors, peddlers, cigar makers, confectioners and retailers among the five hundred Chinese New Yorkers.

Asian Americanists are, however, not the only ones who will be challenged by this meticulously researched and gracefully written combination of social history and the history of racial discourse. Urban historians will find Tchen's exploration of the intersection of commerce, immigration, ethnicity, and race in the making of early nineteenth-century New York an important addition to the history of the city. This book should take its place alongside such books as Sean Wilentz's *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788–1850* (1984), and Christine Stansell's *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (1986) as required reading on

the social history of the city. Against the backdrop of America's seemingly insatiable taste for things Chinese and the China trade that fueled the growth of the Port of New York, Tchen shows how class politics constructed an increasing hostile representation of Chinese immigrants as an alien threat to labor and wages, family and sexuality, and public health. While the voices of American Chinese are difficult to recuperate, Tchen's close analysis gives us a finely textured portrait of the Chinese community, taking us into the world of Chinese candy peddlers, cigar makers, opera troops, sailors, and shopkeepers. He presents a detailed account of Chang and Eng, the original "Siamese twins," the stars of P. T. Barnum's American Museum, who became slaveholding southern gentry, married sisters, and between them fathered twenty-two children. He shows us the Protestant Sunday Schools where Chinese immigrant men were brought together with young white women under the aegis of learning and teaching English and the Bible, and the households of Chinese men and Irish women in the Five Points. Finally, Tchen finds an American Chinese voice in Wong Ching Foo, a lecturer, essayist, and political organizer who championed the rights of the excluded and disenfranchised Chinese immigrants.

Tchen has presented us an engaging and challenging book that breaks down the artificial barriers between Asian-American and American history.

ROBERT G. LEE
Brown University

ROBERT KELLEY SCHNEIDERS. *Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xi, 314. \$35.00.

Robert Kelley Schneiders's book joins a growing and important body of literature that explores the historical relationship between people and rivers. The Missouri River itself has been the object of numerous book-length treatments over the course of the twentieth century, many of which are noted in this volume's introduction. (Some readers will wonder, however, why Henry Hart's *The Dark Missouri* [1957] does not appear in the author's bibliographical overview.) Schneiders concentrates on the activities of local and regional groups in promoting navigational improvements on the lower end of the Missouri River Valley, from Sioux City, Iowa, to St. Louis Missouri. He does, however, put the navigation story on the lower river in a larger context by juxtaposing the role and influence of white and Native American interests and by factoring in mainstem dams constructed during the Depression and after World War II in the Dakotas and Montana. These dams generate hydroelectric power, attempt to regulate the depth of the navigation channel and the volume of flood waters in the lower river, and contribute to the fundamental restructuring of the Missouri River.

Schneiders takes a long, chronological view of the

Missouri, beginning with the river as it existed before European contact and ending with a major push to conquer and control the Missouri in the decades after World War II. The volume contains ten chapters bracketed by an introduction and a conclusion. Chapters two through four establish a foundation for understanding the dramatic transformation of the Missouri that took place in the twentieth century; they offer a quick snapshot of the modern, engineered river, an overview of the river before navigational improvements, and highlights of settlement and development between 1803 and 1880. Schneiders's technique of beginning with the modern river invites readers to ask two important, interrelated historical questions about the Missouri River: how did it get that way? How does a study of past interaction between people and the river help us to understand the form and function(s) of the Missouri as it exists today?

Chapters five through eleven, which make up the bulk of the book, chronicle the long and unevenly successful efforts to control the Missouri River for navigation and flood control from the end of the nineteenth century through the 1990s. Chapter five discusses the abandonment of the river in the late nineteenth century, largely as a result of the development of a national rail transportation network, while chapters six through ten offer a chronological examination of revived interest in navigational improvements and the reengineering of the river for navigation and flood control in the twentieth century. Chapter eleven, "The Mighty Missouri and the Final Quest for Control," addresses the often unintended and intertwined social and environmental consequences of decades of attempting to regulate the Missouri with navigational improvements, flood control structures, and dams on the main stem and tributaries.

In addition to the chronological overview of the development of the river for navigation and flood control, the author sheds much light on the role of local and regional interests as a key constituency for river improvement and on the competition between the states of the upper and lower Missouri River Valley. Indeed, one of the strengths of the book is the care and insight that Schneiders brings to his analysis of the efforts of grass-roots organizations, juxtaposed against the marginalization of Native Americans. The book is also quite successful in its examination of the interplay between local interests and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, as well as in its explanation of the technical aspects of the development of the navigation channel. Readers will come away with a clear understanding of the engineering challenges and techniques involved in creating and maintaining a navigation channel in the bed of the Missouri River.

Although this book does some things quite well, it is in the end both useful and frustrating. The prose is clear and adequate but also tends to be a bit stiff and workmanlike. Within the boundaries adopted by the author, the book does a very good job examining the role of local and regional interests, and it is here where

the analysis rests on a firm foundation of manuscript research. What the book lacks is a solid base of primary research in federal sources, especially the records of the Corps of Engineers, which would have rounded out the analysis. As was the case with efforts to regulate and control the Missouri River, the successes of Schneiders's work are tempered by shortcomings and the results are mixed at best.

PHILIP V. SCARPINO

*Indiana University-Purdue University,
Indianapolis*

STEPHANIE S. PINCETL. *Transforming California: A Political History of Land Use and Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 372. \$45.00.

This extensively researched account of the politics and economics of California's changing landscape is intriguing, provocative, and, in the end, frustrating. The basic theme argued is the contrast between the idealistic aspirations for the state "based on science and romanticism, planning and coordination—and capitalist development" (p. 3). But at every turn, as the author convincingly makes clear, the dynamics of a relatively unbridled capitalist economy swept the field. Although their prerogatives were sometimes hotly contested, the entrepreneurs and developers prevailed in most instances. In that sense, California reflected the larger political economy of the nation-state, the exemplar of capitalism on the global stage.

In six lengthy chapters and a brief concluding section, Stephanie S. Pincetl traces the evolution of California from the Gold Rush era to the present, focusing primarily on alterations to the natural environment. Her inquiry attempts to describe at once the state's always evolving politics and its relation to specific changes in land-use practices. This approach contributes to a somewhat truncated organizational strategy, with subsections within chapters shifting between forestry and fisheries management, urban growth, changing agricultural practices, and water development. An alternative scheme might have treated each of these categories in separate and discrete chapters.

History weighs heavily in this story, especially the enduring legacy of the old Spanish land grants and their heavy print on the state's agricultural landscape. When the westward-expanding United States assumed imperial control of California from Mexico, the landholdings remained intact after passing to Anglo ownership (and subsequently being upheld in U.S. courts). As writers from Josiah Royce to Carey McWilliams have argued, the Golden State never experienced the honored tradition of the small landholding farmer. The consequences of land monopoly run everywhere through California's history: huge landholdings (especially in the Central Valley), and the rural/agricultural domination of politics until court-ordered reapportionment in 1965 gave urban residents a fair voice in

state governance. While treating the latter reform as an advance for California democracy, the author probably exaggerates its potential, because the state's powerful infrastructure of capitalist development remained firmly in place.

The key to Pincetl's argument, and the most problematic claim in the book, is the lasting influence of early twentieth-century Progressive reforms in shaping California's political culture. Because "most of the Progressive political reforms are still in place today" (p. 36), they have cast a shadow through the state's politics that has survived the twentieth century. When the author suggests that greater democratic control over land and development policies might have contributed to a different California landscape, we should remember that democracy always has survived best in those nations with powerful and vibrant capitalist economies. In brief, democracy and capitalism are most compatible. That does not, however, distract from the wonderful social vision of the progressive and insurgent movements that have periodically touched California's politics. To place responsibility for land-use disasters on the spirit of Progressive-era political reforms, however, misses the point. To posit such an argument fails to confront the endlessly creative power of capitalism to reconfigure itself and to fend off periodic challenges to its hegemony.

One must remember that Progressive-era reform was central to the spirit of the American political tradition: the longstanding mistrust of "special interests," the belief that party politics was prone to corruption and that civic welfare was best served through such mechanisms as the initiative, recall, and referendum. To be sure, as Pincetl points out, there was nothing incompatible between Progressivism's dominant mood and the fundamental workings of capitalism. The promise and failure of two-term Governor Jerry Brown is a case in point. Despite the new attitudes, the hope, and the changes that appeared to be underway, in the end, traditional politics prevailed. Brown, the author indicates, was a "Progressive's Progressive," a believer in technical information as the basis for legislative decisions. Appoint informed people to the right positions and they would make the right decisions, even if they were to guard the public against the special interests they represented. Brown's beliefs, we know, were naïve and failed to reckon with the persisting power of institutionalized capitalism. But those ideas were not confined to the Progressive era alone; they existed in other historical settings as well.

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS
Oregon State University

CATHERINE E. KELLY. *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 258. \$39.95.

In this imaginative reading of the writings of antebellum New England rural women, Catherine E. Kelly positions her cultural/intellectual analysis as an extension of the work of Christopher Clark, Jonathan Prude, and Jeanne Boydston to show us how rural women contributed to the development of a distinct, provincial middle class. In a carefully, closely argued first chapter, she insists that women's experiences as reflected in the language of their literary expressions provide new ways to understand the social and cultural dimensions of the process and implications of rural industrialization. She thus draws together social and intellectual history with gender and class analysis. "Narratives about town and country, and particularly about the special nature of rural life, marked the uneasy intersection of tradition and transformation that characterized capitalist development" (p. 8).

This rich written legacy first spelled out the superiority of rural life over urban society as a way of clarifying economic change. But in revering and later creating the mythic, sentimentalized traditional household and New England village, the writers were actually participating in developing a provincial middle class to accommodate the great economic changes that were driving rural New England into the system of market capitalism. Especially after 1840, the hallowed traditions of the rural New England household preserved in women's narratives served to conceal and thus ameliorate the distinctive marks of that rising provincial middle class. As Kelly contends, the narratives reflect first an attempt to resist, then complicate, and finally to obscure the penetration of rural New England by market capitalism. This subtle, clever analysis insists that the intersection of gender, class, and cultural studies provides an additional key to revealing and understanding the impact of nineteenth-century economic change.

Kelly chides most historians of rural market transformation for ignoring gender analysis and social and labor historians of rural industrialization for ignoring middle-class formation, for privileging paid outwork, and for regarding female narratives as simply a record of behavior rather than an intellectual engagement with a changing world. Scholars in women's history have, she demonstrates, ascribed inappropriate urban middle-class markers, such as voluntary reform associations and a culture of female friendship, to rural middle-class women, when the rural academy and provincial sociability prove far more appropriate subjects. A cultural and intellectual analysis of rural bourgeois domesticity through the narratives found in letters, diaries, memoirs, friendship books, essays, and poetry brings together the insights of female writers enmeshed in and sensitive to that process of transformation. Cultural studies, which attempt to analyze class, culture, and gender, should, Kelly argues, do more than examine and deconstruct cultural productions. Discourse analysis must be linked to narratives of self, family, and community and their engagement in interpreting a changing world. That world included

important changes in consumption, sociability, courtship, marriage, fashion, and gender roles and identities, which helped to define the emergent provincial middle class.

Kelly shows in fascinating detail the slowly evolving meanings of sewing from women's activities in household production based on customs of local exchange into a new definition of needlework that connoted feminine, maternal, even sentimental domesticity. The author's sharp eye picks out both the contestations and contradictions in these changing meanings and makes them central to an emerging middle-class female sensibility. After 1840, the persistence of traditional household values in these narratives and in a rural culture increasingly influenced by market capitalism provoked tensions between young men and women over the meanings of marriage, over the contradictions of passions and prospects in courtship, and over the practical and the romantic in rural sociability and identity. Rural provincials constructed their own middle-class society that did not rigidly separate and gender the private and public spheres as did the urban middle class but maintained the ideal of "heterosociability" in, for example, singing schools, public academy examinations, agricultural festivals, and political rituals. Still, however idealized, these rituals and occasions based on tradition served to obscure class differences and the increasing gentility of the developing rural middle class.

Do the narratives and other less "intellectual" evidence used by Kelly and drawn primarily from the region of the Connecticut River Valley also reflect the substantial rural populations in Maine, Rhode Island, eastern Massachusetts, and Connecticut where a provincial middle class was also forming? Could historians understand more deeply the development of this new provincial middle class within a context of those less fortunate neighbors, who along with declining household production also experienced an erosion of artisan status? This fine study should stimulate other scholars to pursue and evaluate Kelly's methods and insights.

MARY H. BLEWETT
University of Massachusetts,
Lowell

JOSEPH P. FERRIE. *Yankeys Now: Immigrants in the Antebellum United States, 1840–1860*. (NBER Series on Long-Term Factors in Economic Development.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 223. \$49.95.

A generation of historians has pondered the impact of European immigration on American society, on native-born citizens, and on the immigrants themselves. Community-based studies have generally concluded that the arrival of mostly unskilled European laborers depressed wages for native-born workers while offering little upward occupational mobility for immigrants. Economist Joseph P. Ferrie presents a sophisticated statistical portrait of antebellum immigrants to test

and refine that pessimistic view for the period 1840–1860. The heart of the study is a sample, drawn from ship lists, of more than 2600 European immigrants, largely from Britain, Germany, and Ireland, who disembarked at New York City during the 1840s. Ferrie linked these immigrants to the U.S. censuses of 1850 and 1860 and compared them to a control group of almost 5,000 natives and immigrants. The chief weakness of community-based studies is their lack of information about immigrants' status and experiences both before and after their usually limited residence within any specific community. Ferrie uses his rich database to transcend these limitations by including evidence of immigrants' occupation at arrival, their occupational and geographical mobility during their first few years in the U.S., and their situation up to twenty years after their arrival. His analysis includes sophisticated controls for a wide range of possible biases, including year of arrival, duration in the U.S., underenumeration in federal and local records, geographical mobility, mortality, and return migration.

Most of Ferrie's conclusions refine rather than challenge the traditional conclusions that historians have drawn from their analyses of antebellum immigration. Ferrie concludes that about two-thirds of immigrants left New York City almost immediately upon arrival, and one-half of them settled in only three states—New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. More geographically mobile than natives, immigrants clung to their initial states of settlement but were more likely than natives to change their counties of residence. Making "local adjustments" in their geographical and occupational situations, typically six out of seven immigrants moved across county boundaries during the 1850s. Germans, older immigrants, and the heads of large families were more likely to move west than were the Irish, the poor, younger immigrants, and individuals, probably because they commanded more and better resources upon arrival.

Ferrie's greatest contribution to the historical literature is his conclusion that immigrants enjoyed more occupational mobility than community-based studies have indicated. Linkage between ship lists and the U.S. census reveals that a substantial minority—forty-four percent—experienced occupational mobility immediately upon their arrival in the U.S., even before they settled into their final destinations. Far from a "floating proletariat," immigrants benefitted economically from frequent migration, and the most successful immigrants were the most likely to move. The lesson for historians is that the snapshot, cross-sectional approach to both community analysis and immigration history obscures real gains in occupational status and wealth accumulation that immigrants achieved by changing locations. Their frequent efforts to "fine-tune" their situations within the American economic landscape represented a sign of success rather than failure and quite often paid real dividends. Historians have long puzzled over the fate of out-migrants from the communities they study. Ferrie's analysis suggests

that movers fared no worse than the persisters they left behind. Meanwhile, competition with immigrants made little systematic impact on the economic success of native-born workers.

This book makes an important contribution to immigration history in several respects, setting new benchmarks for research through its sensitivity to the origins, timing, demographic profile, geographical concentration, and economic situation of antebellum immigrants. The late nineteenth century hosted far greater numbers of European immigrants, but the 1850s witnessed the highest rate of immigration in U.S. history, and Ferrie's analysis will undoubtedly resurrect the antebellum period as a vital component of American immigration history. Historians should keep in mind the limits of Ferrie's analysis, including the nearly exclusive focus on German, British, and Irish immigrants, the exclusive concentration on the port of New York, and the temporal restrictions that the available data impose. But after reading the book, they will undoubtedly refine the questions, methods, and hypotheses that they bring to both immigration history and community studies, as well as the conclusions that they glean from them.

KENNETH J. WINKLE
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

EDDIE S. GLAUDE, JR. *Exodus! Religion, Race, and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. x, 216. Cloth \$42.00, paper \$16.00.

Eddie S. Glaude, Jr. offers a reading of African-American Christianity during the antebellum period that seeks to shift the conversation toward a secular understanding of black religion's public role. Glaude examines the career of Exodus motifs in the black political imagination during the first half of the nineteenth century and determines that "out of black religious life emerged a concept of black national identity" that provided "a metaphorical framework for understanding the middle passage, enslavement, and quests for emancipation" (pp. 6, 3). His study is divided into two sections, with the first five chapters covering "Exodus History" and the concluding three chapters outlining "Exodus Politics." In the first chapter, Glaude maps the contours of his argument for a pragmatic view of race and nation in the nineteenth-century black political discourse. The second chapter looks at the public dimensions of African-American churches, emphasizing the way African Americans utilized the Exodus story to imagine themselves as God's chosen people, the children of Israel. He exegeses David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829) to show the connection between black religion and black political action and the necessity for black politics to provide a moral vision for both the black community and whites.

In chapters three and four, Glaude interprets the

impact of the Exodus narrative on the formulation of a national black identity in the early nineteenth century. He proposes that blacks used biblical typology to articulate their "sense of peoplehood" over and against the immoral other (racist American society). Glaude contends that African Americans maintained a commitment to the moral and ethical mandates of Bible-centered conceptions of race and nation by clinging to a sense of chosenness that mandated an ethical reading of blackness. He follows that up in the next chapter by showing the ethical dimensions of Exodus history at work in African-American "freedom celebrations," through which blacks were able to reenact stories of slavery, struggle, and deliverance and, in the process, develop and strengthen their notions of community.

The final three chapters of Glaude's book comprise an explanation of what he calls Exodus politics, which he defines as "a form of common complaint against oppression, a 'hope against hope' for deliverance, a sense of obligation to and solidarity with those similarly situated, and the knowledge that the true test of American democracy rested with the nation's darker sons and daughters" (p. 111). By analyzing the early years of the Negro Convention Movement, and the American Moral Reform Society, Glaude demonstrates how the public aspects of black religion he outlined in the first section actually were played out in the political organizations of black Americans. His discussion highlights a pragmatic view of race: that is, "the recognition that social and political conditions make racial solidarity an important political and social strategy."

This book is an important addition to the dialogue about nationhood, black nationalism, and the public role of black religion. Glaude helps us to see that in the first half of the nineteenth century, blacks (at least some of them) discovered a way to talk about race, religion, and nation while avoiding essential categories about what it means to be a "people." But the book is less of a national study than it purports to be. Glaude's exclusive focus on northern independent churches and the social organizations they seemingly spawned limits our understanding of African-American employment of nation language. I wonder what slaves thought of northern free blacks suggesting they revolt, and about the perspectives of free blacks in slaveholding states on this "national" conversation about race and nation? Nevertheless, Glaude's work expands the parameters of racial and religious discourse by providing an alternative vocabulary for discussing black religion in public spaces.

QUINTON HOSFORD DIXIE
Indiana University,
Bloomington

CHRISTOPHER WALDREP. *Roots of Disorder: Race and Criminal Justice in the American South, 1817-80*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1998. Pp. xiv, 267. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Book titles can be misleading. This book does not actually cover "race and criminal justice in the American South." It focuses, instead, on a single county in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, a unique region known for its large cotton plantations, huge black majority, and brutal Civil War experience. Examining the Delta has been a favorite pastime of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, musicologists, and assorted students of American culture. In the 1930s, John Dollard and Hortense Powdermaker published monumental accounts of day-to-day life in the Delta town of Indianola, while Allison Davis did much the same for Natchez, on the Delta's southern rim. Since that time scholars have produced a steady stream of monographs and dissertations about slavery, war, reconstruction, lynching, the blues, sharecropping, segregation, and civil rights in the Delta, culminating in James C. Cobb's superb overall history, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (1992).

Christopher Waldrep focuses on the vital relationship between formal law and vigilante justice. Compiling a database of crimes prosecuted in Warren County (Vicksburg) from 1817 to 1879, he argues persuasively that white Delta culture, forged in the violence of slavery and frontier life, relied heavily on extralegal measures to enforce community norms. In the 1840s and 1850s, Vicksburg's growing success as a commercial center led some merchants to demand an effective legal system for the regulation of obnoxious public behavior and the collection of debts. Although the courts gained a tenuous foothold in these years, they did little to discourage mob rule or to undermine dueling as the "honorable" way of settling personal disputes. Furthermore, in a county where seventy percent of the population was slave, the criminal justice system was limited almost exclusively to whites. "Most of the time," writes Waldrep, "whites punished miscreant slaves on their plantations and farms. When slaves committed crimes off plantations, whites preferred to try them before magistrates and with minimal due process" (p. 36). As a result, whites and blacks viewed statute law as largely irrelevant to their lives.

War and Reconstruction served to harden this belief. The siege of Vicksburg brought chaos, starvation, and humiliating defeat. Civil government collapsed. Soldiers on both sides pillaged the city and surrounding countryside. Not surprisingly, emancipation heightened white fears of black criminality. In the white imagination, writes Waldrep, "only the chains of slavery had protected white civilization from the black beast. Now those shackles lay shattered, and the brutal children of Africa prowled the landscape unrestrained" (p. 103).

In response, white officials in Mississippi, as elsewhere in the South, passed new legislation—the Black Codes—to restrict the behavior of former slaves and then beefed up the lower court system to enforce these laws. But such measures were not nearly enough, whites believed, because emancipation had changed

the political dynamic of Warren County, as blacks began to vote, sit on juries, and hold important offices, including sheriff. The next step was obvious. When civil authority law proved unwilling or insufficient to uphold community standards, mob rule came into play.

As Reconstruction unfolded in Warren County, black hopes and white fears collided with murderous force. Whites buried their class and ethnic differences to unite against "Negro Republican rule." Armed white mobs forced the resignation of black Sheriff Peter Crosby and used violence to drive Republican voters from the polls. Dozens of blacks were murdered by white militia units patrolling the streets of Vicksburg. As Waldrep makes clear, this bloodshed marked the birth of a new coalition—a solid, racially defined white community—based on the legitimacy of extralegal violence and the reduced role of statute law.

This portrait is not exactly new. Much of Waldrep's book adds fresh detail to a familiar story. Historians will find it most useful, I suspect, in revising, or perhaps reaffirming, their views about Reconstruction justice in a solidly Republican place. Waldrep demonstrates, with great care, that white fears concerning "black domination" of the judicial process—could former slaves be trusted to protect the property rights of their former masters?—were exaggerated, to say the least. In reality, says Waldrep, local Republicans "carefully refrained from challenging established traditions," with the notable exception of integrating the juries (p. 145). Although blacks surely felt more comfortable with the new court system, the majority of cases tried in Warren County during Republican Reconstruction still involved white-on-white crime, meaning that whites did not desert the legal process. Moreover, these integrated juries convicted white and black defendants at about the same rate as had earlier all-white juries.

In the end, the truths of Republican Reconstruction were largely ignored. What mattered above all, notes Waldrep, was the perception that had dominated white thinking from slavery forward: "Law could never be made oppressive enough to effectively control African Americans" (p. 174).

DAVID M. OSHINSKY
Rutgers University

LESTER D. STEPHENS. *Science, Race, and Religion in the American South: John Bachman and the Charleston Circle of Naturalists, 1815–1895*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 338. \$39.95.

Lester D. Stephens looks at the scientific writings of six nineteenth-century naturalists whose work and lives were associated with Charleston, South Carolina. Stephens's wide-ranging research and talents as a sympathetic biographer cast welcome light on the importance of this group, which consisted of Lutheran minister and mammalogist John Bachman (1790–1874), whom Stephens features; Francis S.

Holmes (1815–1882), a planter as well as a naturalist; John McCrady (1831–1881), a student of fossils who made a point of rejecting Charles Darwin's theories; and three naturalists with medical training, Edmund Ravenel (1797–1871), Lewis R. Gibbes (1810–1894), and John Edwards Holbrook (1794–1871).

The careers of these men are a reminder of how natural science of the period was the occupation of amateurs in the literal sense, people whose studies arose from a personal passion to collect, catalogue, and organize the animals and plants vouchsafed to their part of North America. Theirs was a labor without funding, opportunity for wide travel, or links to institutions. And the men selected by Stephens for closer examination, although more prominent than many, were not alone. The antebellum years were the United States' most democratic era for scientific work, where women and men "botanized" in their local woods, raised medicinal plants and rare specimens, catalogued birds, collected fossils, and believed that they were contributing to a posterity of knowledge about their land.

Based largely on published scientific writings, along with personal correspondence, the first eight of this book's twelve chapters are each centered on an individual, tracing his struggles to refine and rationalize taxonomy, methods of collection and preservation, and the larger problems of understanding the nature of scientific proof. This approach poses difficulties for the book's range and thesis. Although apparently, from its title, a study of these men's scientific work within the context of racial slavery and Christian religion, the book does not focus on race and religion in a sustained way until the final four chapters. Here Stephens traces the fierce debate over the "unity" of the human species, in which Bachman, especially, became swept up. This was a debate over whether the Bible's Adam was the forbear of all "races," or whether God created each race separately. Bachman, under full sail of his religious faith, was alone among the six in maintaining the biblical and therefore historical unity of blacks and whites, although his principal antagonist was not any of his fellow Charlestonians but the Mobile, Alabama physician and racial theorist Josiah Nott.

This was an important debate, coming to a crisis along with the larger debate over slavery in the 1850s, but by featuring it so late in his book Stephens tends to mute both its origins and influence on the thinking of the protagonists. Thus, the scientific issues at stake for Bachman in the debate over race—the proper taxonomy of species and the nature of hybridity—are not clearly seen in relation to his more general work on mammals. Similarly, the religious passion and natural theology that drove Bachman's defense of the one-origin theory scarcely appear in the discussion of his career before 1850. Moreover, the organization of the book tends to isolate each man within the confines of his own biography; the "circle" of Charleston naturalists is not portrayed whole, and Charleston as a city and intellectual culture hardly at all. Occasionally, we

are told of communication among the men, but nowhere is there a sustained picture of who was close to whom, how they socialized and shared work, or even whether such a dimension can be pulled from the sources.

Finally, there is the matter of slavery. Stephens rightly observes that many nonsoutherners also supported the theory of multiple origins of the races that relegated Africans to an inferior status. He maintains that the unanimous support for slavery among the six men revealed their moral limits but not their limits as scientists. And yet, it seems clear, to me at least, that their support for slavery led them to invest a great deal of intellectual energy in doomed racial theories that narrowed and blighted their scientific work. Their support for slavery also led directly to their support of secession and war, from which scientific study in Charleston was a long time recovering.

STEVEN M. STOWE
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JAMES TURNER. *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 507. \$45.00.

This is biography in the grand manner and old-fashioned way, and two-thirds of this "life and times" are superbly rendered. It is compellingly and sometimes exquisitely written. James Turner sustains a stance and tone of sympathetic irony that enlivens the material he presents and provides deep and engaging insights into his protagonist. More importantly, the "times" of Norton's "life" are interpreted informatively and with intelligence and imagination. Relatedly, the intellectual and public aspects of Norton are examined in a felicitous and penetrating manner. Norton as a person, however, is more elusive. Since he destroyed much of his private correspondence and was restrained about vetting his personal life and feelings, Turner may have done the best anyone could do. Nevertheless, he might have probed further into the virtually universal generosity, sympathy, and general rectitude that he and Norton's contemporaries attributed to the Boston Brahmin scholar and gentleman. Was he really that unblemished? If so, what were the sources and sustaining forces of this nobility?

A former fellow toiler in the field of upper-class Boston society and culture, I found very few misstatements and no misconceptions. Errors of fact and emphasis are not only rare; they are trivial. Turner might have considered further the contribution of the patriciate to medical research and practice when he asserted that the "great weakness for most of the [nineteenth] century" in Brahmin intellectuality "was natural science" (p. 18). Thomas Wentworth Higginson might have been a "Civil War hero" (p. 14) to kin and associates in the elite, but not in army service, which triggered some kind of breakdown, or on the battlefield, where he fought rarely. What in other

books might be a sampler here turns into an exhaustive but scarce and trifling list of dubious declarations. A final mild reservation is that Turner could have more precisely credited his forerunners and colleagues in Boston Brahmin studies.

Turner perceptively explores Norton's place in and contributions to American thought and culture. In the second half of the nineteenth century, he ranked at the top of America's humanists and men of letters, and after James Russell Lowell's death, he reigned supreme in this department. Norton was also America's preeminent polymath; first among this nation's Dante and Donne scholars and its foremost historian of art and architecture. Nor was Norton a mere closeted scholar. He was the original professor of art history in the United States, created the Archaeological Institute of America and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, established Dante studies in this country, and was a progenitor of the humanities, academic professionalism, graduate studies, and the elective system in American universities. Norton's reputation was not confined to this side of the Atlantic. He was the chief anchor here for the Anglo-American cultural coalition that fully emerged in the Victorian era.

Notwithstanding its signal virtues, there is a void at the core of the book. This emptiness, however, proceeds from a flaw in Norton, not in Turner. As Turner notes, his subject was not a profound or original thinker and did not alter his fundamental ideas in the course of his long life. Consequently the pages of this book sometime buckle under the repetitive and derived judgments of the genteel tradition, of which Norton was both an ornament and a prisoner. Of new trends in art, architecture, and literature, we hear nothing from this Brahmin scholar. Where Norton was deficient, however, Turner is abundant. His book is a distinguished monument to its hero, and this monument may be more of a masterpiece than the original.

FREDERIC COPLE JAHER
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

D. G. HART. *The University Gets Religion: Religious Studies in American Higher Education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 321. \$38.00.

This book has two purposes. It proposes to tell the story of the rise and development of the study of religion in higher education in the United States, and it offers a critique of the field of religious studies. Unfortunately, the two purposes are unrelated, and the critique falls flat.

D. G. Hart makes clear at the outset that his narrative will not deal principally with institutions, major figures, seminal texts, or curricular developments. It will take up, instead, rationales for the insertion of religious studies into the academy, especially into the research university, and will attend to

the debates, arguments, and (often special) pleadings surrounding an emergent field. Hart's history of rhetoric is broken into three parts. During the period from 1870 to 1925, Hart finds that those responsible for the rather haphazard creation of Bible colleges, schools of religion, and the study of religion across the academic curriculum used justifications that were an incompatible blend of pleas for the scientific study of religion with arguments for the need to make undergraduates both personally religious and responsible for a civic faith. Articulated by mainline Protestants, these rationales aimed to transcend the sectarianism of the denominations, but in fact they were sectarian themselves, as they were liberal Protestant to the core. Equally Protestant and even more academically suspect were the arguments for the field that surfaced during the second period, from 1925 to 1965. The study of religion prospered in the academy during these decades, as arguments for its existence were tied to the blossoming of the humanities, general education, and neo-orthodox Protestant theology. Although appealing to the need to foster liberal democracy and character-building during years of social and cultural crisis, defenders of the value of religious studies were at the same time proponents of the Bible as the Word of God and adopted areas of study that duplicated those of Protestant seminaries. In the final period of this story, 1965 to the present, Hart believes he discovers a field in disarray. Eager to abandon the Protestant biases of the past, adapt to the pluralism of contemporary America, and claim once again a scientific approach, religious studies faculty allegedly created a discipline without a center, one that remains marginalized in the university, devoid of an academic rationale to replace a Protestant perspective, and characterized by widespread disagreement over academic purpose.

Hart claims (p. xi) that he has unveiled "the hidden history" of religious studies, but much of his story has already been told, and indeed he relies heavily upon secondary sources for his history. There is some value in having available his summary of the history of rationales for this field of study. The problem lies in his attempt to rest his critique upon that summary and his assessment of the current scene. Only on rare occasions—for instance, in his mention of curricular planning at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century and his citation of a survey of religious instruction during World War II—does Hart attempt to determine how, if at all, rationales for the field of religious studies found embodiment in institutions, research, and curriculum. As a result, most of his accusations against the field are diatribes. He asserts, for example, that religious studies "has failed to produce first-rate scholarship" (p. 242). No evidence is marshaled for that charge. But then, what would count in favor of the charge apart from a careful evaluation of the thousands of scholarly works in religious studies that have appeared since 1965? Equally serious are his unverified assertions that religious studies has not

found a welcome home in the research university, has not been significantly shaped by the history of religions or the social sciences, and has become merely a clearinghouse for diverse, unrelated disciplines rather than a collection of different inquiries unified by their object of study. And it apparently escapes Hart's notice that arguments among religious studies faculty about the meaning of their field may be a sign of intellectual vitality rather than of utter confusion, that the mark of any mature field—be it literature, history, or religious studies—is the emergence of a diversity of approaches, or that one can study religious traditions without being “dependent” (pp. 15, 86) on them and their beliefs.

In the final paragraph of his book, Hart says that “religion does not do well in the hands of academics, whether they are sympathetic to it or not. Because the university is incapable of evaluating dogmatic claims and supernaturally inspired texts, the religion it tolerates tends to be the thin variety that [H. L.] Mencken described” (pp. 250–251). One suspects that Hart rests his charges against religious studies more on his own dogmatic and supernaturalist convictions than on the history of the field.

CONRAD CHERRY
Indiana University-Purdue University,
Indianapolis

JAMES H. MOORHEAD. *World Without End: Mainstream American Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880–1925*. (Religion in North America, number 28.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xxii, 241. \$29.95.

Anyone who has observed the half-filled pews and sea of gray hair in America's no-longer “mainstream” Protestant places of worship, in contrast to the nation's thriving evangelical, fundamentalist, and charismatic churches, cannot fail to recognize that seismic changes have overwhelmed American Protestantism. In *Why Conservative Churches are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion* (rev. ed., 1977), Dean M. Kelley blamed the liberal churches' pursuit of social activism to the neglect of parishioners' longings for community and spiritual nurture. James H. Moorhead agrees and traces the problem to the turn-of-the-century decades, when many Protestant leaders, responding to the era's intellectual and social upheavals, abandoned or watered down such central evangelical tenets as Christ's literal Second Coming, the resurrection of the dead, and hell as a real place of eternal punishment. Instead, they promulgated a new eschatology that envisioned perpetual human progress, the redemption of the present age through social action, and an ever-closer approximation of Christ's kingdom through human effort. Operationalizing this new eschatology, the mainstream denominations and their ecumenical agency, the Federal Council of Churches, launched a frenetic round of fundraising, social reform, foreign missionizing, and bureaucratic tinkering to increase

their “efficiency,” resulting in a spiritually inert “corporate Protestantism.”

These leaders were not consciously embracing “secularization,” Moorhead makes clear. As Jacob H. Dorn has argued, their aim was to “sacralize” all realms of life. But the effect was to dilute evangelicalism's emotional power and diminish mainstream Protestantism's appeal for ordinary churchgoers seeking meaning in their lives; reassurance amid unsettling social changes; and a theology willing to address the realities of evil, suffering, and death. Amid this pervasive theological reorientation, Moorhead argues, many ordinary Protestants drifted away; reduced their involvement; or turned to evangelical and fundamentalist denominations or new sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, which stressed personal holiness over social reconstruction and clung to the more emotionally satisfying literalist beliefs in bodily resurrection, heaven and hell, and Christ's return to right the evils of the present age and usher in the Millennium by divine, not human means.

Demonstrating an impressive mastery of primary and secondary sources, Moorhead documents his generally persuasive argument with copious quotations. One must note that this is intellectual history of a fairly traditional variety: the social context of ideas is rather loosely sketched and very general, and the eclectic quotes, while they buttress the point at hand, are sometimes drawn from sources widely separated in time and of diverse provenance, diminishing the sense of thinkers in close dialogue with each other in an unfolding process of theological reorientation. Greater attention to denominational magazines and Sunday School curricula might have conveyed more fully how deeply this eschatological shift among theologians and seminarians penetrated the actual “mainstream” of mainstream Protestantism. Few statistics or other forms of evidence document shifts in denominational strength or intensity of church members' involvement, leaving Moorhead's picture of a serious erosion in the number and commitment of mainstream Protestants in the early twentieth century largely unsubstantiated. (I offer these comments in all humility, recognizing that such advice is easier to dispense than to apply in one's own work!)

Moorhead clearly deplores the liberal churches' turn from Protestantism's historic eschatology to this-world concerns, blaming it for their twentieth-century loss of members and cultural authority and their nonstop cycle of “frenzied activism” concealing the hollowness at their core. From this perspective, he largely ignores the actual social issues the liberal churches addressed, whether peace, international cooperation, child labor, slum housing, temperance, industrial democracy, “Christian socialism,” or unregulated corporate power. Their intense civil rights and antiwar activism in the 1950s and 1960s, celebrated in Harvey Cox's 1965 bestseller *The Secular City: Secularization and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, is treated as a final spasm of activism masking their spiritual impotence.

Since Moorhead clearly has little use for the “fantasies and terrors” of the fundamentalist end-time scenario that emerged as an alternative to the liberal churches’ humanistic eschatology, it remains unclear what other course he believes the mainstream churches might better have chosen. The question of whether the liberal churches’ decline is the result of their abandonment of a more awe-inspiring and emotionally satisfying traditionalist eschatology, or simply a byproduct of a broader conservative shift and ebbing of reform energies in late twentieth-century American public life, is not addressed.

Second-guessing aside, I am pleased to report that Moorhead, author of the earlier *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War, 1860–1869* (1978), has again enriched our understanding of American Protestantism; offered a serious, well-documented thesis regarding the larger trajectory of twentieth-century Protestantism; and made a robust contribution to the current efflorescence of scholarship in the once rather anemic field of U.S. religious history.

PAUL S. BOYER
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

SALLY GREGORY KOHLSTEDT, MICHAEL M. SOKAL, and BRUCE V. LEWENSTEIN. *The Establishment of Science in America: 150 Years of the American Association for the Advancement of Science*. Foreword by STEPHEN JAY GOULD. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 236. \$35.00.

Institutional histories are usually neither engaging nor informative, focusing far too much on internal issues and far too little on external formative ones. Such is not the case with this volume. The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), commemorating its one hundred fiftieth year, has underwritten a fine institutional history that places the development of the organization squarely within the context of the times. Sally Gregory Kohlstedt (who authored an excellent account of the early years of the organization), Michael M. Sokal, and Bruce V. Lewenstein are to be commended for an interesting and informative narrative that flows well from beginning to end.

Throughout the book, institutional history meshes seamlessly with the development of the scientific profession in the United States. By the middle of the nineteenth century, when the AAAS was founded, academically trained scientists (mostly located in northeastern universities) were seeking to distinguish themselves from amateurs and establish some sort of control over scientific authority. For decades, the organization struggled with the definition of professionalism, with geography that inhibited truly national meetings, and with increasing specialization that pulled scientists into a growing array of discipline-specific organizations. In addition, it faced a conflict of purpose: should the organization focus on public out-

reach or emphasize the need for research and other support for scientists?

By the turn of the twentieth century, some of these issues had been resolved. The concept of academic training as the primary basis for scientific expertise was well established. Improved transportation increasingly allowed scientists from many parts of the country to gather in large cities for annual meetings. In 1894, the organization acquired a publication vehicle, *Science*, which proved to be a good promotional tool even though its long-term editor, J. McKeen Cattell, became increasingly problematic with his insistence that the publication continue to appeal to the general public. Professionalism and support for research were the main concerns during the 1920s and 1930s. Social issues, such as the teaching of evolution, generated discussion but little action.

World War II drastically altered the focus of the organization. The United States became the world’s focal point for scientific research. An exponential increase in resources for research and development solidified that role. Concurrently, scientists gravitated to discipline-specific organizations for the exchange of information. The AAAS centered on advocating the use of science to improve human welfare and more actively promoted the presentation of scientific issues to the public. It spoke out on school curricula and political issues such as segregation. By the 1970s, it began to collaborate with public television on a weekly science show. Currently, the AAAS continues to hold an annual meeting with peer-reviewed sessions that run the gamut from recent scientific research to commentary on public issues, attracting thousands of people.

The reader comes away from the book understanding not only the development of an institution but the times that spawned and shaped it, from an era when scientists were desperate for a sense of professionalism to one when, confident in their expertise and professional sense of self, they turned their attention to the world around them. As is the case with such huge organizations, the AAAS is seldom galvanized into significant action. However, it provides a stage on which individuals can speak and at least calls attention to issues of public concern, such as the management of the environment.

The value of this book is that it portrays the development of the AAAS within the framework of the maturation of both the United States and the scientific profession. Additionally, the authors have taken care to make the book a pleasure to read. The prose flows well and stylistic changes from one section to the next are minimal. Furthermore, the authors have connected the sections with “hints” about what is to come. Kohlstedt ends her initial section with a foretaste of the organization’s middle years, and Sokal ends his section looking ahead to issues that Lewenstein addresses. This sense of continuity carries the reader through what otherwise might well be a litany of names

and events and marks this fine institutional history as a good read.

NANCY SMITH MIDGETTE
Elon College

JACQUELINE M. MOORE. *Leading the Race: The Transformation of the Black Elite in the Nation's Capital, 1880-1920*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1999. Pp. viii, 257. \$37.50.

After examining the black elite in Washington, D.C., Jacqueline M. Moore disputes earlier scholarly findings regarding the development of an African-American leadership class early in the twentieth century. Willard B. Gatewood, Kenneth L. Kusmer, August Meier, Allan H. Spear, and others have proposed that the group of black professionals who then assumed leadership differed from the more aristocratic black leaders who had dominated urban black life in the late nineteenth century. Arguing, in effect, that a new elite displaced an old one, they have emphasized the importance of the influx of blacks from the South in creating a new elite. Moore, on the other hand, finds considerable continuity among Washington's black elite between 1880 and 1920 and proposes a transformation in the elite instead of its displacement by a new group.

By the turn of the century, the black elite in the nation's capital had, according to Moore, given up on their post-Reconstruction hopes of separating themselves from the black masses and of cooperating and assimilating with whites. Racial segregation and disenfranchisement had instead forced the leading blacks, who at the time were sometimes called the Four Hundred, to become racially conscious and to ally with other blacks to strengthen the African-American community. As a result, Moore proposes, the basis for black elite social status changed from "their ties with prominent whites, their skin color, and their family backgrounds" in 1880 to "income, education, and the creation of independent institutions" by 1920 (p. 3). The new, more open elite based on ability and merit worked to improve the entire race by openly protesting racial discrimination.

After an introductory overview of the black elite in 1880, Moore in two chapters describes conditions among Washington's black elite by examining family life, culture, and leisure. She then presents her evidence in half a dozen structured chapters that focus on the key black institutions: churches, schools, colleges (mainly Howard University), businesses, and other professional, fraternal, and charitable organizations. Claiming that churches "provide a microcosm for the study of the transformation of the black elite," for example, Moore explains that the elite's initial attempts to distance themselves from the masses in separate churches yielded to a commitment to build religious institutions within the black community, and this shift occurred at the same time as the church became increasingly involved in racial uplift efforts (p.

70). While its general influence may have waned early in the century, the black church did produce and shape many reform leaders committed to the larger black community.

Moore presents an interesting discussion of the transformation in Howard University. Under the pressure of racial prejudice, the elite pulled away from northern white schools and began to stress the importance of their own separate universities for racial solidarity. Black faculty struggled for control of Howard against whites and their black allies, who included Booker T. Washington. The faculty rejected the accommodationist Tuskegee model in favor of an institution that would challenge the racial status quo. The faculty's success and Howard's development into a modern university represented a victory for the new elite.

In assessing occupations among Washington's black elite, Moore discovered the impact of increasing racial segregation. Black businessmen stressed racial solidarity to insure their economic success, but black professionals soon became the leaders of the elite. Although the shift from businessmen to professionals resembled that found by other scholars in studies of northern cities, in Washington, according to Moore, the change occurred about a decade earlier. Facing discrimination in employment, elite blacks also experienced declining job opportunities in the government. Businessmen, professionals, and civil servants among the elite did become leaders in efforts for racial uplift.

A topical approach apparently precluded a close identification of the Four Hundred and a thorough analysis of their changing characteristics over four decades. A scarcity of sources may also have kept Moore from presenting either a collective biography of the elite or biographies of the several important elite black families she identified. The sometimes sketchy notes prevent an appreciation of her research and any problems she may have encountered. Troubling omissions from her bibliography include major works by C. Vann Woodward, Howard N. Rabinowitz, and Joel Williamson, whose interpretations of southern race relations might have helped her formulate her research and analysis.

Moore's central contention regarding the transformation of the black elite in Washington seems persuasive, but it also demonstrates the need for more work on the Washington black community during the succeeding decades when the great migration surely affected the nation's capital and in the crucial years before the modern civil rights movement.

CHARLES W. EAGLES
University of Mississippi

IRMA WATKINS-OWENS. *Blood Relations: Caribbean Immigrants and the Harlem Community, 1900-1930*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 238. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.50.

Despite the large number of African-American community studies dealing with the 1890–1930 period, many important topics remain relatively untouched by scholars. One of these, the question of ethnic divisions within the black community, is addressed by Irma Watkins-Owens in her well-written study of Caribbean immigrants in Harlem. The subject of this book is not as broad as its title. The author has little to say about Spanish or French-speaking black migrants from the West Indies but instead focuses almost exclusively on newcomers from Jamaica, Trinidad, and other British colonies, where most of the Caribbean newcomers to New York originated. The impact of these immigrants was substantial. Many readers will be surprised to learn that 40,000 African Caribbeans settled in Harlem during the first three decades of the century. By 1930, they made up twenty-five percent of the nation's largest black community.

Watkins-Owens takes a broad-based approach to the history of this group. In some ways she follows the traditional model of black community studies, surveying the residential patterns, occupations, organizations, political development, and cultural life of the African Caribbeans. Black immigrants, like native-born migrants from the South, took part in the movement of the city's black population from the lower east side to Harlem after about 1910. Although they tended to settle in certain neighborhoods, Caribbean immigrants were interspersed with native-born African Americans, as Watkins-Owens demonstrates through a detailed analysis of a single block in Harlem. (The maps of Harlem are of little use, since they do not distinguish African Americans from foreign-born blacks.) In the long run, residential intermingling within a broader context of ghettoization probably contributed to the immigrants' assimilation, but significant differences between the two black groups remained. Before 1930, both were predominantly unskilled or service workers, but West Indians were twice as likely to be skilled workers or small-business owners, and immigrants were especially influential in the illegal "policy" racket in Harlem. Although the author does not discuss it, data in an appendix indicates that African Americans dominated the small group of black clerical workers. Although native and foreign-born blacks often joined the same churches and fraternal orders, immigrants maintained a degree of distinctiveness by setting up their own benevolent societies and social clubs, based upon their place of origin.

The most serious area of potential conflict between the two groups was in the realm of politics, broadly defined. Until the 1930s, Caribbean immigrants were not much of a factor in electoral politics, because relatively few became naturalized citizens. They played a crucial role, however, in the informal political agitation that convulsed Harlem in the post-World War I era. Hubert Harrison, W. A. Domingo, and Grace Campbell were only a few of the West Indians who became renowned as radical "stepladder" (or soapbox) orators. The most significant of the immigrants who

took part in such activities was the black nationalist Marcus Garvey. Watkins-Owens's chapter on the charismatic founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is among the most interesting in the book. She shows that hostility to Garvey was grounded in ethnicity as well as ideology and class. The black press as well as the white media "rarely failed to associate Garvey's legal difficulties with his birthplace and foreign status." From one point of view, this nativist attack was ironic, because even in New York Garvey had more native-born (working-class) followers than immigrant supporters.

Unlike most black urban studies, Watkins-Owens provides a thorough discussion of black women's activities, including an analysis of female occupations. She also broadens our understanding of the Harlem Renaissance by exploring the ways in which black immigrant writers incorporated a special sensitivity to race, rooted in their background in Caribbean culture, into their literary work. The book would have been strengthened, however, by a more in-depth analysis of how Caribbeans in general understood their own ethnoracial identity. The fact that most black immigrants did not, prior to 1930, become citizens is one indication that they remained quite ambiguous about Americanization. Coming from virtually all-black societies, many West Indians were understandably reluctant to identify with a society that drew the color line at every turn. The author touches on this point, but the subject deserves much more extended treatment.

Watkins-Owens's study demonstrates that there is still much to learn about race and racism in the United States during the industrial period. We need more case studies like hers, which explore the diversity of black urban communities without ignoring the impact of racism. Her book should be of interest not only to students of African-American and urban history but to historians of ethnicity and immigration as well.

KENNETH L. KUSMER
Temple University

LILLIAN SERECE WILLIAMS. *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: The Creation of an African American Community, Buffalo, New York, 1900–1940*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 273. \$49.95.

Over the past two decades, several works have enhanced our understanding of the lives of African Americans in northern cities during the "Great Migration." James R. Grossman's *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners and the Great Migration* (1989) and Joe W. Trotter's *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–45* (1985) are among the studies that have illuminated the process of black urbanization during the early twentieth century. Lillian Serece Williams's book is a worthy addition to this literature. Williams's study of Buffalo's small black community—despite the Great Migration blacks represented less than one percent of the population in

1925—shifts attention away from the exceptional cases such as Chicago and Detroit to a more typical example of black urbanization.

The first section of the book provides an in-depth social history of black Buffalo. Because the black population in the nineteenth century was insubstantial, residents were free to move about the city and to develop economic and social institutions without restrictions. However, the migration of southern blacks in the early 1900s changed race relations in Buffalo. The growing black population caused whites to establish informal restrictions that segregated blacks in specific neighborhoods and limited their employment options.

Using a database derived from the 1905, 1915, and 1925 New York State Manuscript Censuses, Williams develops a detailed picture of black life in the early 1900s. Williams refutes the argument that migration was disruptive to black family structure, showing, for example, that the percentage of female-headed families declined significantly during the 1910s and 1920s. Migrants were supported by their extended families, which provided shelter and financial assistance, and by their continued ties to the South. The book skillfully weaves illustrative examples of individual families to support the statistical analysis.

Because their economic opportunities were limited in the early years of the twentieth century, blacks delayed establishing independent families, and many blacks continued to live with their parents into their twenties. The marriage age of Buffalo blacks declined in the 1920s as economic prospects increased, but these opportunities were slow to develop. In the early 1900s, the majority of blacks worked in low-paid, low-skilled, service occupations. World War I opened the doors to industrial jobs, particularly in steel mills and other foundries, for a small but significant number of black men.

This well-documented picture of black family structure and economic struggle would benefit from a more detailed examination of the relationship of blacks workers to the expanding labor movement in Buffalo, and it would also be improved with a more careful examination of "ghetto formation" in Buffalo. Williams only cursorily discusses the spatial arrangement of blacks in the city. In light of the fact that blacks represented such a small percentage of the population, a study of the process of segregation would provide an interesting contrast to other cities, where extreme competition for housing among whites and blacks shaped policies that discriminated against blacks.

The second section focuses on institution-building within black Buffalo and closely examines the creation of a black Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Buffalo chapters of the Urban League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Each of these organizations focused on "self help" and "social uplift" of Buffalo blacks, but all were limited by the meager

financial resources and political power of African Americans. YMCA leaders were reticent to offer a significant vocational skills program because they did not think that graduates could find jobs in the segregated industrial sector. The Buffalo Urban League was more aggressive in pursuing employment for blacks through training, advocacy, and investigating employment discrimination. The organization also provided housing assistance, educational programs, and worked to protect the rights of blacks in the criminal justice system, but its program was circumscribed by budgetary constraints. The Buffalo NAACP similarly achieved only small victories in protecting civil rights for blacks, but Williams argues that the group contributed by fostering black pride and creating a sense of community. Williams also touches on the Marcus Garvey movement's competing vision for the black community. Buffalo had an active UNIA that was supported particularly by recent southern migrants.

With the exception of the UNIA, all of these groups were run by black professionals, but this book generally avoids issues of class conflict among black Buffalo residents. Even if, as Williams argues, most blacks in Buffalo shared a common experience as recent migrants, they still had different backgrounds and aspirations. Numerous studies have revealed the importance of class differences among blacks in shaping local institutions and the limitations of the self-help and social uplift strategies crafted by elites. Williams argues that criticism of these groups as "conservative" is "irresponsible" because their efforts must be evaluated in the context of the times. But a full picture of black Buffalo requires a critical analysis (not criticism) of the goals and aspirations of Buffalo's elite in creating these institutions, as well as an assessment of alternative visions for African Americans. Despite these limitations, this is a well-researched monograph that enriches our understanding of African Americans in the twentieth century.

WENDELL E. PRITCHETT
Baruch College

JARED N. DAY. *Urban Castles: Tenement Housing and Urban Landlord Activism in New York City, 1890–1943*. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 262. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$18.50.

Jared N. Day ventures into one of the "gray areas" of urban history. His book explores the character and influence of landlords, particularly small-scale tenement owners who were neither workers nor part of a propertied elite. Day provides a thorough account of the shifting forms of tenement ownership and management in early twentieth-century New York City and documents the increasing difficulty landlords had coping with tenant activism and regulatory pressures. The richness of this portrayal is the book's strength, one that ironically defies Day's attempt to graft it onto a framework of "corporate advocacy."

After a brief history of land ownership in New York City, Day commences his analysis with a discussion of real estate conditions in late nineteenth-century Manhattan. Property owners in this era had a free hand to manage their affairs, with little interference from local government. Tenants had no legal standing in rental disputes and were easily evicted. Tenement reform focused on improving the social environment but did little to empower working-class renters in clashes with property owners and managers. In a fascinating chapter on ethnic tenement landlords, Day discusses the diverse forms of property ownership and financing. While some were wealthy property holders, many were shakily financed working-class entrepreneurs able to maintain just one or two properties.

These differences shaped landlord activism as it intensified after 1900. Faced with growing criticism from reformers and a surge in organized tenant protests during the Progressive era, landlords responded by forming their own organizations. Day traces the development of several groups and their attempts to shape public policy and rental practices. These efforts met with substantial success early on but diminished as the political atmosphere shifted and cross-class alliances among previously fractured tenant groups developed. Landlords were also hurt by the different agendas of the pressure groups that claimed to represent them. The United Real Estate Owners and the Greater New York Tenement Association tended to speak for small scale and "amateur" tenement owners, while the Real Estate Board of New York represented larger landlords and pressed for greater professionalization of property ownership and management.

Landlord power diminished steadily after World War I. A postwar housing shortage spurred passage of emergency rent laws that gave renters greater legal power and limited owners' the ability to raise rents and evict tenants. Landlords fought back, but the class divisions among them, increasingly aggressive tenant organizations, and an unfriendly regulatory environment often hampered their efforts. Their greatest successes came through two innovations—written leases and security deposits—that fostered a professional style of property ownership and reasserted some of their traditional authority in rental matters. The Depression and New Deal-inspired housing regulations, most notably rent control, struck the final blow against landlord power. Few small property holders survived. Only the more highly capitalized, professional landlords had the resources to weather the storm and function in the new real estate environment of the postwar era.

At its best, this book offers a window onto the complicated world of property ownership in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New York. Landlords are never reduced to a monolith, the differences among them remain salient throughout. Day's detailed discussions of the varieties of tenement ownership and financing in chapter two effectively set up his later

discussions of the divisions between landlord interest groups that helped undermine their power.

This same complexity weakens Day's claim that his account fits the larger model of "corporate advocacy" that has shaped recent labor and social history. Tenement operators, he suggests, are comparable to corporations while tenants are analogous to working-class consumers. But New York landlords hardly exercised the "decisive influence" Day attributes to "corporate advocates and the small-scale business people they often represented" (p. 4). While landlords certainly shaped public policy, so too did reformers and tenant groups. Much of the book's analysis highlights the declining influence of landlord authority, both in the policy arena and in relations with tenants. Day's difficulty in shoehorning the complex history of tenement owners into a prefabricated historical framework is less evidence of significant failing than testimony to his success in developing a multifaceted portrayal of landlords.

JAMES J. CONNOLLY
Ball State University

EDWARD J. ESCOBAR. *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900–1945*. (Latinos in American Society and Culture, number 7.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 358. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

War mobilization and the competition among workers for housing, transportation, and recreation led to rapid economic and social changes in cities like Detroit, Mobile, and Los Angeles. The highly tense race relations in these war production centers led to an outbreak of civil disorder in the summer of 1943. The racial conflict that erupted in Los Angeles became known as the zoot suit riots. The riots aggravated antagonism between Anglos and Mexicans and undermined the latter's faith in the police. Like other racial minorities, Mexican Americans became convinced that they could not depend on the police for protection. This study by Edward J. Escobar is one of only a handful of books that discuss relations between police and racial minorities during the decades before World War II. Escobar's primary focus is on recounting the main events in the 1943 Los Angeles zoot suit riots.

At the start of World War II, Los Angeles had the worst slums on the West Coast, and this appalling urban experience took a huge toll on Mexican-American youth. A Selective Service investigation showed that illiteracy, poverty, and poor health due to dismal living conditions were listed for almost all of the Mexican Americans rejected by the army or discharged after their induction into the military. One form of protest against the rampant discrimination was waged by the *pachucos*, the zoot suit-wearing Mexican-American youth. According to Escobar, the yearlong campaign of sensationalism by the local press against the *pachucos* was to blame for the zoot riots.

There was a wider context to this racial conflict that is omitted by Escobar. Various federal government branches investigated the racial unrest in Los Angeles because of the wartime atmosphere and because the zoot riots occurred in a major war production center. These reports note that Los Angeles City officials, including the police chief, could have prevented the local press from being a disruptive influence by printing sensational and incorrect news stories about Mexicans. Moreover, federal officials reported that, as early as December 1942, Los Angeles police intelligence knew of the increasing discord between Anglos and Mexicans that led up to the zoot suit riots.

In his overview, Escobar reminds us that various civil rights and progressive organizations became involved with combating police violence against Mexican Americans. In 1942, the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee was organized after twenty-two Mexican American youths were jailed on charges of murder. In addition, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions strongly condemned the Los Angeles police for its planned arrests and beatings of Mexican youth. The Los Angeles CIO Council developed an educational program on the Sleepy Lagoon case, and CIO organizers came into contact with the *pachuco* gang members whose parents worked in the various industries in Los Angeles.

The author does not place his study within the larger context of the role of the police in the outbreak of the race riots of 1943. The available government reports note that because most major city police forces could not maintain their personnel at full strength, they lowered the physical and educational requirements. Racial minorities were overlooked in police recruitment campaigns. In the case of Los Angeles, Mexican-American policemen would have been more effective in Mexican neighborhoods than Anglo policemen, and they also would have gained the confidence of Mexican community leaders. Information about Mexicans and their neighborhoods would have given the Los Angeles Police Department understanding to their problems. Such an understanding would have dispelled the belief, previously discussed by scholars and reiterated by Escobar, that Mexicans had a biological or racial disposition towards criminality or delinquency. Furthermore, a race relations division within the department could have recognized the development of widespread angry resentment toward Mexicans as dangerous signs of potential social unrest. Potentially disorderly incidents could have been minimized if additional patrolmen had been deployed to public areas. This might have stopped the organized forays by navy men and soldiers before they started to attack Mexicans. Another important omission is use of Governor Earl Warren's Peace Officers Committee on Civil Disturbance. Established to inquire into the zoot riots, the committee concluded that Los Angeles police were unable to cope with race problems and that lax police procedures contributed to the zoot suit riots and aggravated their consequences.

Escobar nonetheless offers readers a well-written narrative account of relations between the Los Angeles police and Mexican Americans. This book is the latest interpretation of the 1943 zoot riots worthy of interest to scholars of Chicano history, ethnic studies, and urban studies.

ZARAGOSA VARGAS
University of California,
Santa Barbara

CATHERINE GILBERT MURDOCK. *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940.* (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1998. Pp. 244. \$38.50.

Catherine Gilbert Murdock explores the heretofore neglected and nearly invisible world of the respectable female drinker. Using such sources as etiquette manuals, cookbooks, and popular fiction, she reveals how alcohol constituted an integral part of these leisured ladies' lives. She also demonstrates that these drinking women had an enormous impact on the American temperance movement, the fate of Prohibition, and the development of middle-class cocktail culture.

Murdock points out that both "wet" and "dry" middle-class women deplored the pre-Prohibition saloon for its alcoholic excesses and its corrupt political influence. Very different, however, were their attitudes toward the domestic and "domesticated" use of alcohol at homosocial afternoon gatherings and heterosocial dinner parties. Wets saw nothing evil in utilizing drink as a social lubricant in the home setting, as long as guests maintained middle-class standards of polite comportment. They also saw nothing objectionable in patent medicines like Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound (itself twenty percent alcohol). It was non-domestic drinking that worried these female wets. The women disapproved of immigrant workers in their saloons, middle-class husbands in their private clubs, and, by the 1910s, their own rebellious daughters in the new cabarets, nightclubs, and dance halls.

According to Murdock, only when we acknowledge the role of respectable female drinkers in shaping social habits can we understand what happened to the American temperance movement and the Prohibition experiment. While ladies of the wet persuasion supported the elimination of public-venue drinking, they still fully intended to carry on their own tradition of home drinking. Thus, the Volstead Act (which implemented the Eighteenth Amendment) suited them because it permitted home production and consumption, criminalizing only the larger producers and public purveyors of alcohol.

In contrast, female dries, convinced that all women by their very nature should be anti-alcohol, did not foresee this "betrayal" by female home drinkers. They therefore were stunned by the flowering of cocktail culture in middle-class homes during Prohibition and outraged when otherwise respectable wet women be-

gan organizing for Prohibition's repeal in the late 1920s.

My only quarrel with Murdock's book concerns her portrayal of the saloon and its working-class customers. Her initial description of the saloon is almost entirely negative and indeed seems drawn uncritically from temperance tracts. The institution allegedly "victimized women through the pornography and violence associated with saloons. The saloon's prostitutes . . . transmitted syphilis and gonorrhea . . . In cities and villages, respectable women traveled blocks out of their way to avoid passing stinking and raucous saloons" (p. 17). While such horrors were certainly true of some low saloons, the vast majority were neighborhood establishments with surprisingly little drunkenness, vice, or violence, as studies by Roy Rosenzweig, Perry R. Duis, Thomas J. Noel, myself, and others have shown. Indeed, Murdock herself acknowledges positive aspects of saloons much later in her discussion (pp. 74–76). But to open the discussion with such an ultranegative stereotype is both misleading and unfair.

Regarding the saloon's customers, Murdock sometimes seems to forget that they were mostly working-class men, many of them recent immigrants. These class and ethnic factors go far in explaining why many middle-class women found saloons objectionable, never mind the alcohol. But class and ethnic prejudices are seldom mentioned in Murdock's book, just as the temperance movement seldom acknowledged them. Further, Murdock seems to argue that during Prohibition, *all* drinking men began attending cocktail parties in the home setting. Perhaps many middle-class men did, but ethnic laborers, too? Thus when Murdock is discussing changes in middle-class drinking habits, her analysis is detailed and convincing. But the same cannot be said about immigrant workers—the former saloongoers—who are very hard to imagine in cocktail attire with martinis in hand!

Overall, Murdock's contributions to the social history of alcohol are many. She provides a well-documented analysis of middle-class women's drinking before Prohibition. She presents a delightful account of the Prohibition-era cocktail party and the feminization of drinking behavior that it represented. She uncovers many important links between the suffrage and prohibition movements. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, she reveals the crucial role that respectable female drinkers played in both achieving and dismantling the Eighteenth Amendment.

MADELON POWERS
University of New Orleans

LORINE SWAINSTON GOODWIN. *The Pure Food, Drink, and Drug Crusaders, 1879–1914*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland. 1999. Pp. viii, 352. \$45.00.

The Pure Food, Drink, and Drug Act of 1906, according to Lorine Swainston Goodwin, was a triumph of women's activism and participatory democracy. In writing about the grass-roots efforts to make consum-

ers safe, she focuses on the local work of female reformers. Her book suggests that the roots of Progressivism extend well back into the nineteenth century and that demands for reform were far less elitist than they have been portrayed.

Goodwin opens with an explanation of the origins of the movement, showing that it arose in a number of settings and had diverse goals, among them keeping unsafe adulterants and contaminants out of food, eliminating alcohol, controlling the contents of patent medicines, and regulating the use of addictive drugs. Those who have read Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* (1906) are well aware of the abuses in the stockyards; readers of this book will learn in graphic detail of the abuses in other industries.

The longest portion of the book is devoted to an examination of the various organizations working for reform. There are chapters examining the Women's Christian Temperance Union's Departments of Hygiene and Heredity, Scientific Instruction, Health, Narcotics, Medical Temperance, and Legislation. Goodwin also explores the efforts of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Consumers League and pays special attention to southern reformers and to the leaders of the movement. She demonstrates the breadth of their work and their success in building alliances as groups moved from local efforts toward the passage of federal legislation. Goodwin does not ignore the work of muckraking journalists or the importance of *Ladies' Home Journal* editor Edward William Bok, nor does she overlook the contributions of medical professionals or of Harvey Washington Wiley, chief of the Bureau of Chemistry in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Yet she is firmly convinced that they would have achieved little had they not had masses of women defining and promoting the cause.

Goodwin concludes with a discussion of the law's passage and its aftermath. On the one hand, the 1906 legislation was a triumph of consumer democracy. In the short run, it spawned new state efforts to control the quality of food and the properties of drugs, and it inspired consumer agitation in other arenas. On the other hand, the legislation failed to achieve what its proponents envisioned: a food, drug, and drink supply that was hygienically produced, free from adulterants, and accurately labeled. Manufacturing consortiums had shaped the bill to protect their interests—a point that Goodwin overlooks in this somewhat whiggish account. Furthermore, after passage of the bill, a number of businesses simply ignored the law, while others fought it at every turn. With the change in administrations from Theodore Roosevelt to William Howard Taft, they found the government, and later the courts, more supportive of their resistance. Eventually, leading pure food and drug reformers left the political stage, while the newly invigorated crusades for temperance and suffrage, along with women's support for the government in World War I, consumed the energies of the next generation of activists.

The greatest strength and weakness of Goodwin's work is the abundance of detail. The sheer accumulation of evidence is enough to convince readers that credit for the passage of pure food and drug laws should be shifted from a male elite comprised of Sinclair, Wiley, Roosevelt, and Bok to a far less celebrated and far larger group of women. The authors of history textbooks, she implies, should take note and rethink the ways they describe and position discussions of this particular reform. They need not go as far as she does, I would suggest, in ignoring the powerful role of business interests in crafting the legislation.

While the details help to make the book convincing, they also make it slow going. The weight of the facts, often unleavened by analysis, leaves the reader with too much to digest and too much responsibility for interpretation. Furthermore, Goodwin is so enamored of her subjects that she cannot see the limitations of their efforts. She champions every speech, article, and letter produced by movement activists but fails to explore the relative significance of these measures or the effective opposition they inspired. Finally, she ignores the fissures of class, race, and ethnicity that divided women activists and pays little attention to the gender politics that separated the leaders of the movement from their male counterparts. In short, while the book makes a contribution to the historiography of Progressive movements, it also ignores much of the recent work in women's history. Still, we can thank Goodwin for this reappraisal of the pure food, drink, and drug movement and for bringing to light its links with other forms of female activism.

JANET GOLDEN
Rutgers University,
Camden, New Jersey

LINDA GORDON. *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 416. \$29.95.

In this fascinating examination of an incident in child welfare history, Linda Gordon brings together the fruits of decades of social history research and the contemporary interest in cultural analysis. She does so with flair through the shrewd use of a narrative structure that allows her to explore a multitude of analytic issues in detail while focusing on the particular individuals and arresting historical moments through which the events unfolded. Gordon demonstrates the continuing vitality of the issues social historians have brought to the table—class, race, gender, family—in the context of a new commitment to a synthesizing narrative. She also shows how the very best and most innovative history can be made engaging for the general reader.

The incident that Gordon has chosen to bring to life in this way took place in Arizona in 1904, when a trainload of Catholic orphans, destined for the homes of Mexican mineworkers' families in the towns of Clifton and Morenci, were forcibly removed from

these homes by white vigilantes and town officials. The most attractive of the "white" (largely Irish) children were kept by the mostly non-Catholic families who had abducted them. Others were returned to the New York foundling home from which they had come. Gordon has recreated these events, well known in Arizona but only slightly familiar elsewhere (as a result of the Supreme Court case to which it led), in their full historical context. She has endowed them with both contemporary social meaning and with long-term historical resonance.

Gordon argues that these events forced the precipitating out of the evolving racial structure of the Southwest borderlands. Although whites and Mexicans were already sharply divided before this time, the class and race boundaries were still dynamic and permeable. The events surrounding the abduction and its subsequent legal fallout solidified a racial hierarchy in which whites and Mexicans thereafter occupied different universes. All other ethnic, social, and religious differences (of Irish and Jew, Catholic and Protestant, rich and poor) dissolved in the specific color coding of the borderlands. Thereafter, whites could see their Mexican neighbors, most of whom belonged to hardworking and respectable families, only through a host of stereotypes: as dirty, dishonest, and irresponsible. And universally, they were now perceived as unable to provide the proper domestic environment for the care of white children. In the process, the whites, regardless of previous status, elevated their own tenuous claims to respectability.

While this thesis is at the strategic center, Gordon's book draws on other important arguments about early twentieth-century gender roles, class and labor relations, and mobility and violence in the Southwest to invest her narrative with rich detail culled from the work that she and other social historians have been doing for more than a generation. The resulting book comes alive in its descriptions of specific events and in Gordon's analytic discussions of diverse sociocultural domains. We learn all kinds of things about mining towns, the copper industry, and the West, down to the card games played in saloons. By the last one-third of the book, Gordon loses some of the mastery that comes with the power of particular knowledge of the specific issues at hand. She lapses into more abstract discussions about the nature of vigilante activities and about the strife-ridden labor relations in the mines, and she leans too heavily on modern-day allusions. But through most of the book, Gordon's invocations of the many issues that have concerned social historians deeply enhances her examination of a particular time and place in this richly reimagined history.

It is more than a little surprising, given the range of issues with which Gordon deals and her ability to bring these to bear on the subject at hand, that she pays so little attention to the children as historical subjects. They are, after all, at the center of the story and the source of its fascination, then and now. Gordon shows how issues related to children have mobilized other

sociopolitical matters but seems not at all concerned with the children's experience of these matters or with childhood as a subject of historical analysis. Children's historical experiences are not easily accessed and sources are spotty, but Gordon has not allowed this to inhibit her attempts to probe into other areas, especially the beliefs of the Mexican participants. Gordon never finally asks why it was children who played such a symbolic role in the evolving racial story. This question, so much at the heart of the chain of events that Gordon recounts, could and should have triggered in the author, who has spent years on social welfare issues, a stimulating set of reflections, similar to the many pages she devotes to labor, race, gender, and class. One wonders about its absence.

Finally, Gordon claims at the beginning of the book that she has made nothing up. But in trying to recreate individual and group motivations in the absence of substantial historical sources, Gordon does sometimes attribute thoughts and views which are almost entirely her own. Thus, for example, Margarita Chacón, the best-known of the Mexican women who subscribed for a child (who was herself only half Mexican), was the only "nonwhite" to receive an invitation to the resulting trial. She declined because she claimed to be in a "delicate condition" (pregnant). But Gordon believes that she refused to come because "She could expect brutal treatment in court and retaliation afterward in Clifton" (p. 289). There is nothing wrong with this conclusion, based on historical inference rather than direct testimony. But then Gordon tells us that "Mrs. Chacón was entirely correct about the trial" (p. 290), as if Chacón had indeed been a personal witness to the original thought. This kind of projection, where the historical actors are used as puppets for the historian's conclusions, is problematic and unnecessary, especially when Gordon has gone to such pains to guard the integrity of her historical subjects and to invest them with genuine depth and individuality.

PAULA S. FASS
University of California,
Berkeley

REGINA MORANTZ-SANCHEZ. *Conduct Unbecoming a Woman: Medicine on Trial in Turn-of-the-Century Brooklyn*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 292. \$30.00.

In the 1970s, women's historians became interested in the history of women doctors. They started with questions of sexual discrimination, examining the obstacles in women's way and their strategies for overcoming them. Moving past this struggle/victory approach, they turned their attention to women doctors' dual identities as women and as physicians. This focus on the tension between gender and professional identity led to studies of women doctors' medical beliefs and practice, the founding of their own all-women's medical schools and hospitals, women doctors' relationship to male doctors and male-run medical institutions, and

the interplay between women doctors' professional and personal lives. Regina Morantz-Sanchez was a significant contributor to this scholarship, which helped us to understand just what it meant, both professionally and personally, to be a woman doctor.

Morantz-Sanchez's new book adds to this scholarship in important ways: it focuses in depth on one fascinating, nineteenth-century woman doctor while simultaneously revealing incontrovertibly that an understanding of nineteenth-century women doctors provides a window into the history of nineteenth-century American society as well. This is the story of Dr. Mary Dixon-Jones, who practiced medicine in Brooklyn, New York, in the late nineteenth century. Like many other women doctors of her day, Dixon-Jones devoted her practice to women who sought her out for gynecological problems. And like other women doctors of her day, she founded her own women's hospital, the Woman's Hospital of Brooklyn, where she cared for and saved the lives of many of her female patients.

But Dixon-Jones ran into trouble. The death of two of her patients after gynecological surgery set off a barrage of articles in the *Brooklyn Eagle* that accused her of being medically incompetent, irresponsible in her willingness to operate on desperate women, overly ambitious, and unscrupulous in her professional ethics. Dixon-Jones was indicted for manslaughter; despite the negative publicity from the *Eagle*, she was acquitted of all charges. Having won this battle in court, *Dixon-Jones then sought vindication from the newspaper which had tarnished her professional reputation, and sued the Eagle for libel*. Morantz-Sanchez focuses on this trial, and it was indeed a dramatic event. Lasting longer than any preceding libel trial in the country, it attracted the attention of newspapers well beyond the boundaries of Brooklyn and the medical establishment. Dixon-Jones lost this case. Where she had been able to convince one jury of her innocence of the charges of manslaughter, she was unable to convince another jury that she had been the victim of libel at the hands of the *Eagle*.

One cannot come away from this book without appreciating the rich, complex contexts that Morantz-Sanchez argues surrounded the story of Dixon-Jones: the rise of specialization in medicine, in particular surgery and more precisely gynecology; the place of women in medicine and more generally the public sphere; the rise of Brooklyn as a city with its own identity and culture; and the role of the press in this new urban center.

But Morantz-Sanchez does not contextualize the late nineteenth-century courtroom. This is an unfortunate omission in a book that tells the story of such a significant courtroom drama. In order fully to appreciate Dixon-Jones's experience in both the manslaughter trial and the libel trial, it is important for readers to understand how completely the nineteenth-century courtroom was a world of men. Judges, lawyers, courtroom personnel, and jurors were all men. Here men squared off against each other, demonstrating their

most aggressive, combative, and ruthless side. Women rarely entered the courtroom except to serve as witnesses or, as in the case of Dixon-Jones, as defendants or litigants. Lawyers viewed a female witness with deep suspicion, fearing her ability to persuade an all-male jury with her feminine wiles. This was the arena in which Dixon-Jones had to portray herself as a competent physician while simultaneously gaining sympathy from an all-male jury. It was a tall order. If Dixon-Jones identified so much with her male medical colleagues as Morantz-Sanchez argues that she did, then one wonders how she felt sitting before the judge and jury as her lawyer took pains to emphasize her feminine and maternal qualities. Ultimately, attention to the male culture of the courtroom would have helped us understand the resolution of the case and sharpened Morantz-Sanchez's otherwise perceptive analysis of the tension between gender and professional identity.

VIRGINIA G. DRACHMAN
Tufts University

KATHLEEN KENNEDY. *Disloyal Mothers and Scurrilous Citizens: Women and Subversion During World War I*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 170. \$27.95.

SUSAN ZEIGER. *In Uncle Sam's Service: Women Workers with the American Expeditionary Force, 1917-1919*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 211. \$37.50.

In the midst of United States participation in World War I, Dr. Ruth Lighthall faced prosecution in Chicago for actions made criminal by the Espionage Act (1917). Lighthall's arrest was prompted by her unwillingness to support the fundraising efforts of neighborhood children who were selling thrift stamps for the Red Cross, and by the explanations she offered for her actions. In conversations with the children, and later with their parents, Lighthall was accused of voicing her opposition to the war and of criticizing a local mother for sending her son to the war. Responding to the war emergency in an entirely different way, Carrie Hall left the United States to serve as chief nurse at Base Hospital No. 5 in France during the war. While Lighthall opposed the war and chastised those who offered it even indirect support, Hall served the war effort directly. Indeed, as a nurse serving in France, Hall's work was understood by her contemporaries as the closest thing to soldiering available to women.

On the surface, these women seem to have had little in common. The two superb monographs on American women during World War I in which their stories appear, by Kathleen Kennedy and Susan Zeiger, although focusing on two very different groups of women, allow us to discover notable similarities in the wartime experiences of women as divergent as Lighthall and Hall; both books make significant contributions to our understanding of the complex relationship

in the United States between gender, war, citizenship, and the state in the early twentieth century.

About twenty of the cases leading to convictions under the wartime emergency laws involved women as their primary defendants, and it is the arrests and trials of these women that Kennedy explores in her very important investigation of the relationship between antiradicalism and definitions of women's citizenship during World War I. In recent years, historians have proven attentive to the role of class and ethnicity in wartime antiradicalism. Kennedy's book complements this work, addressing the largely neglected role played by gender in shaping the wartime repression of women accused of subversion and demonstrating persuasively that this role was extensive. Sophisticated in its analysis and masterfully written, Kennedy's work is deeply grounded in extensive archival research in sources ranging from Department of Justice and United States Military Intelligence records to the private papers of defendants and the records of left-wing and peace organizations, as well as several contemporary periodicals and newspapers. Knowledgeable in the broadest range of relevant secondary literature, Kennedy succeeds, too, in relating her work in meaningful ways to issues in fields ranging from women's history to legal history, from political history to literary criticism, social history, cultural history, and gender studies.

Kennedy introduces the reader to the prewar debates about the nature of women's citizenship, noting in particular the ascendance of the notion of patriotic motherhood in the period preceding American entry into the war. In this construction of female citizenship, a woman's primary duty to the nation involved her production of patriotic citizens, including sons ready and willing to serve as soldiers. Kennedy argues that it was this understanding of a woman's responsibilities that shaped definitions of subversion as they were applied to women once the United States became a belligerent. From here, Kennedy engages in the thoughtful and captivating analysis of a series of wartime subversion cases, powerfully convincing the reader that the application of the wartime emergency laws was deeply gendered in the cases of female defendants.

The cases of Kate Richards O'Hare and Emma Goldman are especially instructive. Though both advocates of left-wing politics, these two women shared little else, with O'Hare espousing evolutionary socialism and embracing middle-class notions of womanhood while, as an anarchist, Goldman dismissed both sets of ideas. Even so, Kennedy suggests, both women faced prosecution not for their particular words but for their crimes as "disorderly women," "for how they integrated their political and gender identities," and for "corrupting women's roles as social mothers" (p. xix). In the case of Rose Pastor Stokes, Kennedy demonstrates prosecutors' success in conflating anti-Bolshevism and patriotic motherhood, and in explorations of lesser-known women, including those arrested for their political activities and female professionals,

Kennedy demonstrates just how broadly the gendering of women's subversion reached. Very effective in analyzing the arrests and prosecutions of women accused of subversion, Kennedy also offers valuable insight into the understandings accused women brought to their actions, and the effort many made to determine the meaning attached to their actions. Except for O'Hare, the accused generally refused to define themselves in maternalist terms, defending their actions not as women but as citizens. Lighthall, for instance, did not question the accuracy of the specific charges against her. During her trial she preferred instead to challenge their constitutional validity, maintaining her right as a native-born citizen to voice her views.

The 16,500 women who served overseas with the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), women who, unlike Lighthall, accepted the call for women to participate in the war effort, constitute the subject of Zeiger's very valuable study. As Zeiger makes clear, changes in the structure of the American economy, as well as the sex segregation of that economy, meant that by the early twentieth century, work coded as female had become vital to the successful prosecution of a war. Serving in roles as disparate as ambulance drivers and librarians, most women nevertheless found positions as canteen workers, clerical workers, telephone operators, and nurses. For many Americans, Zeiger suggests, even this kind of service brought women far too close to the traditionally male preserve of war and seemed to threaten a profound disruption of gender norms already under siege. It was in this context, Zeiger argues, that a struggle over the meaning of women's service took place.

Making excellent use of primary sources that provide new access to the experiences of women veterans (such as personnel records, army files, veteran questionnaires, oral histories, letters, diaries, and memoirs), Zeiger succeeds in developing not only a comprehensive and riveting account of policies that shaped women's lives overseas but also of the lived experiences of women during their service and the meanings with which women invested those experiences. Noting that "the vast majority of AEF servicewomen were wage earners, white, literate, lower-middle-class, and often self-supporting" (p. 2), Zeiger provides an important corrective, encouraging us to view these women as workers. Effectively situating her history of women in service with the AEF in the contexts of women's history and labor history, as well as political, cultural, and social history and gender studies, Zeiger offers nuanced and original ideas in a book that is eloquently written and cogently argued.

According to Zeiger, women chose to serve for a variety of reasons, both altruistic and self-interested. Sometimes motivated by a sense of patriotic duty and a desire to participate at the center of a pivotal national event, many women also saw in service with the AEF a route to new economic and social opportunities and, ultimately, to equality as citizens. While

women with the AEF often hoped their work would indeed transform their postwar opportunities, the view promoted by civilian and military leaders sought to downplay the transformative impact of women's participation in the war. Of particular interest to Zeiger is the tactic she terms "domestication," "the reframing of women's military roles in feminized, familial terms" (p. 6). According to this view, though women had a valued role to play in the war, this role was nevertheless a distinctly feminine one, a subordinate one, and thereby one that did not threaten the gender status quo.

Policies and work relationships affecting women with the AEF persistently reinforced this vision of their service, as Zeiger illustrates convincingly in fascinating explorations of the experiences of canteen workers, clerical workers, telephone operators, and nurses. Hall, a chief nurse, expressed frustration at both individuals and institutions who made her work more difficult, reflecting the consequences of these policies. Hall worried, for instance, about the persistent struggle waged between female nurses and the male orderlies over whom they had official authority, and she blamed the policy denying specific military rank for nurses for the conflict. Hall's struggle with male colleagues and military regulations reflected the broader struggle waged by many women serving with the AEF. Resisting definitions of their service as separate and subordinate to that of men, women fought to achieve the autonomy and respect in the workplace seemingly promised by their participation alongside men in the service of the state. Though many women found notable individual success after the war, the struggle to claim new meanings for women's wartime service persisted after their demobilization.

Both the women who faced prosecution for subversion during the war and the women who served with the American Expeditionary Force struggled against maternalist definitions of their citizenship fostered by the wartime state. Women who openly opposed the war found the principle of free speech obscured by gendered accusations of their failure as patriotic mothers and struggled to articulate an alternative notion of their citizenship that would expand their role beyond social reproduction. Although approaching the war effort from very different perspectives, women serving in France shared in this battle. Believing that their service in the war promised both personal opportunity and a broader claim to full and equal citizenship, women with the AEF often battled government attempts to "domesticate" their service and relegate them to a status gendered in the most traditional ways. Zeiger and Kennedy have both written excellent books, brilliant in their accomplishments and in each case deserving of attention from the broadest possible readership. Each has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the powerful role played by gender in shaping relations between American women and the state during World War I. Together they make clear that the war in Europe provided the context for a second conflict at home, a conflict in which defini-

tions of women's place in the nation were forcefully contested.

NANCY K. BRISTOW
University of Puget Sound

M. ALISON KIBLER. *Rank Ladies: Gender and Cultural Hierarchy in American Vaudeville*. (Gender & American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 283. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

Historians of vaudeville's place in American popular culture have often recapitulated the gendered terms in which vaudeville's reigning manager, Benjamin Franklin Keith, promoted his success. They see in vaudeville a triumph of "refined" tastes among new mass audiences in which middle-class women figured crucially as entertainment consumers. While accepting this basic narrative, more recent scholars have questioned the stability of some of its basic terms of "high" and "low," "refined" and "vulgar." M. Alison Kibler contributes importantly to this line of inquiry by putting gender and its turn-of-the-century malleability at the center of her study of vaudeville's cultural hierarchies.

To probe the gendered construction of the vaudeville audience, Kibler reconstructs and interrogates the delicate balance between vaudeville's claim to democracy and its preservation of audience heterogeneity. To do so, she mines more comprehensively than any previous scholar the reports on specific acts and their audience reception that managers of theaters on Keith's far-flung circuit supplied to one another. She shows that managers thought of acts as playing to the "high" or "low" tastes they attributed to specific audience segments, even as they congratulated themselves for assembling a democratic "mass" audience. But they were often surprised when specific audience sectors embraced acts unsuited to their expected "tastes"—as when gallery patrons applauded a classical cello recital or middle-class ladies evinced interest in acrobats or strong-men. Such unpredictable "ladies" are particularly revealing of wrinkles in the gender expectations managers had of their audiences. They relied on the "ladies" to enforce the general tone of democratized decorum they claimed for their theaters, yet were repeatedly flummoxed by female patrons' predilection for rippling muscles and ribald humor.

The status of vaudeville "ladies" as guarantors of refinement and propriety appears even more complex when Kibler's focus shifts to performers. Four chapters deal with female performers who either challenged the codes that vaudeville's advertised propriety charged them to uphold, or found themselves entangled in the contested nature of these codes. Kate Elinore defied vaudeville's linking of femininity and propriety by transposing well-established traditions of male Irish-American working-class caricature into a female key. She depicted grotesque Irish-American women who used ribald slapstick to expose the empty pretensions

of bourgeois femininity. White actresses who drew on blackface minstrel traditions to create "racial masquerades" in vaudeville also discovered a license for a physical expressiveness and comic aggressiveness that challenged prevailing standards of feminine beauty and refinement, while masking the challenge in the maternal role of the "mammy." In both cases, traditions of ethnic and racial caricature intertwined with novel constructions of femininity to show that vaudeville's gendered terms were complexly interwoven with wider constructions of social identity. In other cases, female celebrities from the legitimate theater such as Julia Arthur tried to cash in on vaudeville's claimed penchant for refinement by touring as highbrow vaudeville stars. But they found vaudeville's motley patrons little interested in their highbrow antics yet powerfully capable of tarnishing their careers with the "lowbrow" associations vaudeville never entirely escaped.

Vaudeville labor relations also lent themselves to contested gender codes. The White Rats of America, a fraternal association of vaudeville actors formed in 1900 and later affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, followed other skilled-labor organizations in constructing its role as a preservation of "manly" artisanal ideals. Only after 1910 did it incorporate women performers in an auxiliary wherein defenseless female performers would be protected from sexually predatory managers and agents. As Kibler observes, this gendering of vaudeville labor relations turned the tables on vaudeville managers' claims of their "refined" business practices but did not offer much agency to women themselves. Predictably, feisty actresses defied this mold, too, asserting an allegiance to robust manly labor rather than a threatened feminine propriety.

Kibler displays a masterful command of existing scholarship on vaudeville and the broader trends of theater and popular culture in which it participated. Moreover, she embeds her readings of particular vaudeville acts and episodes in related scholarship dealing with gender rebellion, Irish-American culture, racial constructions in American culture, and labor history, among other fields. This breadth of analysis adds weight to what might otherwise seem to be analyses of peculiar novelties in vaudeville entertainment. Even so, Kibler's emphasis on case studies does leave the reader wondering how extensively the struggle over gendered hierarchies was experienced among the many actresses who did not challenge prevailing gender constructions as explicitly as those on which she chooses to focus. Did the rebels open wider possibilities, or did the theatrical gender conventions they challenged become straightjackets for others? Kibler sets an important analytical agenda for others to follow in asking such questions. As significantly, she establishes the importance of vaudeville's contested gender categories for understanding wider debates over modern cultural oppositions between "high" and

"low," "art" and "labor" that this widely influential performance form helped to shape.

KATHRYN J. OBERDECK
*University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign*

KATHRYN J. OBERDECK. *The Evangelist and the Impresario: Religion, Entertainment, and Cultural Politics in America, 1884–1914*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 429. \$34.95.

Kathryn J. Oberdeck's ambitious and fascinating book offers a new approach to the old question "What is culture?" While historians have closely studied how intellectuals such as Jane Addams and Franz Boas addressed this question around the century's turn, few have seen vaudeville or evangelical Christianity as sources of contributions to that debate rather than as objects of it. By examining the intersecting careers of Irish-born Christian socialist Alexander Irvine and Italian-American vaudeville impresario Sylvester Poli, Oberdeck illuminates debates over class and culture, as well as cross-cutting conflicts over gender, ethnicity, and race, "from the bottom up," as Irvine titled one of his memoirs. Not a dual biography, the book instead traces the "cultural trajectories" (p. 4) of the two men's careers, drawing out their implications for changing conventions in the representation of class and cultural difference. Oberdeck aims not to answer the question of what culture "was" or "is" but to untangle the knotted origins of twentieth-century cultural politics.

The early chapters follow Irvine from his plebian Ulster origins and his conversion to evangelical Protestantism and the gospel of self-improvement through his arrival in America, where he adopted the Social Gospel, and eventually, socialism. Poli, like Irvine, ended up in New Haven. There his lavish theater served as an outpost of "civilization," but one where diverse audiences enjoyed performances that simultaneously enacted cultural hierarchies through stock ethnic characters and undermined them through sharp and irreverent observations on cultural elites and on class and ethnic political issues. Here Oberdeck advances her agenda of effecting a truce between cultural-studies textualists and their suspicious materialist colleagues by arguing convincingly that, for both Poli and his patrons, vaudeville was not simply a tool for the disciplining of audiences and the performative imposition of genteel values; it was also a site of negotiation among diverse social groups, and a setting for "the interplay of cultural hierarchy and its discontents" (p. 91).

The heart of the book shows how Irvine not only deployed techniques from Poli's world of entertainment—vaudeville conventions, slides, and movies—but also put to use the lessons about class, race, and gender that he learned in New Haven labor politics, in his undercover investigation of southern peonage, and

in national Socialist Party activism, as he told and retold his story in magazines, books, and ultimately a vaudeville play that he performed in one of Poli's theaters. In his earlier self-representations, Irvine deployed what Oberdeck calls the "evolutionary vernacular," a set of conventions pioneered by Jack London that dramatized London's rise from the primeval muck of his working-class origins through material success to socialist consciousness. Through the later narratives, Oberdeck traces Irvine's growing appreciation of his own plebian Irish origins' potential for fostering socialist consciousness (which he expressed in part through the "sentimental Irish" stereotypes that flourished in vaudeville), his developing critique of the racist, elitist hierarchies immanent in the evolutionary vernacular, and his gravitation toward what social scientists and cultural critics were beginning to call cultural pluralism or relativism. Thus the wider significance of Irvine's story, she argues, lies in the evidence it provides that intellectual debates over cultural hierarchy were also engaged at the grass roots, shaping and achieving popular expression in narratives such as Irvine's.

Oberdeck's book will interest students of labor, radicalism, mass culture, and religion, as well as intellectual historians who would approach their subject from the bottom up. Its weaknesses stem mainly from its ambitions. Although the title suggests equal billing for its two protagonists, Irvine is the main attraction here, while Poli remains a sideshow. His significance seems more generic than distinctive, as his name is periodically invoked to suggest adjudication among diverse group interests, or the generalized world of popular entertainment, or changing norms of feminine display within that world. The connection is not always clear, and one sometimes strains to remember just what "Poli" might mean in a particular context. Irvine does perform on one of Poli's stages near the book's end, but there is no satisfying narrative confluence, no account of any conscious realization on either man's part of their similarities or complementarity, nor of any personal connection. Thus one may feel that the book's final third, which offers penetrating discussions of Irvine's sequential self-representations, begins the real action after an overly long prologue. But it is here that the reader's perseverance pays off, as Oberdeck powerfully demonstrates how Irvine used his various narratives to rethink his personal, political, class, and ethnic identities and the cultural hierarchies within which they had been formed and remained enmeshed.

MARK PITTENGER
*University of Colorado,
Boulder*

JOHN M. CARROLL. *Red Grange and the Rise of Modern Football*. (Sport and Society.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 265. \$25.95.

Biographers often imitate their subjects. Football hero Harold "Red" Grange was honest, hard-working, and

unassuming; John M. Carroll writes a well-researched, factual, and accurate account of Grange's life and sports career, as old-fashioned in its biographical approach as his subject was in his authentic "Aw Shucks" modesty.

Sports fans know Red Grange as one of the greatest athletes of the so-called "Golden Age of American Sports": the 1920s. He was the football equivalent of baseball's Babe Ruth, boxing's Jack Dempsey, tennis's Bill Tilden, and golf's Bobby Jones. Grange was a superb running back for the University of Illinois team and had the good luck to play at a time when the sporting press shamelessly promoted athletes as much larger than life and the public loved the "gee-whiz" journalism and its creations, particularly Grange, nicknamed the "Galloping Ghost of the Illini" by Grantland Rice before the writer ever saw him play, and the "Wheaton Iceman" by the Chicago press. The former nickname captured Grange's elusive open field running and the latter his smalltown, Midwest roots: every summer during his college career, he returned to his hometown of Wheaton, Illinois, then a small rural community (not yet a Chicago suburb), and delivered ice for a local company. Grange believed that this hard physical labor strengthened him for the football season, and the press and the public regarded his summer job as genuine Main Street Americana.

Carroll describes all the nicknames and the press and public reactions in great detail; he also devotes many pages to the major controversy in Grange's career: his decision to leave college before graduating to play professional football. At the time, because of the myth of the scholar-athlete and the low repute of pro football, still in its barnstorming days, many higher education officials criticized Grange's decision. He replied, in his level-headed way, that the players were making the college coaches and athletic departments rich, and because he was from a family of modest means, he deserved to cash in on his football playing talents as soon as possible.

Grange's coach at Illinois, Bob Zuppke, vilified the player's breach of amateurism, and Grange replied commonsensically, "What's Zuppke but a professional? Does he feel that he owes so much to the University of Illinois that he wouldn't leave them at the end of his contract if some other university offered him \$5,000 a year more to coach them?" (p. 123). This argument about collegiate amateurism recurred constantly for the remaining seventy-five years of the twentieth century and is debated in our time, with only the sums of money changing.

Grange joined the Chicago Bears and, guided by a clever agent, C. C. Pyle ("Cash and Carry" was his nickname) made a fortune but, briefly departing from his midwestern values, squandered most of his pro football money in high living and bad investments. He then tried acting in motion pictures; working as a master of ceremonies in nightclubs and other entertainment venues; and he continued playing in the National Football League (NFL) after his athletic

talents had declined. Eventually, he married a sensible woman, went into the insurance business, had a successful radio sports broadcasting career, was one of the first TV "color commentators" on college and NFL broadcasts, and retired to a quiet sunset in central Florida. The outline of Grange's postcollege career appears more dramatic than it actually was: a decent man of limited intellect, he plodded through many decades, making sensible comments about the changing sport of football and supporting various charities.

Carroll provides all the facts that most readers would ever want to know about Red Grange. The author omits only one thing: what does Grange's life mean, and what does it tell us about American society and culture? Occasionally in the text, Carroll goes beyond the facts and attempts an interpretation of them, and in the epilogue, he briefly discusses some contemporary theories of sports celebrity, but then he concludes with a factual summary of Grange's life. Surely this athlete's meteoric football career and fame offer a major insight into the American cult of celebrity, so important in our time, but, in the end, the author is so busy marking every tree in the Red Grange biographical forest that he provides few indications of a larger meaning of his subject's life.

MURRAY SPERBER
Indiana University,
Bloomington

EMILY S. ROSENBERG. *Financial Missionaries to the World: The Politics and Culture of Dollar Diplomacy, 1900-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 334. \$45.00.

Nowhere does Brooks Adams make an appearance in this splendid and long-awaited book by Emily S. Rosenberg. Yet Adams's prediction in the 1890s of a global economic catastrophe, the product of his suspicion of the gold standard, anticipated key aspects of Rosenberg's critique of dollar diplomacy. Her thesis is intriguing. The history of dollar diplomacy between 1900 and 1930 reveals as much about the role of culture, the exercise of power, and masculine identity in foreign affairs as it does about the pursuit of economic interests. Through the issuance of controlled loans to stabilize currency and reschedule debts, government officials and investment bankers, using financial advisers as intermediaries, endeavored to spread abroad American influence in various guises.

With their belief in progress and their nation's civilizing mission nearly shattered by the depression of the 1890s, numerous Republican leaders, bankers, economists, and public intellectuals like New York *Journal of Commerce* financial correspondent Charles A. Conant placed their faith in the restorative qualities of the gold-exchange standard. For them, currency reform based on the availability of gold meant expanded markets and investment opportunities. Commerce, security, and spiritual uplift were inseparable for a generation of financial advisers, personified by

economist Edwin Kemmerer of Princeton University. The worldview of these powerful men "celebrated both capitalism and imperialism" (p. 16).

The financial missionaries took their nascent professional-managerial expertise to Latin America (especially to the Caribbean and the Andes), the Near East, and Europe after the Great War. As practiced, dollar diplomacy contained assumptions about America's *strategic priorities, the need for economic and banking modernization, and the centrality of race and manhood to the conduct of human affairs*. Rosenberg chooses to focus upon the latter two. Incredibly, civilization itself—at least as the dollar diplomats understood it—depended upon the success of financial advising. This belief, indicative of their cultural outlook, led to flexibility in financial and commercial matters by politicians, bankers, and their agents. In the Americas, for example, what occurred in the Dominican Republic around 1905 became the basic model for dollar diplomacy elsewhere in the region. The actions of the U.S. government changed over time from deploying military force to negotiating agreements in order to install financial agents acceptable to investment banks headquartered in New York City.

Rosenberg is especially suggestive concerning the race and gender context of America's financial activities after the War of 1898. Kemmerer "would explicitly frame his economic advising in terms of manliness" (p. 35). On a policy level, the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine reflected a unique mixture of duty, threat, and destiny to "organize and uplift child-like races" (p. 39). The Caribbean and its environs served as a laboratory for this civilizing mission. In the process, expertise in the daily business of commerce and finance became the engine of U.S. global prestige.

America's financial missionaries were consequently aware of the many perils in the world they were seeking to reshape. During the 1920s, the unilateral approach that served public and private interests in Latin America readily gave way to cooperative ventures with non-American bankers in Europe. Given the troubles afflicting Europe's postwar economy, America's agents, such as Charles S. Dewey in Poland, were not as capable as they should have been. Dollar diplomacy 1920s-style accordingly made few friends in Europe, or in Persia for that matter. The power of nationalism was decidedly greater than the allure of economic stabilization and integration.

Rosenberg's most important chapter, "Faith in Professionalism, Fascination with Primitivism," is conceptually rich yet suffers somewhat from insufficient documentation. She makes a plausible case, however, that the civilizing financial mission of the United States in the first three decades of the century, as manifested in America's relations "with unfamiliar and racially different lands . . . fed a fascination with the 'primitive,' that is, with those seen to be at a lower level of the chain of development" (p. 199). Not all Americans accepted the imperial mission inherent in dollar diplomacy. Some of its foes in public and private life deeply

distrusted the new power of bankers, while others believed that the exercise of financial power abroad was imperialistic and therefore dangerous to America's own liberties. One critic of the excesses of dollar diplomacy, overlooked by Rosenberg, was Herbert Hoover.

Ultimately, dollar diplomacy failed. There were too few qualified economic and financial experts to do the difficult job of advising; reputations of advisers themselves too often mattered more than did sound policy; and even though financial advisers may have been needed abroad, they were not necessarily trusted by host governments. Rosenberg's remarkable book removes the illusion of impartiality that has too often been central to the history of those financial experts who were employed as dollar diplomats. In so doing, she has solidified her position as a leading scholar of culture and gender in international history.

WILLIAM O. WALKER III

Florida International University

WALTER F. PRATT, JR. *The Supreme Court under Edward Douglass White, 1910–1921*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 296. \$39.95.

The practice of using chief justices to define periods in Supreme Court history is an imperfect device at best, and to his credit Walter F. Pratt, Jr. does not try to inflate the significance of his thoughtful study. "I cannot argue," he tells us, "that the White Court crafted a distinctive identity for itself" (p. xviii). Instead, he seeks to explore the gradual and nuanced processes of judicial change as the Court moved from the problems and assumptions of nineteenth-century jurisprudence to those of the twentieth.

Pratt adopts a chronological approach, examining in sequence each of the eleven terms over which Edward Douglass White presided. He seeks to capture the general flavor of each: relevant social and political background, contributions of individual justices, the size and content of the docket, and the Court's ordinary as well as famous cases. The advantages and disadvantages of the approach are apparent. On the positive side, it roots the Court firmly in a slowly evolving context and suggests a variety of possible interconnections between its decisions and contemporaneous but doctrinally unrelated matters, whether internal or external to the Court. On the negative side, it tends to obscure major developments and to diffuse Pratt's general arguments. Such an approach demands a substantial concluding chapter which, unfortunately, is lacking.

Pratt's analysis, however, is provocative, and it focuses on the challenges the Court faced in dealing with broad transformations in American life and government. Around that theme the book develops four interrelated arguments. First, it maintains that the White Court was caught in the early stages of the

transformation, usually catching mere "glimpses" of the future while looking to the past for guidance. Second, it stresses the extent to which the justices tried to apply the rules and concepts of the law by drawing on "shared meanings" that had developed in the nineteenth century from the common experiences of American life. The dynamic and diverse life of the twentieth century was fracturing those shared meanings, however, and increasingly the justices found them outmoded guides. Third, the book highlights the centrality of words and the imprecise and shifting nature of their meanings. Striving to apply inherited concepts, Pratt writes, "the justices found that they could not deal with those transformations without changing the meaning of words with which they had become familiar" (p. xvii). The words of the law evolved and took on new meanings in spite of the effort of the justices to hold them in place, and legal change came indirectly and often unintentionally. Not surprisingly, the number of dissents gradually rose, doubling from the first half of White's tenure to the second half.

Finally, the book argues, the most significant turning point in the White Court was the appointment in 1916 of Louis D. Brandeis, "the one justice who is best suited to deal with the new meanings" (p. xviii). The new justice recognized the malleability of words and appreciated the need to go beyond them by studying the human reality to which they referred. Brandeis's emphasis on change, social complexity, and the need for empirical research, Pratt argues, helped to replace nineteenth-century assumptions with what became "a credo for the twentieth century's jurisprudence" (p. 212).

Pratt has made a useful contribution to the literature of Supreme Court history. Most obviously, he confirms the fact that the Court rejected the vast majority of challenges to state and federal regulatory laws and that it sanctioned a substantial expansion of federal power under the Commerce Clause even while enforcing some judicial limits. Moreover, he points to the significance of the Court's slowly growing but still limited control over its docket, highlighting the fact that the Court continued to hear large numbers of relatively trivial cases and that it still lacked the ability to enforce its own independent agenda. The book is an able introduction both to the Supreme Court under White and to the emerging constitutional jurisprudence of the twentieth century.

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR.
New York Law School

DAVID ALISTAIR YALOF. *Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. x, 296. \$27.50.

Selecting a Supreme Court justice is a two-step process: there is the nomination phase and then the confirmation phase. What receives journalistic and scholarly attention is usually the latter. Indeed, most

recent research has sought to explain how the rise of divided government, the changing role of the media, and the growing presence of interest groups have led to increasingly more bitter and openly political confirmation battles in the Senate. To wit, the controversies surrounding the failed nomination of Robert H. Bork in 1987, or the successful nomination of Clarence M. Thomas in 1991. Much less is known, however, about the process by which presidents come to name a nominee. Why are particular candidates chosen over others possessing similar or even superior professional and/or political qualifications? David Alistair Yalof provides answers to this question. Meticulously researched and superbly written, Yalof's book tells us more about presidential decision making during the nomination process than any previous study. It will undoubtedly become a seminal work on this subject.

Relying on evidence from presidential papers and interviews with former presidents, attorneys general, and other presidential advisors, Yalof systematically compares the selection practices of nine presidents, Harry S. Truman through Bill Clinton (Jimmy Carter, who made no Supreme Court nominations, is omitted). He concludes that modern presidents, while varying in style and process for selecting nominees, have generally failed to make effective use of the growing resources at their command during the selection process.

In the introductory chapter, Yalof sets out a series of factors that have influenced the selection of particular candidates and shaped the modern recruitment process generally. Such things as the timing of the vacancy, the popularity of the president, and the composition of the Senate are factors influencing the choice of particular candidates, whereas the growth of the Justice Department and White House bureaucracies, the rise of the organized bar, and the emergence of divided party government are examples of factors that have shaped the process more generally. Yalof creates a typology of three decisional frameworks that presidents utilize in selecting nominees: an open framework, in which a president waits for a vacancy on the Court before considering individual candidates or the selection process; a single candidate-focused framework, in which the individual nominee has been selected prior to the vacancy arising; or a criteria-driven framework, in which the president and his advisors establish specific criteria for prospective future nominees.

In the next five chapters (and in an epilogue covering the Bush and Clinton administrations), Yalof details the politics, personalities, and processes surrounding each nomination to the Supreme Court during the past fifty-five years. Walking readers through each of the thirty-two formal nominations to the Court during this period, Yalof tells an engaging story of how successive presidents often over-reacted to criticisms of their predecessors. He also takes up many of the historical debates about particular nominations. For instance, did Dwight D. Eisenhower promise Earl Warren a seat on the Court as a quid-

pro-quo for support at the 1952 Republican convention? Probably not; but Eisenhower nevertheless felt "indebted" to Warren and after the election promised him the first vacancy on the Court (pp. 45–46). Did Richard M. Nixon purposely nominate G. Harold Carswell, a candidate with inferior credentials, as a "spite nomination" after the Senate defeated his first choice, Clement R. Hainesworth? Again, probably not; the Justice Department's failure to research thoroughly Carswell's record and Nixon's stringent, inflexible criteria limiting the pool of possible candidates (a reaction to criticism of Lyndon B. Johnson's appointment of personal friends) are probably to blame for the embarrassing nomination (pp. 111–112). Yalof's historical description of events in these chapters is clear and scrupulously documented. His analysis of what motivated presidents and their advisors is both fair and convincing.

In a final chapter, Yalof returns to his typology. He argues that five nominations (Harold Burton, Frederick M. Vinson, Ramsey Clark, Byron White, and John Paul Stevens) were the product of presidents utilizing an open selection framework. Nine nominations emerged out of the single candidate-focused framework (Sherman Minton, Earl Warren, John M. Harlan, Arthur Goldberg, Abe Fortas 1, Thurgood Marshall, Fortas 2, Holmer Thornberry, and Robert Bork). But fourteen nominations, were the product of criteria-driven frameworks (William J. Brennan, Charles E. Whittaker, Potter Stewart, Warren Burger, Hainesworth, Carswell, Harry E. Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell, William Rehnquist 1, Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia, Rehnquist 2, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Anthony M. Kennedy). Yalof analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of each framework as a way of helping presidents achieve their stated goals at the time of the nomination. Regardless of which framework is employed, however, Yalof is certain about one thing: presidents who relied on multiple, competing advisors (the Justice Department, the White House Counsel, and other presidential advisors) during this process tended to receive less reliable information about prospective candidates, as each advisory bureaucracy attempted to advance its own (not the president's) goals and interests. The "lesson is clear," Yalof writes; "modern presidents have too much information about prospective candidates" and they need a reliable process for "filtering information . . . in an unbiased a fashion as possible" (p. 187). A single advisor, or centralized advisory framework, can combine political savvy with legal expertise and will not have to compete for influence with others.

One can argue with Yalof's recommendations. The debate over how to organize advising systems is a perennial topic in public administration and presidential studies literatures. One can also argue with his analysis of whether particular nominations did or did not meet the president's stated objectives. But these are minor quibbles that in no way detract from the book's main contribution as the most thorough and

systematic examination to date of the process through which presidents come to nominate Supreme Court justices. In this, Yalof's book succeeds. It is a must read for all those interested in the Supreme Court and in presidential politics during the past fifty years.

CORNELL W. CLAYTON
Washington State University

RUTH G. O'BRIEN. *Workers' Paradox: The Republican Origins of New Deal Labor Policy, 1886–1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 313. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

In this meticulously researched book, Ruth O'Brien untangles the complicated skein of politics, legal theory, judicial decisions, and economics that produced the statutory cornerstone of modern American labor law, the Wagner Act (1935). O'Brien argues convincingly that the Wagner Act was the culmination of a long history of federal labor policy that reflected widespread distrust of labor unions and sought to constrict union autonomy through governmental regulation that was intended to assure that unions acted in the "public interest."

According to O'Brien, the Wagner Act reflected a paradox in American liberalism insofar as the statute used the coercive power of the state to promote individualism by assuring the freedom of workers to select their representatives in negotiations with management. In permitting the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to decide who would represent workers in any bargaining situation, the Wagner Act denied unions any stable or permanent role in representing workers. The statute's preference for "responsible unionism" therefore thwarted the American Federation of Labor's longstanding vision of voluntarism, which eschewed state involvement in union relations with management. Organized labor nevertheless supported the Wagner Act because it provided more protection against anti-union activities by management and the courts than had any previous law, and because unions hoped that they could manipulate the statute to their advantage.

O'Brien also contends that liberalism's rejection of collectivism and its permanent interjection of the federal government into the collective bargaining process tended to drive a wedge between workers and unions that diminished working-class solidarity. Although O'Brien generally avoids normative judgments, she seems to regret that the Wagner Act ensured "that the labor movement remained weak and the state maintained tight control over the labor-management relations process" (p. 205).

In subtly tracing the antecedents of the Wagner Act, O'Brien explains how the Progressive ideal of "responsible unionism" gradually caused a rift between Progressives and labor unions and created an alliance between Progressives and "Old Guard" Republicans. She then demonstrates how judicial decisions that "gave unions accountability as just one group among

many that were competent to represent workers" (p. 15) ensured that responsible unionism rather than voluntarism would dominate labor law. These principles were embodied in legislation during the 1920s that established a Railroad Labor Board and later a U. S. Mediation Board that were prototypes for the NLRB.

The book also provides an enlightening analysis of the circumstances surrounding the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act of 1932, which likewise reflected the concept of responsible unionism. By defining the types of activities for which injunctions could be granted and restricting injunctions primarily in connection with collective bargaining activities, the act reinforced the law's focus on protecting union activity rather than granting rights to unions as a class.

O'Brien's writing is terse and precise. Remaining tightly focused on her basic themes, she presupposes that the reader is already familiar with the general political and social history of the period. This is therefore primarily a book for specialists in labor history and legal history. The book would be more engaging if she had spiced it with more quotations from contemporary labor periodicals, which often employed salty but revealing rhetoric in editorializing about the issues that she discusses.

Although O'Brien's account of federal labor history is rich in detail, she devotes little attention to developments in the states. Since many states were laboratories of experimentation on labor issues during the Progressive era, a discussion of state legislation could have helped to amplify and test her theories about federal legislation. In particular, the book might have benefited from a discussion of the Kansas Court of Industrial Arbitration and the U.S. Supreme Court's 1923 decision invalidating the law upon which the court was formed, subjects that the book mentions only in passing.

The book also might have benefited from at least some discussion of labor issues other than labor organization: for example, wages and hours legislation, child labor, and the statutory and erosion of common law doctrines that impeded lawsuits by workers against employers. Even a brief survey of these issues involving both organized and unorganized workers might have illuminated some of O'Brien's theses regarding the attitudes of Progressives and courts toward union organization.

The significance of O'Brien's book transcends its immediate subject. In addition to presenting a fascinating case study of how complex forces and compromises produce statutes, it also provides an important study of the contributions of Progressive Republicanism to the New Deal and the formation of the modern American state.

WILLIAM G. ROSS
Cumberland School of Law,
Samford University

SUZANNE METTLER. *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell

University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi, 239. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

In the past decade, there has been a cascade of work on social policy characterized by the revisionist views of two major schools: the polity or state-centered approach (usually associated with Theda Skocpol) and the more diverse arguments of feminist scholars. The first approach emphasizes that social policies are determined not simply by the economic forces and elite design stressed in much prior scholarship but by the structures and mechanisms of the state, government agencies and administrators, constituents, and clients. Feminist studies of social policy sometimes have used the state-centered approach but added to that perspective an understanding of how the welfare state generates and exacerbates gender and racial inequality and privileges men, especially white men, within the state, labor force, and society.

Understanding the gendered assumptions of policy makers, the gender-specific consequences of social policy, and the discriminatory effects of sexism and patriarchy, feminist scholarship has followed polity-centered arguments in placing the responsibility for unequal outcomes primarily in the realm of the state. They have focused, for the most part, on Progressive-era programs such as mothers' pensions, protective labor legislation, and Aid to Dependent Children to draw these conclusions. How gender continued to inhere in social welfare and entitlement programs under the liberal and "universalist" policies of the 1930s is the subject of Suzanne Mettler's book. Drawing on a rich supporting literature, Mettler emphasizes how, at a crucial point of social and political transformation, the precedent and paradigm-setting New Deal administration, policy makers, politicians, and administrators reconstructed gender division by casting citizenship into two distinct forms: "an older, particularistic state-level citizenship, which granted women and minorities welfare but not entitlements, subject to administrative discretion and variability, and the newer forms of liberal social entitlement granting white men, for the most part, citizenship national in character, standardized in administration, and routinized in procedure." The state, Mettler argues, winds up organizing its citizens not simply into two different tiers of citizenship but effectively into two different polities, whose political resources and agendas were and are fundamentally different and unequal.

The major social policies Mettler targets—"the segmented programs of the Social Security Act especially Old Age Assistance, Old Age Insurance, Aid to Dependent Children, and Unemployment Insurance, and the Fair Labor Standards Act"—constitute the social core of the New Deal state. This is, in one respect, familiar ground. But while Old Age Insurance and Aid to Dependent Children have been the subject of study in recent years, there has been little attention paid to the connection between these segments of Social Security and their relationship to citizenship rights.

There has been even less attention paid to connections between the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938) and overall labor force entitlements. What strikes this reader as different, and notable, in Mettler's analysis, is her close reading of how these policy makers came to transform universalist, supposedly gender-neutral policy designs into gender-specific entitlements and how these core social programs and labor policies further segmented citizenship by race and gender.

Mettler capably shows how political motives, personal ambitions and prejudices, and even crucial misjudgments (especially those made by the older generation of Progressive reformers) created a welfare state that privileged and catered primarily to white male wage-earners and salaried (middle-class) employees, the prime beneficiaries of New Deal labor and social policy and the political force behind the New Deal party system. Central to the development of divided social citizenship in particular were the 1939 amendments to the Social Security Act, which incorporated greater numbers of women into the system of Old Age Insurance, a "universal entitlement" for wage-earners, on the distinctly non-liberal basis of dependency on men (as wives, widows, or children), and the state-level administration of Unemployment Insurance, which had narrow forms of eligibility (most of the female labor force was, in effect, ineligible) and discriminatory patterns of administration (as in the exclusion of women unemployed for family reasons or pregnancy). Further, the narrow application and tightened eligibility of minimum wage and maximum hour standards under the Fair Labor Standards Act meant that the majority of women wage-earners were rendered ineligible from the one "universal" program that might have benefitted them the most over the short term. This fact placed women reformers of the time in a never-ending quest for state-level minimum wage laws and workplace regulation that diverted them from seeking women's equality in the broader realm of national citizenship and kept women's organizations divided.

In this important book, Mettler asserts that the New Deal creation of divided citizenship disadvantaged women by treating them with both equality and difference: equality in creating liberal social programs as entitlements with supposed "universal" eligibility, from which they were either excluded or incorporated on distinctly "non-liberal" grounds, and difference in the guise of particularistic state-level assistance such as Aid to Dependent Children and the gender-specific administration of Unemployment Insurance. By pursuing both courses, the New Deal state enshrined and intensified women's inequality. One approach or the other, Mettler asserts in her riskiest prose, would have rendered better results. Such an assessment requires the reader to believe that the New Deal administration could have created and administered social policies based on women's difference (their responsibility for parenting, their unequal access to the primary labor market and its benefits) that would have bolstered,

rather than undermined, women's equality, an argument undermined by Mettler's own careful reconstruction of how gender works in the policy realm. Despite that reservation, Mettler's book is a persuasive, well-conceived, and thoughtful analysis of how the promises of broadened social citizenship rights under the New Deal and its democratization of the American polity failed to embrace women's (and minorities') equality and, by misdirection and inattention, reinforced inequality and discrimination in the realm of the state.

ELIZABETH FAUE

Wayne State University

JUNE HOPKINS. *Harry Hopkins: Sudden Hero, Brash Reformer*. (The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 271. \$29.95.

In February 1946, Frances Perkins wrote for *Survey Monthly* after Harry Hopkins's death that "The People Mattered" to him. She had heard Hopkins say many times, "You've got to treat the people right." June Hopkins traces the development of her grandfather's attitudes about welfare and relates how he became the nation's best known social worker by 1933. No history of professional social work nor of the New Deal omits Hopkins. After publication of Robert Sherwood's magisterial *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (1948), the first full biography of Hopkins did not appear until 1963; the most recent, George McJimsey's *Harry Hopkins: Ally of the Poor and Defender of Democracy*, was published in 1987. None of the studies, June Hopkins rightly contends, deals as fully as hers with the pre-New Deal evolution of Hopkins's overriding view that "human welfare is the first and final task of government. It has no other" (p. 2).

Hopkins's philosophy of social welfare and his commitment to public service are attributed to the rural underpinnings of his native Midwest, the strong Methodist religiosity of his mother and sister Adah (he later abandoned Methodism for Ethical Culture), and his education in the Social Gospel at Grinnell College in Iowa. Add to these the practical experiences he had in New York City, where he burst upon the urban welfare scene in 1912. At the age of twenty-two, he became a counselor at Christodora House, a Lower East Side settlement where he met Ethel Gross, his wife of seventeen years, who profoundly influenced the directions he would take. As secretary of the New York City Board of Child Welfare (1915-1917), he first discerned the logic and pitfalls of mothers' pensions, which became a paramount concern. His employment by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (AICP) brought invaluable experience in providing work on socially useful projects for the unemployed. Administering the pensions and formulating public works at the Bronx Zoo were both significant to his future career; so was his witness to a major conflict between professional social workers in the public sector and largely religious charitable organizations.

The imbroglio convinced him of the efficacy of professional social work and the absolute necessity of public responsibility for relief of the needy. Furthermore, he determined "to pursue governmental avenues to power" (p. 86) in order to institutionalize social insurance, health insurance, minimum wages, and employment assurance, all long-term federal obligations he was certain would offset economic downturns for industrial workers.

Supervision of Red Cross civilian relief in the South during World War I shifted Hopkins to a broader focus and brought him national prominence. Back in New York City in 1922 to oversee health programs for the AICP, Hopkins encountered problems he would face in administering New York's Temporary Emergency Relief Administration for Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, personal and political entanglements that magnified when he followed Roosevelt to Washington to direct three successive federal work relief programs from 1933 through 1938. There he would "display the talents he had refined during the past fifteen years" (p. 149).

Hopkins's idea for a permanent federal employment program met rejection when the Committee on Economic Security (1934) drafted what eventually evolved into the Social Security Act of 1935. Numerous studies of its complicated history introduce many individuals whose ideas were crucial to the outcome. June Hopkins tends to leave too strong an impression that Harry Hopkins was the central figure. It is curious that Frank Bane, probably Hopkins's closest friend and confidant among social workers, is not mentioned.

June Hopkins treats with candor Hopkins's divorce from Ethel to marry another woman and admits that his "lack of honesty, . . . did him little credit" (p. 146). She does not, however, deal with his abrupt resignation from the Works Progress Administration late in 1938 to become Secretary of Commerce. Other historians attribute a bad case of "Potomac fever" to his abandonment of his long advocacy for a just social welfare system. Omitting any reference to his brief Cabinet tenure, June Hopkins does believe that Hopkins "transferred [his] beliefs to the world stage" as the president's envoy to world leaders after 1940 (p. 206). Today, when the arguments that Hopkins both advanced and refuted in America's quest for economic security and social stability are still made, this biography of "the man who started the welfare system" will be welcomed by social welfare historians. They may lament, as June Hopkins does, that Hopkins's "ideal welfare state has never been realized" (p. 204).

MARTHA H. SWAIN
Mississippi State University

MICHAEL E. BIRDWELL. *Celluloid Soldiers: The Warner Bros. Campaign Against Nazism*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi. 266. \$35.00.

From the late 1930s until the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Americans fiercely debated the merits of an

American entry into what would become World War II. The debate between isolationists and interventionists took place in the nation's magazines and newspapers, public forums, often broadcast on the national radio networks, and in hotly contested local, state, and national elections.

The one medium of communication that remained strangely silent as this debate raged across America was the Hollywood film industry. Hindered by a rigid censorship system and ever fearful of losing its huge foreign audience, the film industry shied away from films that depicted the rise of fascism, the Spanish Civil War, and the growing tensions in Asia and Europe. The one Hollywood studio that stood apart from this pattern was Warner Brothers. Long known for producing gritty, low-budget features based on contemporary social and political issues, the studio jumped into the debate over intervention with *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) and its glowing tribute to World War I hero Alvin York, *Sergeant York* (1941).

Michael E. Birdwell, curator of the Alvin York Papers, argues that it was Harry Warner, not studio head and brother Jack Warner, who was the impetus behind the studio's anti-Nazi features. Harry closely monitored Nazi activities in Germany and the United States. When Germany marched into Austria in 1938, he immediately suspended all Warner operations in Germany—in stark contrast to the rest of Hollywood which bent over backward trying to accommodate Adolf Hitler's Germany. That same year Harry refused to screen the March of Time newsreel *Inside Germany* in Warner theaters because he considered it pro-Nazi.

Personally donating large amounts of money to fight fascism and pledging the corporation to transport 2,000 children of Warner employees in Britain to the safety of the United States, Harry was, according to Birdwell, the conscience of Warner Bros.

In that role, Harry Warner wanted to turn the studio loose to produce antifascist features but only a few emerged because of political and economic pressures. The bulk of Birdwell's book is devoted to case studies of three of the most important of Warner's antifascist films: *Black Legion* (1936), *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, and *Sergeant York*. *Confessions* was certainly the most controversial. The German government protested its production; the industry censor, Joseph Breen, was shocked by its content; the Warner theater in Milwaukee was burned in protest; and the film was widely banned in Europe and Latin America.

Birdwell, in his analysis of *Sergeant York*, offers an interesting account of the transformation of York from a simple, backwoods conscientious objector in World War I to his emergence in the early 1940s as a forceful, articulate spokesperson for intervention in World War II. By 1940 York had become a stump speaker who delighted audiences with his ridiculing of Charles Lindbergh, Father Charles Coughlin, and other America Firsters.

As little as Hollywood participated in the debate over interventionism, they were still charged by isola-

tionists Senators Gerald Nye and Burton K. Wheeler with producing propaganda in favor of war. Nye, who made a fool of himself and the isolationist cause during the hearing, accused Warner of many things, including a plot to bomb Ireland!

By concentrating on such familiar territory—three well-known films, a World War I icon, and the Senate investigation—Birdwell, it seems to me, has missed a great opportunity to broaden his study into a larger analysis of Hollywood's prewar role. There were other films made by other studios that did air the issues of interventionism: MGM's *The Mortal Storm* (1940) and Charlie Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940), for example, are barely mentioned. Nor is there any real attempt to deal with how the other studios reacted to Harry Warner's push for a more politically charged cinema.

While the title of the book states that it deals with Warner Brothers' campaign against Nazism, the last third deals almost exclusively with York's role as spokesperson for intervention. This is interesting material and it might be expected that the curator of the York papers would concentrate on the Tennessean, but in so doing Birdwell simply drops Warner Brothers and Hollywood from the narrative. This is unfortunate, because the book is rather brief and could certainly have looked outward from Warner's and York's perspectives to include the entire Hollywood community.

GREGORY D. BLACK
University of Missouri,
Kansas City

SHAWN FRANCIS PETERS. *Judging Jehovah's Witnesses: Religious Persecution and the Dawn of the Rights Revolution*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2000. Pp. x, 342. \$34.95.

The early and mid-1940s were "grim years" for Jehovah's Witnesses throughout much of the United States. Shawn Francis Peters focuses on "a narrow and troubling chapter of the Witnesses' history" and examines its impact on American law. "Targeted largely because they refused to salute the American flag," he states, hundreds were "beaten, kidnapped, tarred and feathered, throttled in castor oil . . . and otherwise consigned to mayhem" (p. 8). Repeatedly, state and local authorities "either ignored the Witnesses' requests for assistance or actively participated in the suppression of their civil liberties." Noting the "pervasive unpopularity" of the victims, even the attorneys in the Civil Rights Section of the U.S. Justice Department were "extraordinarily reluctant to prosecute anti-Witness vigilantes" (p. 10).

To appreciate the Witnesses's crusade, one needs to understand their beliefs. Although Peters does not concentrate on ideology, he makes it clear that their faith gave Witnesses little choice. They felt obliged to warn the world that Armageddon was at hand and that eternal life depended on conversion. Each Witness was considered a minister. Devoted to Jehovah, they pored

over the Scriptures to determine his will. They refused military service and would not salute the flag, "not because [they] did not love [their] country" but because they "love[d] God more and . . . must obey his commandments" (p. 37). They were often strident, especially toward Roman Catholicism. Many felt that Witnesses "went out of their way to court trouble" (p. 117).

Witnesses also suffered from job discrimination and economic boycott; their First Amendment freedoms of religion, speech, and assembly were violated; and many of their children, including Lillian and Billy Gobitas, were expelled from public schools when they refused to salute the U.S. flag. Walter Gobitas, father of Lillian and Billy, went to court. At length, the U.S. Supreme Court found for the authorities in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940), also misspelling the Witnesses's name (p. 38). The ruling, with only one dissent, came shortly after the fall of France. Affected by wartime hysteria, many Americans interpreted the ruling as proof that the Witnesses were traitors. The Witnesses suffered another major legal loss in 1942. Walter Chaplinsky, charged with using insulting language in public ("fighting words"), lost his appeal in *Chaplinsky v. State of New Hampshire*. Chaplinsky maintained that he had been provoked after being assaulted by an irate mob and treated in a "rough manner" by an officer attempting to remove him (p. 214). Other Witnesses were imprisoned during World War II for maintaining that as ministers they should be exempt from the draft.

Despite their mistreatment, the Witnesses not only endured, they also succeeded ultimately in pricking the nation's conscience and strengthening its commitment to the Bill of Rights. Armed with justice and the law and guided by their own brilliant attorney, Hayden Covington, the Witnesses repeatedly challenged discrimination in the courts. With a number of regional attorneys often working under deplorable conditions, and with critical support from a growing American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), they took case after case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. "By mid-1943, a flurry of Witness appeals, including *Jones [v. City of Opelika]*, left the court poised to right its glaring error in the Pennsylvania flag-salute case" (p. 230). In the five to four ruling, the court continued to support local authorities against the Witnesses's proselytizing. The case, nonetheless, was critical for the Witnesses, for three of the four minority judges issued a combined dissent in which they repented their vote in *Gobitis* and indicated a willingness to consider the flag salute issue again. The tide was turning; the Witnesses soon found a court willing to protect First Amendment freedoms (p. 138).

Peters has researched extensively in libraries and archives, including legal records and holdings of the ACLU and the Watchtower Society. He concentrates on the repressions of 1940–1942, placing developments of that time in perspective. He builds on earlier studies of the Witnesses, such as David Manwaring's *Render*

Unto Caesar: The Flag Salute Controversy (1962), Merlin Owen Newton's *Armed With the Constitution: Jehovah's Witnesses in Alabama and the U.S. Supreme Court* (1995), and James M. Penton's *Apocalypse Delayed: The Story of Jehovah's Witnesses*, (2d ed., 1997), stressing the constitutional aspects. Peters also relies heavily on interviews with Witnesses, particularly Lillian Gobitas Klose and Walter Chaplinsky. He aims to use the Witnesses's "simple but eloquent voices [to] tell a remarkable story . . . that lays bare the extremes of cowardice and courage so often found in nations engrossed by war" (p. 18). In this outstanding book, he succeeds.

MERLIN OWEN NEWTON
Emeritus,
Huntingdon College

GERALD D. NASH. *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth-Century West*. (The Modern American West.) Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 214. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$17.95.

There was a time when historians of the American West had to begin any historical critique by referencing one of two sources: Frederick Jackson Turner or Hollywood. The reason for such genuflection was an often unspoken, and undocumented, belief that Turner and Hollywood were the primary shapers of Americans' scholarly and vernacular understandings of the western past. The West was, in this guise, a place dominated by rugged individuals who reaffirmed core values of democracy, capitalism, and meritorious success. For those who came of age by the late 1960s, these were defensible assumptions about popular culture—at least for white, middle-class, Protestant Americans—but this celebratory version of the West was already under full-scale assault by that date. For the generations that grew up watching later episodes of *Gunsmoke*, *Bonanza*, and *Kung Fu*, or movies such as *Tell Them Willie Boy Is Here* (1969), *McCabe and Mrs. Miller* (1971), *Blazing Saddles* (1974), or *Unforgiven* (1992), popular culture has rendered a far more complicated West, and intellectual debates about frontier vs. region, place vs. process, or rugged individualism vs. federal colony no longer fire the imagination.

This is important for understanding why books such as this one, which is a very useful distillation of over forty years of research by one of the leading historians of the American West, can seem both impressive and a bit out of sync. The late Gerald D. Nash was, along with Earl Pomeroy and Richard White, a principal voice in articulating the historical link between western development and federal largesse, and this book synthesizes a lifetime of work in a concise and useful volume that will be handy for lecture writing. Nash's considerable understanding of banking systems, industry trends, and federal policy are the strengths of this book, which takes readers from 1900 to 1999 in seven predictable chapters covering the early century, the

Depression, World War II, the Cold War, and postindustrialism. Blending useful examples with less-useful concepts, Nash shows how the federal government became and stayed the primary economic engine of the West, that the New Deal and World War II were critical to creating an industrial infrastructure, and that the Cold War helped the region escape its colonial status. There is nothing flawed in this thesis, but neither is it particularly noteworthy. The federal presence has been demonstrated so many times, for so long, that publishing another book on it is perplexing.

Unfortunately, the book seems not only passé but narrow and occasionally unpersuasive. Nash attends to political economy with considerable nuance, but his marginal treatment of sociocultural factors and consequences may dissuade teachers from assigning this as a monograph. Nash only intermittently deals with the racial and class dimensions of western economics, and the absence of human tales makes for dry reading. More disappointing is an attempt to graft the models of economists Nicolae Kondratieff and Joseph A. Schumpeter. Readers are introduced to Kondratieff's theories about long wave economic patterns and Schumpeter's ideas about technological innovation and economic cycles, but aside from brief discussions in the introduction and conclusion and briefer assertions in each chapter of how the evidence supports this thesis, the ideas only rarely shape the text. In fact, the book's organization and evidence more often undermine its argument. Chapters reflect standard sociopolitical periodizations, and the West's persistent dependence on federal subsidies suggests that important continuities, not fundamental shifts, are the real story here. The computer revolution Nash discusses in the last chapters did substantively alter economies in some parts of the "New West," but logging, mining, and grazing (the supposedly moribund industries of the "Old West") remained important to other areas for decades after the advent of microchips.

This book offers a useful, cogent discussion of the major eras of economic development in the twentieth-century West, but it largely restates what historians already know. Moreover, Nash's integration of Kondratieff and Schumpeter is frustratingly hesitant. Such models might indeed help reframe western history—although this reviewer is doubtful—but they surely do not do so here. Rather, the book remains stuck in old debates.

JOSEPH E. TAYLOR III
Iowa State University

BRUCE HEVLY and JOHN M. FINDLAY, editors. *The Atomic West*. (The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography, number 7.) Seattle: University of Washington Press, in association with the Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, University of Washington, Seattle. 1998. Pp. x, 286. \$19.95.

The American embrace of the atom and the culture that it spawned have highlighted some of the most important dilemmas of the post-1945 world. They shout questions about reliance on technological systems, about the nature of human conflict, and, from the perspective of many scholars, about the nature of human morality. It is clearly one of the most vexing issues that contemporary historians encounter.

The study of atomic culture has also become central to a crucial argument about the nature of regionalism in the United States: can an activity that is of national scope but that plays out largely within a specific region be classed as either regional or national? Can it in the end be both? If so, how does that position regional and national history? With the development of America's atomic and nuclear weapons complex, did the nation—and its regions—become part of a progressive use of technology or did it become flawed, as cracked as the Liberty Bell itself, embracing a technology so destructive that it marred the very idea of democracy?

The second of these questions has many strident and powerful claimants on both sides. In his widely renowned history, *Atomic Spaces: Living on the Manhattan Project* (1997), Peter B. Hales sees the rise of the atom bomb as a pretext for the continuation of the flawed principles of post-Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) America and regards the development and use of the atom bomb as a fault line, a point at which the American nation went inherently and irredeemably wrong one final time. There is an idealism to this argument, a belief in a kind of democracy our age embraces but that has few precedents in the past. In this sense, Hales's argument is truly national, with the regions he discusses pawns in a national process, unflinching receptors of a national impulse in a one-way process reminiscent of Marxist descriptions of colonialism.

Gerald D. Nash has long argued the opposite of Hales: that the development and use of the atom bomb was inevitable, a continuation of the expansion of the American nation into its most colonized section, the West. It is here that Nash engages the regionalism that Hales looks past. By looking from different points of view—to borrow from Patricia Nelson Limerick, one looks from Chicago and the other from Albuquerque—they see these realities in different and largely irreconcilable terms. Both announce their views, certain that they have defined the critical question.

Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay, coeditors of the present volume, tilt the discussion in a new way. Findlay, a renowned urban and cultural historian who is a keen observer of western regionalism, and Hevly, a prominent historian of science, have attempted to pull back from the emotions that define this set of issues and assess them as clearly and directly as possible. Here is the beauty of this comparatively thin volume: it dispenses with polemics as its searches for the evidence to support the contentions of both and neither side. The various atomic administering agencies, Hevly and Findlay tell us, “chose western locales

for numerous atomic tasks, especially the dirtier ones” (p. 4). In this they encompass both points of view, the regionalist and the national. “The Atomic West,” they write, “succeeded in marrying the purposes of the nation with those of the region” (p. 5). Their book attempts to show how, to provide the context for the melding of regional and national.

The essays, first presented in a symposium at the University of Washington in 1992, vary in focus, tone, and objective. The first three essays provide building blocks, focusing on the federal presence at Hanford and Los Alamos, with a detour back in time in Robert E. Ficken's selection to Grand Coulee Dam and a look at the planning process in Carl Abbott's typically brilliant essay. Abbott makes planning vital and meaningful, a process governed by people with small individual objectives whose total project has much larger implications. These are nuts-and-bolts essays about how people in the past accomplished goals and what occurred as a consequence. There are catalysts here, too, figures of powerful importance who genuinely shaped the rise of atomic culture in the region and the nation. Stanley Goldberg, to whom the volume is dedicated, provides a close look at the role of General Leslie R. Groves, the catalytic figure in the creation of the bomb. He suggests that using the bomb was in Groves's self-interest, adding to an ongoing debate about motivation that underpins Hales's work.

The activities of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) are the focus of the second set of essays. The AEC was the pivotal federal agency, standing between the war and the later Nuclear Regulatory Commission. Although seemingly civilian, in reality it took the tone and stance of the war years, part and parcel of the integration of civilian and military activities that a decade later would be called the military-industrial complex. Gregg Herken details the embrace of this idea in his essay on the University of California's complex play to acquire and keep the Manhattan Project and its facilities after the war. During the war, the choice of the university seemed obvious; one of its physicists, the vaunted J. Robert Oppenheimer, directed the Manhattan Project. Afterward, Herken suggests, Ernest O. Lawrence played the most significant role in keeping the university in charge throughout the Cold War. He briefly details the story of the decline of the relationship and the way in which the association became a liability for the university and a problem for the government. This story, of changing culture, values, and standards, could be told in more detail.

Perhaps most intriguing for the regional thesis is Barton C. Hacker's article detailing thirty-three years of the relationship between the AEC and the communities affected by nuclear testing in the Nevada desert. Between 1953 and 1986, the AEC dealt with countless claims of ranchers whose sheep were killed by fallout, creating a cloak of secrecy and deception about itself and its activities. This, Hacker argues, contributed to the growing public distrust and eventually disdain for

the AEC and ultimately affected the perception of government in the West.

In the final section of the book, devoted to local resistance, a number of scholars assess the ways in which communities fought the implementation of atomic and nuclear activities. More varied than the rest of the book, the essays cover Project Chariot in Alaska; the MX missile conflict; the battle against the five nuclear generating stations planned by the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS), known colloquially in the region as "Whoops"; and the 1976 anti-nuke voter initiative in California. The authors paint a picture of an engaged if fragmented public that twisted the axiom "think globally, act locally" into its converse, "think locally and act globally." Thomas Wellock's essay weaves these strands together into a portrait of the evolution of resistance and the addition of new groups. In this, he encompasses the other essays, bringing the stories under one comprehensive rubric and contextualizing the groups and strategies involved in resisting the juggernaut of atomic culture.

Hevly and Findlay have assembled a fine collection that pulls back from theorizing and looks closely at the actual evidence. In doing so, the pieces support both the regional and national perspectives, arguing for the West as the colonized region—albeit as a two-way process instead of the one-way street of so many who study colonialism—while simultaneously embracing the national dimensions of the question. Neither the regional nor the national advocates quite see the whole picture, Hevly and Findlay argue. "Since 1942, neither utopia nor disaster has come to pass," they opine, "although, arguably, small groups within the West have experienced some of one or the other" (pp. 8–9). Such sentiments are astute, based on scholarship, and free of hyperbole. In this, Hevly and Findlay have provided a service. Stripped of polemics, they offer a hard look at evidence and restore lost dimensions of the debate. This collection may not stir passions, but it accomplishes something more important: it allows people to see the trees in the figurative forest.

HAL K. ROTHMAN
University of Nevada,
Las Vegas

ARTHUR HERMAN. *Joseph McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator*. New York: Free Press. 2000. Pp. 404. \$26.00.

It has become something of a cliché among those of us who write about the home front in the early Cold War that McCarthyism was much more than the career of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. After all, McCarthy did not get into the headlines until 1950, by which time Alger Hiss had been convicted, the Hollywood Ten were about to go to prison, Klaus Fuchs was already there, and the federal government's loyalty-security program had been in operation for nearly three years. Still, McCarthy's hyped-up accusations of subversion in high places so intensified the political

rancor of the period that there is some historical justification for giving his name to the whole anticommunist mess.

Whether there is any justification for writing a new biography of the man is more questionable. Two fine ones already exist: Thomas Reeves's exhaustive *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* (1982) and David M. Oshinsky's more nuanced *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (1983). For the work under review, the European historian Arthur Herman did not gain access to any important new archives or uncover any new aspects of McCarthy's past. On the contrary, his research is perfunctory, to say the least. With a few excursions into some Army files and oral history interviews, he relies almost entirely on the standard published sources. There is nothing new here—and more (I assume) sloppy factual errors than a reputable piece of scholarship should contain. Although only espionage aficionados may know that Justice Department employee Judith Coplon was arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on a New York City street, not a subway, surely a European historian should know that the Berlin blockade occurred in 1948–1949, not 1961. And there are many more such blunders.

But, sloppiness is hardly a cardinal sin. Far more unsettling is Herman's misuse of his sources. One example should suffice. In his discussion of the way in which Communists had infiltrated the liberal establishment, Herman makes the claim that "Harvard and Berkeley had numerous Communist professors on their faculties" (p. 89). Because I had studied communism and anticommunism in the academy and had never encountered more than a handful of such individuals, I was curious to find out where Herman's information came from. It was something of a shock to discover that my own *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (1986) was the source, albeit "passim." Such recklessness is characteristic of the subject of Herman's biography.

Rather than scholarship (or at least adequate scholarship), this volume seems to be an exhaustive attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of "America's Most Hated Senator," as the book's subtitle describes him. The timing seems obvious. Herman is positioning himself within the wave of post-Cold War revisionism that followed the opening of the Soviet archives and the American government's publication of the partially deciphered telegraphic correspondence between the KGB's Moscow headquarters and its American representatives: the so-called Venona documents. But while most of those revisionists—like Harvey Klehr, John E. Haynes, Allen Weinstein, and their Russian coauthors—tend to draw the line at McCarthy, Herman pushes on.

He shares the revisionists' consensus that there was a genuine threat from espionage and sabotage on the part of the American Communist Party that required serious preventive measures and the exposure of native Communists, but he disagrees with them that the

federal government handled the threat well. On the contrary, Herman insists, the danger was enhanced by the "New Deal establishment liberal" who was "unable to deal effectively with the kind of ideological challenge communism represented . . . thanks to his seemingly fatal attraction to the goals and aims, if not necessarily the methods, of communism" (p. 88). This was, of course, the point McCarthy and his allies were making. So, for Herman, the Wisconsin senator's allegations, even if untrue, were essentially correct: the Democratic administration had been lax about security and "someone at the top was covering up" (p. 115). Herman even manages to rationalize what both historians and contemporaries saw as McCarthy's most egregious charges—those against the venerated World War II chief of staff and Secretary of Defense, George C. Marshall. Marshall was, Herman notes, part of a "floundering New Deal establishment" that had "helped the Soviet Union become a superpower by their own poorly considered actions" (p. 193).

Ultimately, however, even Herman has to admit that his protagonist, despite the importance of his cause, sabotaged himself by his impulsiveness and irrationality. Alcohol was the proximate cause of McCarthy's downfall, but his drinking may have been a symptom of an underlying bipolar disorder. Herman arrives at that diagnosis by comparing McCarthy's behavior with that described in three books about manic-depressive illness. Whether or not he is correct (and he treads on some shaky psychohistorical ground here), such a finding is ultimately a much more damaging condemnation of mid-century American politics than the author may have intended. The communist issue had spun so far out of control that it could be captured by someone as unstable as Joe McCarthy.

ELLEN SCHRECKER
Yeshiva University

JOHN FOUSEK. *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 253. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

CHRISTIAN G. APPY, editor. *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States Imperialism, 1945–1966*. (Culture, Politics, and the Cold War.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000. Pp. ix, 340. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$18.95.

It is no longer news that, in recent years, culture and ideology have grown into powerful paradigms for the explanation of American foreign relations. "Core values," "cultural anxieties," "perception theory," and other explanatory patterns borrowed from the rhetoric of cultural studies and sociology have expanded the study of diplomacy to include, among other subjects, the influence of nongovernmental special interest groups and individuals on the decision-making process and the effect of foreign policy on popular culture. Both books under consideration here reflect this trend.

John Fousek analyzes the state of American public opinion in the early Cold War. Based on extensive research of "white-controlled" newspapers and political magazines, as well as the records of the African-American, labor, and, marginally, the women's press, Fousek refutes the assumption that the Truman administration along with the ruling elite manipulated a peaceful postwar society into a warmongering country ridden by anticommunism. Such efforts would have been superfluous, Fousek writes, because public opinion showed traces of expansive superpatriotism long before the governmental propaganda—including Winston Churchill's Fulton speech and the Truman Doctrine—targeted anticommunism and containment. Emerging from World War II convinced that the nation had a mission "to lead the free world," to feed and clothe the needy, and to represent an example of moral integrity, the American people already constituted Truman's loyal supporters. The ideology of greatness and globalism, Fousek stresses, penetrated not just the press but all of public opinion and popular culture, as an abundance of letters to Congress and the president as well as advertising samples prove. The only exception came from the African-American press (which doubted American leadership abroad in the face of racial inequality at home) and labor (badly fractured by the internal discord over U.S. foreign policy).

The picture changed somewhat when Soviet-American frictions intensified, and the globe became divided into two worlds, one communist, one democratic. The global surge of communism exacerbated the domestic discussions over racial and economic inequality at home. The African-American press, more so than labor, utilized the debate to stress its own demands for civil rights, and what seemed like a peripheral argument in 1945 resonated powerfully with the public in 1949 to the extent that it threatened to break the multipartisan consensus over American leadership. But the rise of anticommunism saved the ideology of national greatness and global responsibility. "By explaining why the United States was having such a difficult time meeting its global responsibilities while simultaneously buttressing the nation's claims to greatness, anticommunism put the whole ideology in working order," Fousek writes. "The third leg enabled the triad to stand" (p. 189).

This is a highly thought-provoking book that offers a number of debatable arguments. Fousek's claim that the appeal of anticommunism rested on its ability to support the doctrine of global responsibility seems questionable in light of what other scholars have written about the persistence of a Red Scare since the early 1900s. In the same vein, one might wish that the author had grappled a bit more profoundly with the theoretical implications of public opinion research, much of which has been contested over the years. Most importantly, did these newspapers and journals influence or reflect public opinion, and to what extent did they affect the policy making process? On a less

important note, Fousek's enthusiasm with the material he found occasionally makes for tedious reading when he presents an abundance of quotes where one would have done the job. All this said, this volume fulfills precisely the requirement of a good book. It raises more questions than it can answer and decenters the political analysis of Cold War propaganda.

Christian G. Appy's edited volume begins where Fousek's book ends. In his introduction, Appy, who has also contributed an essay on "Eisenhower's Guatemalan Doodle" to this book, agrees with Fousek's insistence on "free world leadership" as a central paradigm for the rhetoric of U.S. officials during the Cold War. "[W]ritten, in part, out of the faith that now is a propitious moment to study the Cold War anew," (p. 3) the fifteen essays of this book investigate the links between American foreign policy and domestic political culture during the Cold War. Part One assembles three essays dedicated to "Foreign Relations." Part Two portrays "Cold War Ambassadors-at-Large." Part Three focuses on the cultural underpinnings of the American coups in Iran and Guatemala. Part Four unites a rather heterogeneous group of essays labeled "Cold War Liberalism, Activist Expatriates, and Third World Revolution." While this subdivision is not always altogether clear (e.g. the section on "Foreign Relations" has much more to offer than its inauspicious title promises), the volume's breadth is impressive. Topics range from the cultural underpinnings of the United States involvement in Vietnam (Mark Bradley, Jonathan Nashel, and James T. Fisher) and the propagandist "Letters to Italy" Campaign in 1948 (Wendy Wall), to several essays on the interplay of foreign policy, civil rights and racism (Penny M. von Eschen and Kevin Gaines) and the role of the media (John Foran). Most of the essays are remarkably innovative; some are true eye-openers. Looking at the role of novelists like James Michener, Christina Klein retraces the key role of popular culture representatives in fostering U.S. commitment to Asia. In a fine essay on the differences of nonverbal behavioral codes in India and the United States, Andrew J. Rotter explores the potential misunderstandings between representatives in both countries during the great Indian famine in the early 1950s. Finally, Van Gosse's portrayal of Fidel Castro's appeal for an increasingly uncontrollable generation of young Americans between 1957 and 1959 reminds us both of the fact that this leader was, for a brief time, the most courted Third World hero in America, and of the political power of physical attributes (thousands of American teens adored Castro's masculine appearance, notably his beard).

As in any volume of this scope, there are the obvious gaps. For example, why are there three essays on Vietnam but none on Central Europe? Also, Appy's contention that "[l]argely unfamiliar with the work of literary and cultural critics, many diplomatic historians have read their documents too literally," is outdated. As he himself notes (though only in a footnote) for

many years historians of American foreign relations have explored concepts of gender, race, class, culture, nongovernmental relations, literary criticism, and others in their work thus creating a research body that has already grown into a genre of its own. Notwithstanding all these observations, this is, by all measures, a stimulating and welcome survey of how far cultural studies of U.S. foreign relations have come.

Both Fousek's and Appy's volumes appear as examples for new directions in the study of the Cold War. Their focus on the United States as principal actor in the international arena may have influenced the rhetoric and terminology of the respective authors more than they realized themselves. Take, for example, the subtitle Fousek (or his publisher?) chose for his volume. The Cold War meant lots of different things to different people. As recent scholarship has shown, in Europe and the Third World the United States won indigenous cooperation by catering profoundly to local demands. Many smaller countries exploited the conflict for economic and political advancement, thus prolonging the bipolar conflict. By presenting American public opinion and ideology as "The Cultural Roots of the Cold War" Fousek deliberately ignores global politics and, curiously, falls back into precisely the kind of "American attitude" he so vividly describes (and implicitly reproaches) in his book: that America is synonymous with and the spiritual leader of "the free world," an assumption increasingly contested by foreign nations. Similar to Fousek, a number of the contributing authors to Appy's book nonchalantly use broad terms like "Cold War Racial Ideology," or "the Origins of the Cold War in Vietnam" where, indeed, they allude to American racism or American perspectives in Asia, a word choice that once again epitomizes the wide misconception that America's gaze is synonymous with that of the world. While this may look like a marginal point at first sight, it betrays a rhetoric of universalism (to avoid the term imperialism) that has marred the study of American history for decades and that scholars interested in international relations, and indeed U.S. history in general, might wish to reconsider.

JESSICA C. E. GIENOW-HECHT
Harvard University and
Martin Luther University,
Halle, Wittenberg

PHILIP JENKINS. *The Cold War at Home: The Red Scare in Pennsylvania, 1945-1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 271. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$18.95.

Philip Jenkins rejects the view that "places responsibility for the postwar Red Scare on those conservatives, mainly Republicans, who used the movement as a flank attack on New Deal policies" and rejects as well "undue emphasis on the role of the federal government" (p. 3). Instead, he argues that Pennsylvania anticommunism reflected a "broad bipartisan consen-

sus" that included New Deal Democrats, moderate Republicans, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unionists, Southern and Eastern European ethnics, veterans, and working-class Catholics as well as conservative Republicans (p. 2). He points to such leading anticommunists as Democratic Judge Michael Musmanno, who defended Sacco and Vanzetti and opposed the employers' Coal and Iron Police; George Earle, who in 1934 was the first Democrat to win the governorship since 1891 and led a state-level little New Deal; and "enlightened reformist" Republican Governor and Senator James Duff, who combined strident anticommunism with public rejection of Joseph McCarthy (p. 1).

Jenkins devotes much of his book to the breadth and depth of anticommunism in Pennsylvania, with chapters on the large Slavic and Italian ethnic communities, on religious—particularly Catholic—anticommunism, and on the key role of labor union anticommunism. Jenkins is also clear that the anticommunist coalition was not chasing a figment of its own imagination. He shows that the Pennsylvania Communist Party had gathered strength during the 1930s and by 1945 was a "well-established political presence" constituting a "recognized third force on the left of the Democratic Party and the labor movement" with a "successful record of cooperating with and influencing established groups and supporting a broad Left-liberal Popular Front" (pp. 17–18).

All of this Jenkins demonstrates well with ample archival documentation, along with a description of fervent anticommunist campaigns by private bodies and public agencies that isolated and destroyed what Communists had earlier achieved. What is not provided, however, is a plausible explanation of what mobilized these very different constituencies. What was it about the Communist Party that aroused the ire of a coalition that stretched from New Deal Democrats to reactionary Republicans? In the case of Eastern European ethnics, Jenkins indicates it had something to do with Soviet domination of their native lands, but he is rather scornful of "eastern European revanchism" (p. 147). In an era when European Communist regimes have collapsed under popular pressure, and Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine have reestablished national independence, it is jarring to read dismissals of the "so-called captive nations" and "those groups that claimed to have been suppressed by Communist tyranny" (p. 165).

But what of other groups' anticommunism? It is not particularly clear why most Democrats, liberals, and labor leaders vehemently opposed Communists and their Popular Front allies. It is not clear because Jenkins is indistinct on what Communists, aside from their immediate program, stood for. In differentiating Communists from others on the liberal left, Jenkins does not go much beyond referring to "challenging options, about internationalism, workers' rights, or the role of government in society" and "the more radical

dreams of the progressives." These and other vagaries do not explain why CIO chief Philip Murray and his steelworkers union were determined to drive Communists out of the Pennsylvania CIO or why prominent New Deal Democrats in Pennsylvania joined the Americans for Democratic Action with its explicitly anticommunist liberal agenda.

America was founded as a democratic republic; Americans have long identified political democracy with free elections, majority rule, free speech, and free press as essential American characteristics; and the expansion of democratic liberties to excluded groups has been a central theme of American history. In theory and in practice, the Communist Party rejected political democracy and its attendant liberties and embraced Joseph Stalin's Russia as the model of the good society. That Pennsylvanians of a wide variety of political views, from left to right, found the profoundly antidemocratic nature of communism objectionable ought to be clear, but in Jenkins's account it is not. As Jenkins points out so well, the only thing many anti-communist constituencies had in common was hostility to Communism. Consequently, it is impossible to understand anticommunism without appropriate attention to Communism and why most Americans loathed it, and at that task this book falls short.

JOHN EARL HAYNES
Library of Congress

KENNETH R. PHILP. *Termination Revisited: American Indians on the Trail to Self-Determination, 1933–1953*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 265. \$50.00.

THOMAS W. COWGER. *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 217. \$45.00.

Movements to abolish national and cultural identities are worldwide phenomena. The process takes a variety of forms. Colonial powers frequently confront indigenous populations, and the colonialists employ a full panoply of formal and informal means from genocide, enforced poverty, land confiscation, and prohibitive attacks on culture to assimilative statutes to destroy the will of the native population. The United States in its history with Native Americans has tried all of these methods and more, and one of its more reprehensible recent attempts—that of termination—is just beginning to receive a fuller historical treatment.

Actually, the adoption of a formal policy to end American Indian tribes by the U.S. government was first termed "liquidation." Stopping federal relationships with Native Americans had been a goal of numerous American state and national politicians and intellectuals and a few Indian leaders since the late nineteenth century, but in the era during and immediately after World War II, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) with encouragement from selected congressmen started to formalize a "liquidation" program. Once the

horrors of World War II became fully known to the American people, a new name, not a new approach, was chosen. "Termination" replaced "liquidation." The end result, however, was to abolish Indian tribes, reservations, and treaty relationships and to incorporate the "former" Indians completely into American society. Beginning with approval by Congress in August 1953 of Concurrent Resolution 108, requiring the Secretary of the Interior to submit legislation to carry out the termination of selected tribes, termination as an official federal policy was implemented from 1954 to 1966, when the last termination legislation, that for the Northern Poncas of Nebraska, was enforced. Although not nearly as ambitious a program as a number of federal officials and Congressmen had hoped, still 109 tribes and bands were terminated and over 11,000 Native Americans lost over 1.3 million acres of land by the end of the movement.

The first professional book-length studies about the history of termination include Donald Fixico's *Termination and Relocation: Federal Indian Policy, 1945-1960* (1986) and Larry W. Burt's *Tribalism in Crisis: Federal Indian Policy, 1953-1961* (1982). Together with a comprehensive survey of this very complex federal policy, "Evolution of the Termination Policy," by Charles F. Wilkinson and Eric R. Biggs (*American Indian Law Review* [1977]: 139-184), these works provide the basis for understanding how the termination movement came about and how it was implemented. There remained a nagging question to be explored in depth: how did the people whose very existence and identity were fundamentally threatened respond? That question is addressed for tribes and individuals by Kenneth R. Philp and for the largest national Native American organization, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) by Thomas W. Cowger.

Philp offers a detailed treatment of Indian responses to the specter of termination from the 1930s to the 1950s. These responses varied from individual protests to extensive and sophisticated political and economic arguments and actions. Of particular import are Philp's discussions of four important aspects of this prelude to termination. Alaska Natives faced its first full-force treatment by the BIA, whose leadership seemed intent on forcing reservations on non-treated Indians. It is here that Philp shows how national Indian organizations, including the NCAI, "cut their teeth." Although Indians failed to prevent a number of developments in Alaska, the fight served them well for the future. Philp also documents the story of the Navajos and how they attempted to preserve their government and retain self-determination in the face of tremendous suffering and BIA interference. Similarly, the chapter devoted to Montana Blackfeet actions in preventing termination should be noted by all scholars of twentieth-century American Indian history for its careful and thoughtful enunciation. Finally, Philp explains in detail the attempt by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon Myer to stop the tribes from hiring their

own attorneys. The autocratic Myer had in mind certain attorneys he did not like. Much energy was devoted to fighting this action, with the Indians winning a limited victory. These highlights show the depth and reach of Philp's history of Indian responses to termination.

Cowger explains in his institutional history of the NCAI how educated, generally non-reservation-based Indians grappled with the attacks on Indian sovereignty in the post-World War II era. Not only did the NCAI have to sort out its positions on termination, which it did early on, it also had to fight relocation programs and Public Law 280, a federal statute designed to turn over jurisdiction of selected Indian reservations to state police and courts. Cowger shows how the NCAI evolved on these issues and what kinds of steps they took to counter the aggressive attempts by federal agencies to overpower indigenous sovereignty, lands, and rights.

The complexity of federal Indian policy has stymied many a scholar. That is true in several instances from each of these books. For example, Philp confuses William McKinley Holt, one of the three first members of the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) with William McKinley (p. 29). Holt was a dupe for Senator Hugh Butler (R-Nebraska), a senator who seemed intent on destroying Indian tribes and Indian organizations. We learn in Cowger's book that Butler tried to undermine the NCAI by suggesting it was a communist-front organization. Had Philp consulted Francis Moul's essay, "William McKinley Holt and the Indian Claims Commission" (*Great Plains Quarterly* 16 [Summer 1996]: 169-181), he would have discovered that not only did Senator Butler sponsor Holt, but he provided Holt and Holt's sister with an apartment in Washington, D.C., and advised Holt on the highly political nature of the ICC. Moreover, Philp's labeling Dillon Myer's program Indian self-determination seems a stretch. Even if Myer termed it self-determination, calling it something does not make it that. Indeed, Philp seems to want to treat Myer as objectively as possible. That may be admirable, but one should not forget that this is the man who was planning, implementing, cajoling, and forcing termination on Native peoples using any tactic he could. Philp neutralizes termination when he states, "Myer's approach to self-determination reflected the conservative, nationalistic, and sometimes intolerant mood of the postwar era" (p. 131), and he excuses the abuses of termination when he calls its architects mere products of their time (p. 175).

Similarly, Cowger makes mistakes and errors in judgment. For example, he does not understand the nature of how the Indian Reorganization Act governments were forced upon the tribes by John Collier's Indian New Deal. Federal legislation required that Indian tribes vote on approval of new tribal governments, but failure to vote was actually counted as an affirmative vote. Thus, when Cowger states that sixty percent of Indians rejected the new constitutions, that

does not mean that the constitutions were not implemented (p. 21). It took a tremendous effort to prevent the federal government from overthrowing existing traditional Indian governments, and several tribes, including the Navajos, were able to do so.

A much greater question must be raised with reference to Cowger's assumption that the John F. Kennedy administration represented a great leap forward for Native Americans. He forgets that it was Kennedy who signed in 1962, at the urging of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, the last termination order, that of the Northern Poncas, an action that caused the Poncas great disruption and suffering from which they are still attempting to recover. When Cowger states that President Kennedy "rejected the coercive termination policy of the previous decade" (p. 128), it is simply not accurate. When Cowger states that Udall "called for self-determination and not termination" (p. 131), it belies the facts. Although the author notes that historians disagree on the nature of the Kennedy administration's Indian policies, he does not offer a discussion or citations.

Philp and Cowger usually agree about the response of NCAI to termination. But there are differences. Cowger does not seem to understand how the Navajos related to NCAI and their role in resistance to termination. Philp is much more intuitive in his interpretation of events and courses of action. In fact, Cowger misleads us when he states that Navajos did not appreciate NCAI efforts and quotes noted scholar and former NCAI executive director Vine Deloria, Jr., as hinting that the Navajos were ungrateful and assessing that "Without the early work of NCAI there would probably be no Navajo tribe today" (p. 69), completely out of context. This quote is from an edited publication of 1971, but the implication is of a present observation. It does not appear that Deloria and others active with NCAI who are still alive were interviewed for this book.

Conversely, Philp brushes over or sometimes ignores the highly charged politics of the termination era, particularly in Congress and within Indian organizations. Here Cowger should be read for important background information on any number of Indian leaders as well as the political give and take that characterized all lobbying efforts. Both, however, seem reluctant to consult legal documents, especially court decisions, and this lessens the effectiveness of each. The Alaska Native discussions occur without placing developments within the context of *Tee-Hit-Ton Indians v. United States* (1955), a landmark decision causing any number of problems for Native American sovereignty advocates.

These two new works on termination, thus, address an important question, and generally they each succeed in their goals. Indian resistance to termination proved sophisticated, diverse, and partially successful. Indian nations, after all, continue to exist in present-day America. Nevertheless, great suffering occurred and continues, the machinations of historical evil doers

merit notice, and the story demands further documentation and remembrance.

JOHN R. WUNDER
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

MARK R. SCHERER. *Imperfect Victories: The Legal Tenacity of the Omaha Tribe, 1945-1995*. (Law in the American West, number 6.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 166. \$35.00.

Mark R. Scherer has written a legal history of the Omaha Tribe of Nebraska from the end of World War II to 1995. This study is a case analysis of legal challenges to the Omaha people, their cultural ways, and their tribal government. The message is clear. In recent American Indian history of federal-Indian relations, the power of influence shifted inevitably to the federal government in the form of federal policy (especially involving termination of federal-Indian trust status between tribes and the U.S. government). Termination (withdrawal of federal protection) and state jurisdiction (Public Law 280) threatened the Omaha community in Nebraska. In the decades of the 1960s to 1995, the Omahas endured the usurping of their sovereignty, one might argue, and regained control over their lives. Scherer concludes that the Omahas demonstrated cultural resiliency and political survival through adaptation to modern federal-tribal involvement. In this story's end, the Omahas win, hence the book's befitting title. The irony is that paternalistic federal power imposed on a small tribe resulted in an Indian victory, but not without costs of division within the community.

This book is volume six in the "Law in the West" series of the University of Nebraska Press. Consisting of five chapters, plus a conclusion, the book has notes, a helpful index, one table, six maps, and five photographs. The research for this study is regional in nature, with examination of court cases, Nebraska newspapers, federal legislation, and some research conducted at the Harry S. Truman Library and the Federal Archives Center at Kansas City. The study would have benefited from more archival information from the papers of key congressmen such as Hugh Butler and others who designed the termination policy and implemented it. More information on the size of the tribal population would have been helpful, including the sizes of tribal communities. One other criticism is the need for an ethnographic chapter on the importance of Omaha culture and values as these were challenged by federal and state actions. In place of such information, Scherer refers readers to Judith A. Boughter's *Betraying the Omaha Nation, 1790-1916* (1998). As a result, this book is a slim volume, beginning with the Indian Claims Commission affecting the Omaha in 1945 and covering their fifty-year quest for self-rule.

Scherer's effort is to demonstrate the resilience of the Omaha tribe in their legal struggle during a

changing federal-Indian policy aimed at eradicating all tribes. Scherer has documented that the survival of the Omahas came at great cost, although the tribal community held together. The Omahas learned a bitter lesson from the federal government, and from the implementation of Public Law 280, which imposed Nebraska state jurisdiction over the tribe.

The book is a revelation of the cultural and legal complexities of modern tribal existence. Sovereignty is at issue, as well as self-governance by the tribe, as in the example of the Omaha. Scherer's historical examination of one tribe, federal policy, related court cases, and state jurisdiction paints a complex picture of modern Indian history since World War II. This book offers both an outsider's view and an insider's view of the factionalism and turmoil within the Omaha tribe. The author has presented a complex story in an understandable manner. For those keeping abreast of modern federal-Indian relations, his book is an important contribution.

DONALD L. FIXICO
University of Kansas

KAI BIRD. *The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy; Brothers in Arms*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1998. Pp. 496. \$27.50.

McGeorge and William P. Bundy, brothers, scions of the American establishment, officers in the Cold War, architects of the Vietnam debacle, liberals, and exemplars of the "American Century," are the subjects of this fine biography by Kai Bird. This is Bird's second biography of prominent, although not dominant, characters who played significant roles in the rise of the United States to global preeminence in the decades after 1940. The first was of John J. McCloy.

This book covers more ground, since it describes in detail the careers of two men. Bird worked hard to write it: he interviewed dozens of people and spent hours with the two principals. He did significant research in the unpublished manuscripts available at the time, including important collections in the John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Libraries and the archives of the Council on Foreign Relations. He could not consult some important sources, since they were closed while he was doing his research. Most notably, McGeorge Bundy's records as dean at Harvard University are sealed until 2003, and extremely useful tapes of Johnson's telephone conversations were not available when Bird wrote. The book moves with grace and clarity. Although Bird has written a long work at 495 pages, he keeps the reader's attention throughout. There even are some subjects you would like to know more about. The glimpses Bird offers of both brothers' wives and children are so good that I'd like to read more about their family lives. William Bundy's editorship of *Foreign Affairs*, which lasted for more than a dozen years, gets only two pages.

Bird's affection for his subjects clearly grew the

more deeply he explored their careers. He started out to write an indictment of their role in the decisions leading up to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. There is much in this book critical of their advice to Johnson in 1964 and 1965. It is also clear, however, that the more Bird searched the record and talked to the Bundys, the more impressed he was with their minds and, even more, their character. Everyone who has known the two men comments on how smart they were, and Bird does, too. But more than that, Bird is struck by their ability to see complexity and, even more surprisingly, their humanity. He remarks often on how, uncommonly, they became more liberal as they grew older. He started researching with the expectation that he would find cold Cold Warriors. He wrote a book in which they appear more careful than calculated, more complex than subtle, more open to (some) new ideas than arrogant in their conviction of their own convictions.

One quarter of the book (four chapters) deals in one way or another with Vietnam. Two of these chapters discuss the crucial decisions taken in the first twenty months of Johnson's presidency. Much of this story has been told before, but never with the wealth of details about both Bundys' roles. Bird criticizes them for pushing Johnson into a war about whose outcome they had serious doubts. According to Bird and to both Bundys, their problem was that they stressed the advantages of going to war while they suppressed their anxieties about the dangers. This stance was especially dangerous when dealing with Johnson, a man they knew would value assertive actions.

Bird empathizes with the Bundys, whom he shows in all their nuanced complexity. But this understanding does not extend to Johnson, who comes across as the ignorant and insecure Texan of countless cartoons. In Bird's view, which undoubtedly is that of the Bundy brothers, they always were light years ahead of their intellectually uncomfortable boss. Here is where the Johnson tapes would have come in handy. Listening to McGeorge Bundy encourage the president constantly to pursue ever more escalation, one does not hear the authoritative intellectual voice instructing a not-too-bright pupil, although that no doubt is how the Bundys remember it. What comes through is Johnson in control—emotionally and intellectually—and Bundy, scared to death, trying desperately to please.

Pleasing other, more powerful men, was what the two brothers did for most of their lives. They were, with rare exceptions, staff. The exceptions make up some of the most interesting sections of the book. There is a highly engaging chapter on William's leadership of the American cryptanalysts at Bletchley Park during World War II. Probably the best chapter of the book covers McGeorge's tenure as dean of the faculty of arts and sciences at Harvard. Then he actually was in charge. Bird paints a wonderful scene in which Bundy invited the editors and reporters from the *Harvard Crimson* to his office once a week. Nathan Pusey, the university president, was there too, but

Bundy was the center of attention. He usually answered the questions posed to the president. He never could do that with Johnson. McGeorge Bundy was less successful in his other executive role as president of the Ford Foundation, and that chapter of the book is less successful, too. Bird sympathizes with Bundy and shows limited understanding of, and no patience for, his principal critic, Albert Shanker of the American Federation of Teachers.

When McGeorge Bundy left Harvard to come to Washington as Kennedy's national security adviser, he wondered if as dean, he had not too often mistaken mere cleverness for real wisdom and accomplishment. It is often very hard to distinguish these characteristics, but Bird has shown that the Bundys knew there *was* a difference.

ROBERT D. SCHULZINGER
University of Colorado,
Boulder

KATHLEEN CHRISTISON. *Perceptions of Palestine: Their Influence on U.S. Middle East Policy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 370. \$40.00.

Kathleen Christison, a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) analyst and currently a freelance writer, has written what her publisher terms "a controversial new book" that condemns the United States for adhering to a pro-Israeli frame of reference in regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The United States is accused of shirking its responsibility by not preventing the post-1948 wars in the Middle East and for not taking an interest in, or trying to understand, the plight of the Palestinians. The Israeli government, whether Likud or Labor, is condemned for its tunnel vision regarding its security interests and overall intransigence regarding the Palestinian people. The Palestinians are absolved of any responsibility for their own fate. Christison argues that even if the Palestinian leadership had developed a propaganda apparatus as effective as the "Israeli lobby," they would have been unsuccessful because "ultimately, Americans had no place in their mind-set for Palestinians and what they had to say about their grievances and aspirations" (p. 287).

Though the book at times reverts to a polemical style, there is much that is useful. In explaining why each American administration since that of Woodrow Wilson could not change its frame of reference regarding its perceptions of Palestine, the reader is presented with a concise analysis of the Palestinian viewpoint and policy alternatives that the American government might have attempted. In referring to the 1948 War, Christison engages in an interesting review of the change in Israeli historiography that, led by scholars Benny Morris, Tom Segev, and others, sought to dispel the myths associated with Palestinian dispersal during the conflict.

The author is on firm ground in her analysis of the

Jordanian Civil War, pointing out that the United States assumed that "all was right with the world" because Jordan and Israel had proven themselves a barrier against the Soviets. In reality, as Henry Kissinger acknowledged later, the United States misjudged the situation, underestimating the frustrations of the Palestinian people. Christison's analysis of Ronald Reagan's administration policy during the Lebanese Civil War is well done, as is her review of Secretary of State George Schulz's inability to see the Palestinians in other than a Cold War light (p. 206).

Perhaps the book's most important contribution is the discussion of the George Bush-James A. Baker approach to the conflict. The author sees that tandem as foreign policy pragmatists whose "overriding interest in the process of achieving a peace settlement, rather than in peace itself" had grave implications: it resulted in a lost opportunity to settle finally the Israeli-Palestinian stalemate, and led to the Second Persian Gulf War in 1991 (p. 242).

In developing her thesis, Christison relies on a prodigious amount of secondary sources. In doing so, she seems to concentrate on those authors who support her viewpoint. William B. Quandt, Steven L. Spiegel, Edward Tivnan, Dan Tschirgi, Michael W. Suleiman, and Richard B. Parker appear over and over throughout the text and endnotes. At times they are named, but usually they are referred to as "one scholar has noted," or "many scholars have stated," perhaps in an attempt to hide the constant references to the same individuals. It is clear that, at least before 1967, primary documentation exists for the historian, but Christison seems to have ignored it. Following 1967, although again relying on the same sources, the author is on firmer ground, particularly in her analysis of American policy during the Reagan-Bush years.

The book at times is very balanced, but there are too many instances where the author is very selective in her presentation. The issue of terrorism receives short shrift. Since the book is about perceptions, should not the topic receive more than two paragraphs before the conclusion? Why is there no mention of the Munich Massacre of 1972 and its implications? While the author repeatedly condemns Israeli policy, she spends very little time exploring inter-Arab political rivalries, which were major factors in blocking any prominent role for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in peace negotiations. In discussing events leading up to Iraq's attack of Kuwait in August 1990, she intimates strongly that the collapse of the peace process was responsible for Saddam Hussein's actions, when in fact Saddam misread Washington's double-bind messages during the weeks leading up to the attack in his attempt to seize Kuwait's oil wealth to offset Iraq's debts incurred during the long war with Iran.

Lastly, in discussing why Israel and the Palestinians finally came together in the post-1991 period, Christison overlooks the mutual fear of Islamic fundamentalism and the radicalization of Palestinian youth by Hamas, shared by Israel and the PLO. While there is

much that is admirable in Christison's work, and her thesis is at times well thought out and supported, she should try to integrate more of the opposing view into her presentation, rely less on secondary sources, and write in a less strident style.

STEVEN Z. FREIBERGER
College of St. Elizabeth

NICK CULLATHER. *Secret History: The CIA's Classified Account of Its Operations in Guatemala, 1952-1954*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xl, 142. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$14.95.

"Operation PBSUCCESS," the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) orchestrated overthrow of Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán's Guatemalan government in 1954, has been examined with greater depth than any covert project in the history of U.S. foreign relations. Indeed, a boomlet of literature began in 1982 with the publication in rapid succession of Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer's *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* and my *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention*. Based on hundreds of documents released through the Freedom of Information Act, both books presented detailed narratives and critiqued U.S. policy as wrong-headed. But whereas Schlesinger and Kinzer attributed the Eisenhower administration's motives to a commitment to protect U.S. economic interests, especially those of the United Fruit Company, I emphasized strategic concerns and misperceptions rooted in a "Cold War ethos." Then, in *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (1991), Piero Gleijeses, using extensive interviews with Guatemalans, revealed the previously overlooked culpability of Arbenz's military. He also argued that the president's relationship to Guatemala's Communists was much closer than previous students of PBSUCCESS had suggested.

All of these works were handicapped by the continued classification of the archives of the CIA itself. Following the end of the Cold War, however, the agency announced a policy of "openness." It organized a series of conferences with scholars, most accompanied by the release of documents for the first time, and pledged to make public many more in the near future. It also hired skilled historians to write histories of pivotal covert operations.

Nick Cullather was one of those historians. A gifted student of the history of U.S. foreign relations, Cullather was attracted by the chance to gain access to the CIA's files. The opportunity to write about the operation in Guatemala was particularly appealing. Conversant with PBSUCCESS's comparatively rich historiography, he recognized that an agency-sanctioned study, even if intended for internal use as a training manual, would serve as a barometer of the worth of the CIA's archives. He would be able to evaluate the extent to which they addressed unanswered questions and resolved conflicting interpretations.

Cullather wrote *Operation PBSUCCESS: The United States and Guatemala, 1952-1954* from 1992-1993. The CIA declassified the manuscript, albeit with numerous redactions, in 1997. Stanford University Press has now made it available, still with the redactions. The general contours of the history of U.S.-Guatemala relations have not been secret because of the prior scholarship (appended at the end are excerpts from Gerald K. Hanes's more sensational study of the CIA's assassination plans). The discussion of the growing alarm with which Washington assessed the Communist threat in Guatemala after the 1944 Revolution; the reform initiatives of Arbenz and his predecessor, Juan José Arévalo; the CIA plan (PBFORTUNE) to oust Arbenz that the Truman administration aborted in 1952; the formulation of PBSUCCESS and identification of Carlos Enrique Castillo Armas to spearhead the counterrevolution; and the unfolding of the operation, the resignation of Arbenz, and the machinations that brought Castillo Armas to the presidency will be familiar to most students of the Cold War.

In many cases, Cullather relies on the extant literature. What is more, he agrees with the consensus that emerged over the past two decades: PBSUCCESS was a blunder that produced tragic consequences for the Guatemalans. His book is, nevertheless, an extremely valuable contribution. It fine-tunes the narrative and provides a more precise chronology. It presents robust evidence that Washington was not the servant of the United Fruit Company, and it demolishes Frederick W. Marks's argument that Castillo Armas's Army of Liberation was a credible force with widespread indigenous support. Most important, Cullather demonstrates all but conclusively that, contrary to legend, PBSUCCESS did not succeed because of committed anticommunists or brilliant CIA planners. It succeeded because the Guatemalan army chose to force Arbenz to resign rather than fight a war it would surely win. "Incredible" was Dwight D. Eisenhower's retrospective reaction (p. 109).

Even with access to CIA archives, Cullather cannot resolve all disputes. Most notably, the issue of Arbenz's ties to the Communists remains to be contested. Still, historians will not be disappointed with the quality of Cullather's scholarship. If anything, the publication of this work should intensify our disappointment with the CIA's behavior. Despite its initial vow, the agency has refused to declassify the documents, even the promised portion, that drove Cullather's study. The few isolated documents that have been released are of limited use for the historian because they cannot be analyzed within the context of their complements. Hence the CIA has placed Cullather in an untenable position for a scholar, and that should offend—and be challenged by—all historians.

RICHARD H. IMMERMANN
Temple University

[All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

REBECCA E. KLATCH. *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s*. Berkeley and Los

Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 386. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.

Sociologist Rebecca E. Klatch has offered a major contribution to 1960s historiography. Her book traces the life cycles of activists in the groups Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), focusing on several questions: "how did these particular youth get drawn into politics? What happened to them once they became 'political'? And after the 1960s ended, how did activism shape their adult lives in terms of political beliefs and commitment, work, and family?" (p. 2). Klatch develops these questions drawing on the theories of Karl Mannheim and the work of sociologists Richard and Margaret Braungart. The result is a fine sociological history that cements this study as an important contribution on the literature of political radicalism in the 1960s.

Underlying Klatch's study are seventy-one interviews with activists from both YAF and SDS. Klatch's sample is quite diverse, with interviews of leaders from national offices balanced by local campus activists. There is a definite skewing of the research on YAF toward libertarianism, however, and this poses some problems. YAF was influenced by libertarianism for a short time. Over the course of its history, YAF was dominated by eastern and midwestern traditionalists, mainly Catholic and anticommunist. Klatch's interviews capture some of this flavor but not enough. This problem is magnified by her discussion of the ideological split between libertarians and traditionalists at the 1969 St. Louis convention. Klatch captures the mood of the convention and the hostility traditionalists employed against libertarians, with the traditionalist national board expelling one libertarian member for burning his draft card. Yet Klatch overstates the importance of St. Louis as a turning point in YAF's history. It represented a factional fight, little more, unlike SDS's 1969 convention, which resulted in the death throes of the group. While Klatch is correct to insist on the YAF convention as the root of the modern libertarian movement, it represents just another imbroglio for the faction-plagued conservatives. Her interviews with leading libertarians may have convinced her to give the convention more credence than necessary.

Klatch is not a historian, and her main concern is with sociology and the shaping of political identity. How did young people of the same generational cohort draw such different responses about the events and issues which emerged during the 1960s? Klatch gives a reliable guide to the life cycles of political activists. Political identity is rooted in many variables, not least of which is family background. Parents were important in "provid[ing] them with the framework and motivation that gave shape to their identity as activists" (p. 58). But family did not operate in a vacuum. Teachers, friends, community networks, and historical experience also conditioned an activist identity. Klatch dis-

covers that while the two groups saw issues through a different prism, there was commonality in their approach to activism. Even in the course of the life cycle, Klatch discovers, there is more commonality than difference between the cadres of left and right, a major scholarly contribution to our understanding of 1960s radicalism.

Klatch treats the reaction to the counterculture and women's issues quite well. YAF members divided on drug use and rock music, with traditionalists typically skeptical (although not hostile) to both, while libertarians were much more comfortable imbibing the cultural stew. One should not be too surprised at what Klatch discovered here, for the young people in YAF were products of the youth culture and would be hard pressed to resist its drift. For SDS the counterculture was a more natural affinity, although there were members on the Left, in groups like Progressive Labor, who looked with disdain on the hippies and their carefree nonpolitical lifestyle radicalism.

Women in both YAF and SDS were underrepresented. According to Klatch, early female SDS activists experienced little discrimination and did not reach a feminist consciousness due to their experience within SDS, a view that challenges Sara M. Evans's *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (1979). YAF women also reported little discrimination and some even joined, Klatch reports, because it was an organization with a preponderance of eligible males (however, more women joined because of a strong political commitment). Klatch argues that feminist activism in both groups (for YAF women, both a feminist and an antifeminist activism) emerged due to ideological tumult within the organizations at the end of the decade and was not preponderant throughout the 1960s, a thesis that may prove controversial among women's historians.

Klatch is on stronger ground when she pushes her arguments as a sociologist, drawing from the rich theoretical literature on generations. A historian attempting to understand both groups would do better to rely on recently published works on YAF and older works on SDS. For a thorough understanding of the formation of political identity, however, this is an important study. Klatch presents a fair and objective treatment of the topic while enlightening and challenging the shibboleths historians possess about youth activism in the 1960s. She is to be commended for her objective account.

GREGORY L. SCHNEIDER
Emporia State University

ANDREW E. HUNT. *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. New York: New York University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 259. \$35.00.

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) was one of the most unique antiwar organizations of the 1960s and indeed in all of American history. No other

conflict spawned a cadre of veterans who returned home to oppose an ongoing war in which they had just participated. Andrew E. Hunt presents the first complete history of that colorful outfit, which, despite its relatively small numbers, may have been as influential as more well-known umbrella organizations responsible for moratoriums, mobilizations, and marches.

Using VVAW archival materials, Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) files, and especially, interviews, Hunt traces the development of the organization from its origins in June 1967 to its major triumphs in 1971 and its decline during the last years of the war. This was no easy task, because even more than most antiwar organizations, the VVAW not only was decentralized but was dominated for much of its existence by an anarchic, anti-authoritarian ethos.

Like many of the organizations of the period, the VVAW began as a moderate, tie-and-coat-wearing decorous bunch whose members, over time, moved to the left both politically and sartorially. However, unlike the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Black Power groups, for example, it never embraced violent tactics, even though agents-provocateurs from the FBI encouraged such actions. Of all the antiwar groups, Hunt salutes the VVAW for almost always maintaining its discipline and carrying out its operations, not surprisingly, with military precision.

The author, who does not permit his obvious admiration for the VVAW to affect his judgment, organizes his book around the group's major activities. In the summer of 1970, the VVAW marched from Morristown to Valley Forge in Operation RAW, where along the way, veterans engaged in guerilla theater search-and-destroy missions. In February 1971, along with Jane Fonda, it staged the Winter Soldier war-crimes hearings in Detroit. Both of these operations, Hunt points out, did not receive the amount of media attention the veterans had expected. That was not the case with their most famous protest of the war, Operation Dewey Canyon III in Washington, D.C., in April 1971, where veterans lobbied legislators, appeared before congressional committees (with their most telegenic spokesperson, John Kerry), and, in perhaps the single most dramatic event of the antiwar campaign, threw their medals over a fence onto the Capitol grounds.

They attracted some attention with their protests at the Republican Convention in Miami in 1972, which included a brief disruption of President Richard M. Nixon's acceptance speech, later celebrated by Oliver Stone in his film, *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989). But by that time, the war was just about over for Americans, and their protests mattered little. In fact, considering that the VVAW enjoyed its greatest success in 1971 and 1972, during a period when the mass antiwar movement was winding down as the American military involvement in Southeast Asia wound down, one wonders if Hunt may be exaggerating when he refers to the VVAW's "profound impact" (p. 2) on the movement.

It is true that, aside from protesting against the war,

the vets also were among the first to call for reform of the Veteran's Administration health-care system, to institute group therapy and rap sessions for troubled combat veterans, and to express concern about carcinogens to which they had been exposed. In addition, the VVAW helped publish *Winning Hearts and Minds: Poems by Vietnam Veterans* (1972), a brilliant poetry collection featuring W. D. Ehrhart, among others. Yet, like most of the other groups of the period, the VVAW disintegrated in the mid-1970s, in good measure because of often petty doctrinal and personality conflicts. It was also a victim of successful penetration and harassment, including trumped-up indictments, by the Nixon administration's intelligence agencies.

Hunt is never able to deal convincingly with the difficult issue of the VVAW's impact on the antiwar movement, the public, and the administration. In part, this is a product of his lack of a sustained research effort either in the mass media or the Nixon papers. Further, although he used Richard R. Moser's 1992 dissertation, he apparently did not look at his useful book, *The New Winter Soldiers* (1996). And although Hunt mentions talking to Richard Stacewicz about his oral history collection, *Winter Soldiers* (1997), none of the valuable materials from that book appear here. All the same, Hunt has produced a fine history of one of the most fascinating and exciting protest groups in American history.

MELVIN SMALL

Wayne State University

RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES. *Peace Now! American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 808. \$25.00.

Tackling a huge and controversial subject in an exceedingly concise manner is as risky as it is difficult. It is a joy, therefore, to report that this book, more an extended essay than a detailed monograph or sweeping survey, speaks intelligently, informatively, and insightfully about American society and the Vietnam War. In this little gem of a study, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, author of the equally engrossing *The CIA and American Democracy* (1989), describes and explains how and why students, African Americans, and women turned against U.S. participation in the Vietnam War and were effective in doing so. First, however, Jeffreys-Jones builds on his *Changing Differences: Women and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy 1917-1994* (1995) to emphasize that certain groups support foreign policies they might otherwise disapprove of in the hope of collectively climbing the greasy pole of social advancement. Unlike most other accounts of the antiwar forces, Jeffreys-Jones thus gives full attention to the initial prowar views of the above three groups, as well as organized labor. His analysis of their mentalities helps to explain why and how the United States intervened in Vietnam, the nature of its involvement, and, ultimately, the pre-Watergate durability of Richard M. Nixon. Indeed, many may find Jeffreys-Jones's

explanation of support for the war by these groups more original than his reasons for the breakdown of their support, with labor being the exception.

Jeffreys-Jones emphasizes both the tactical and psychological tendencies of minority groups to conform—in order to belong to the larger community, to be accepted as loyal citizens, to win concessions from the government—and how this belief in patriotism as the passport to equality has historically meant support for the nation's foreign policy, especially in wartime. Thus, despite his Nobel Prize for Peace, Martin Luther King, Jr. initially chose not to campaign against the war and waited until April 1967 to criticize it in a major address. King wanted to maintain the White House's support for civil rights and to deny the right an opportunity to attack African Americans as unpatriotic. King also knew that many blacks did not share his antiwar views. African Americans had overwhelmingly supported both world wars and the Korean War once the United States entered those conflicts. Many took pride in black valor, and/or believed that black participation in the war effort advanced the cause of racial equality. Many still accepted the postwar anticommunist consensus, and many viewed the military as a vehicle for social mobility; it was, after all, the most integrated institution in American society. Not surprisingly, King was upbraided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League for his antiwar stance, and virtually all of the leading African-American publications, preachers, and politicians distanced themselves from King's comments.

The strength of those tendencies leading to conformity and wartime support of the government's policies did eventually dissipate among African Americans, women, and students, and even within some parts of the labor movement. Still, "War now, peace later—much later" trumped "Peace Now!" More than bringing a fast peace, the cumulative effect of the antiwar movement—first by significant numbers of students, then African Americans, and then organized women—forced the government to abandon the principle of an egalitarian/democratic war and instead wage a working-class war that sheltered the comfortable, influential classes. To limit U.S. casualties and thus further dampen protest against the war, the government gradually reduced the ground war while unleashing the most massive bombing of a nation and its people in history. The Nixon administration de-Americanized the war, drastically increasing the Vietnamese death toll. Surely some will dispute Jeffreys-Jones's contentions about the antiwar movement's complicities. Some will question his inclusion of organized labor as an "outsider" social group, or his use of an organizing principle that lumps together George Meany, Eldridge Cleaver, Betty Friedan, and Bettina Aptheker as minorities all. And some may complain about Jeffreys-Jones's view of the United States as New York and California, with mostly emptiness in between. But most historians will argue with him that just as war has

undeniable effects on society, so society, especially in a democracy, affects foreign policy, and that more attention must be paid to the social bases of U.S. foreign policy. The attitudes of groups did and do influence foreign policy. Washington as well as Hanoi recognized that public opinion in the United States might prove to be the determining factor in the outcome of the war in Vietnam.

HARVARD SITKOFF
University of New Hampshire

KEITH BEATTIE. *The Scar That Binds: American Culture and the Vietnam War*. New York: New York University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 230.

Among the many reasons for recommending this book is the closeness of the readings that Keith Beattie gives to what his deconstructionist colleagues refer to as texts. His leading formulation is at least ingenious: the wounds incurred by the American soldiers in Vietnam and the wounds the war inflicted on American society became defined among formulators of public opinion as the occasion for a dual healing within a unified "home," a place of hygienic, conservative, patriotic values. The book is also a study in how carefully a novel, a film, a political speech can be inquired into and how many meanings can be discovered. Beattie's exploration of the meanings of the wound vary from strained to superb. In the course of the book, he presents in rich diversity the uses of Vietnam in recent American culture.

In Beattie's open anger at the selfishness of a society that addresses healing as a need and right only of Americans and ignores the damage to the Vietnamese, he commendably abandons the clinical detachment of his deconstructionist apparatus. He identifies the American culture of therapy as an obsession with health and contentment that looks beyond the real needs of physically or mentally damaged veterans to the trivial malaises of the middle class. Students of American culture and even of traditional literary criticism, then, can profit from this book. That said, I have a serious quarrel that goes to the heart of the method and the politics of the work.

The book's vocabulary all too quickly defines its technique: "narrative," "text," "encoding," and "privilege" (used, of course, as a verb). To conceive of a prevailing cultural enterprise, or even a dissident movement, as telling a continuing story is valuable, as is recognition that human conditions are constructions rather than events dictated by nature. But to endow cultural criticism with any weight, such presumptions must assume that the words of the dominant narrative have some conscious meaning, and the constructions some intention and deliberateness, albeit with subconscious layers, that need excavating. To assume otherwise is to suppose either that the decoders are possessed of a metanarrative available only to people of the right political persuasion, or that their words, too, have to be decoded, and that decoding itself has to be

decoded, and so on until words lose all denotation and everybody goes home. Toward the end of his book, Beattie observes that the encodings he has described do not come from any one conscious agency and are lodged instead in the general presuppositions of the prevailing culture. But if there is no agency, who is to be addressed or allowed to talk back?

Mental therapists bent on fitting sick people into prevailing society have used this technique: if you are angry at capitalism, you are angry at your father, and if we get that straightened out, you will cease to hate capitalism: your reasons for hating capitalism are irrelevant. Marxist revisionists with their distinction between true and false consciousness do something similar: if you do not hate capitalism, you are in a state of false consciousness implanted by bourgeois capitalism and are therefore incapable of appraising it. Beattie, with far greater sensibility, does a variety of this. Having concluded, for example, that people disturbed by the decline of the family are merely submissive to the prevailing narrative, he implies—if his text is to be decoded—that the argument for resurrecting the family is nothing more than a psychological condition. He approves of identity politics without any curiosity into what hidden assumptions about the integrity of racial or gender loyalty may be encoded there. As for the whole concept of privileging: is there no segment of society in which, say, some of the presumptions of identity politics are uncritically privileged?

American society today lacks a robust and articulate criticism from the left, a criticism that does not condescend to the poor deluded masses but directly confronts their beliefs, as though they are capable of having beliefs. Beattie has produced a good enough book on the left to raise the hope that less condescending ones may be forthcoming.

DAVID BURNER
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

BETH BAILEY. *Sex in the Heartland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1999. Pp. vii, 265. \$27.00.

Lawrence, Kansas has been visited by such stars of erotic literature as Frank Harris and by William S. Burroughs, who spent his declining years there. As Beth Bailey tells us, Allen Ginsberg, Ed Sanders, William M. Kunstler, and S. Clay Wilson were part of the 1960s scene in the town. But this book goes beyond notorious people or events to elucidate the way the sexual revolution (or that aspect of it which occurred in the 1960s) affected this university town in the middle of America. There were some sensational and tragic events; Bailey describes the 1970 "days of rage" and the way racial protests and the counterculture of drugs and sexual radicalism were at their center. But her focus is on how the antecedents and components of the 1960s sexual revolution were integral to the daily experience of citizens of Lawrence, just as they

were to many mainstream communities. The book's greatest strength is its delineation of "social and cultural changes" as effected by watershed events (panty raids, the advent of the Pill, birth control clinics, co-ed dorms, coffee houses, and underground newspapers); local and national institutions (which provided moral direction and financial and social support); reformist organizations such as the American Medical Association, Students for a Democratic Society, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Campus Crusade for Christ; and individual physicians, college administrators, activist students, community leaders, public health officials, and clergy. The material is original, as is its integration into the subject of the evolution of American sexual mores.

One of the most evident, and frustrating, characteristics of conservative moral authorities from the time of Thomas Bowdler and Anthony Comstock forward is their intransigence. Any change, however seemingly necessary and humane, was seen as the work of the devil, in the guise of the godless intellectual or the degenerate purveyors of "the virulence of sex." The most minute changes, they felt, would, as Rochelle Gurstein has put it, bring about "the repeal of reticence" (see Gurstein, *The Repeal of Reticence: A History of America's Cultural and Legal Struggles over Free Speech, Obsenity, Sexual Liberation, and Modern Art* [1996]). Bailey shows how their fears became realities. Later chapters describe "the remaking of sex" as engineered by the fervent declarations of homosexuals and women. However, Bailey first demonstrates that when the revolutionaries were babes in arms, the social changes that made their conduct as young adults possible—those first incremental adjustments that eventually made the Comstocks redundant—were occurring. Especially good is her evidence regarding how local moral elites, in Lawrence as elsewhere, were quietly replaced during the 1940s by government agencies. The need for wartime materials brought construction workers and their recreational habits to staid communities that had to learn to accept them; the conduct of servicemen on leave and "Victory Girls" willing to pleasure them necessitated the opening and regulation of dance halls and clubs. GIs with venereal diseases and "deviant" sexual orientations needed to be made fit and trustworthy rather than punished. Federally funded programs focused not on moral judgment and ostracism of "virulent" sin but on rehabilitation and psychological adjustment. Eventually, national standards resulted in tolerance and inclusion, however ironic those words might sound to females, minorities, working-class people, and gays who were told that in their own best interests they should "adjust" their conduct so as to "fit in" and not be subject to surveillance or "conduct violations" imposed by university deans, workplace counselors, or military superiors. Young revolutionaries of the 1960s especially deplored these kinds of "parietals." But what was seen in 1967 as suppression was at its inception, after World War II, more ground-breaking than the sit-ins,

be-ins, and organized protests that characterized the New Freedom.

The variegated threads of the sexual revolution, which Bailey clearly distinguishes from each other, seem to have run their course in Lawrence as they did in mainstream communities from coast to coast, and at sites of major universities in New York, Michigan, and California. It seems to me that events and their repercussions could be very different in rural locales, where college administrators lacked the tolerances and broader perspectives those at the University of Kansas seemed to possess. In such locations, the college's student affairs administrators sought the respect of the conservative community and were less likely to acknowledge that women's and gay rights, or sexually liberation generally, were anything other than fads to be tolerated to keep students and parents calm and thus prevent sanctions from federal and state agencies. At a university such as Kansas, an understanding of the causes and consequences of recent social change would never have perpetrated the kind of Comstockian intransigence that marked rural America in the 1960s. Middle America and rural America were very different kinds of places.

JAY A. GERTZMAN

Mansfield University of Pennsylvania

JOHN R. CHÁVEZ. *Eastside Landmark: A History of the East Los Angeles Community Union, 1968–1993*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 321. \$45.00.

In this era of welfare reform and "limited government," it is sometimes hard to imagine a time when the federal government actually encouraged and funded grass-roots community-based organizations designed to empower the poor and wage war on poverty. In this book, John R. Chávez explores some of the legacies of the defunct War on Poverty by focusing on one of the largest community development corporations (CDCs) established in California during the great Society, the East Los Angeles Community Union (TELACU). Created in 1968, TELACU was initially designed as a fairly limited social service agency under the auspices of a Los Angeles-area local of the United Auto Workers Union (UAW). Modeled loosely on similar efforts in community organization attempted by the UAW and other labor unions, TELACU's directors immediately began to solicit federal funds to support small scale start-up programs in East Los Angeles ranging from summer camps for underprivileged youth, volunteer assistance to elderly residents, and job training programs.

Chávez is particularly good in detailing the evolution of TELACU from its idealistic origins as a community-service organization to its transformation into its present status as hybrid public/private venture capital and urban development agency. Indeed, one of the book's major strengths is its success in conveying just how complicated the social experiment of the War on

Poverty became over time. Although Chávez never completely explains how the different interests and motivations of labor leaders, community activists, and politicians like the Kennedys and Lyndon B. Johnson meshed in TELACU, he nevertheless does a good job of illustrating the panoply of often contradictory intentions and outcomes that characterized so many urban welfare and community development projects in the era. Perhaps more important, by tracing the checkered careers of prominent Latino politicians like Esteban Torres, Richard Alatorre, Art Torres, and Gloria Molina, Chávez's study provides intriguing and often troubling insights into the origins and evolution of southern California's increasingly Byzantine contemporary ethnic political landscape.

Chávez's more general argument, however, is problematic. Drawing from a conceptual framework that he developed in his first book, *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* (1984), Chávez argues that the establishment of TELACU should be viewed as part of a much larger regional movement among Mexican Americans to combat "internal colonialism" and eventually to achieve "self-determination." As the author himself admits in several passages, the problem with this kind of analysis is that it does not quite fit the actual history of TELACU and its leaders. Almost from its inception, TELACU was much more oriented toward exploiting opportunities for economic development than participating in the Chicano movement *per se*. Indeed, TELACU's goals were often perceived by even the most politically centrist of Chicano activists as being at odds with their definition of self-determination (which was much more in line with the way Malcolm X and the Black Panthers were using the term in the 1960s). As a result, both then and now many residents of East Los Angeles have been suspicious and resentful of TELACU's leaders and their corporatist programs, even when those programs resulted in major positive community developments such as TELACU's industrial park and the major renovation of Nueva Maravilla, one of Los Angeles' largest low-income housing projects. When the *Los Angeles Times* published a sensational exposé of the lavish spending habits and lifestyles of TELACU executives, community suspicion and resentment deepened.

Despite these contradictions, Chávez insists that TELACU's efforts in East Los Angeles and elsewhere served as a critical bridge between what he calls the "defunct collectivism" of the Chicano movement and an "unsatisfactory capitalism" (pp. 253–54). In his view, TELACU's activities should be seen as a component of Mexican Americans' historical efforts to "recover a homeland" in the Southwest, promote ethnic pride, and achieve socioeconomic self-sufficiency. Although limited aspects of this argument are plausible, Chávez's own evidence suggests that a much more critical and skeptical interpretation is warranted.

Still, for readers interested in exploring a case study of the War on Poverty in action and in understanding the historical evolution of the increasingly complicated

terrain of Latino politics in southern California, the study provides an excellent introduction.

DAVID G. GUTIÉRREZ
University of California,
San Diego

JAAP KOOIJMAN. . . . *And the Pursuit of National Health: The Incremental Strategy Toward National Health Insurance in the United States of America*. (Amsterdam Monographs in American Studies, number 8.) Amsterdam: Rodopi. 1999. Pp. 262. \$44.00.

I agreed to review this book with some trepidation. Health insurance and health reform are such hot topics these days that studies—historical, sociological, and political—are almost too numerous. Debates over varied national models and analyses of their origins and respective advantages occur at all levels, to the point that north of the forty-ninth parallel, at least, the air feels almost saturated. Yet Jaap Kooijman's Amsterdam Monograph in American Studies makes a worthy contribution to ongoing analysis and debate. A study of America by a non-American, it presents a distinct and sometimes controversial perspective.

"In their attempt to explain the absence of a national health insurance in the United States," Kooijman suggests, "historians have presented a 'good guys versus bad guys' narrative—a struggle of reformers against the medical profession and the insurance industry" (p. 7). He directs his readers instead to the politics of conflict and consensus as they played out in Congress and elsewhere (not just between the American Medical Association [AMA] and its opponents). Kooijman shifts attention from power struggles between reformers and the medical profession to key historical moments "when the extension of health care services and the coverage of certain parts of the population were favored over universal coverage" (p. 21). Published and unpublished papers of presidents and politicians and oral histories with key policy makers form the basis for an analysis of interest group politics in which the AMA and labor unions were only two of the parties with influence.

Kooijman makes several novel contributions to the burgeoning literature on health insurance and health reform. He takes on the claims for American exceptionalism, propounded by many but most notably by Seymour Martin Lipset, and, like many others, deems them exaggerated. Kooijman, however, adds the twist that the United States does, in fact, have a welfare system directed to preserving the nation's health. Drawing on the work of Theodore Marmor, Kooijman reminds us that government has long been the primary funder of American health care; by the mid 1980s, government contributed more (seventy percent) to healthcare spending than private insurers (which covered only thirty percent of American healthcare costs). Most strikingly, he inverts the usual criticisms of uneven coverage to present the United States in a favorable light. Lack of universal coverage is the

flashpoint in most critiques of American health care policy, with statistics about the number of uninsured Americans looming large in all cross-national comparisons. Instead, Kooijman suggests, the decision to direct coverage to the most vulnerable populations—the poor and the elderly—was not necessarily misguided and undemocratic. Whereas Europeans, guided by the pressure of workers and unions, first provided health insurance to the lower-income working population, "The United States . . . focused on those Americans who were least likely to be insured" (p. 18). This becomes the basis for Kooijman's sustained analysis of the distinctions between universal coverage and a national health insurance scheme.

Kooijman's book is not easy to read, in part because it is unclear which scholarly tradition he comes from (sociology, political science, American Studies, or history) and which audience (American, European, historical, health, or social policy analyst) he hopes to address. His conclusion that a national health insurance scheme exists in the United States, even when universal coverage does not, will not find favor with all readers. His assessment of statistics and trends is debatable. Though framed within a comparative context and clearly informed by Kooijman's Dutch experience, the study is not itself comparative and does not draw sufficiently from non-American scholars, such as Carolyn Tuohy.

Nonetheless, Kooijman's analysis and conclusions make important contributions to ongoing debates over health care reform and the mix of public and private spending. The distinction drawn between a national and universal scheme at first seems academic. After all, despite high levels of per capita spending on health, millions of Americans have no insurance and little access to health care. But the distinction forces readers to contend with the realities of coverage and the goals of policy. Despite the rights to universal, portable, and comprehensive coverage that the Canada Health Act assures, segments of the Canadian population remain uninsured or underinsured, and as costs increase, Canadians and other countries question the goal of universality. Kooijman's work refocuses attention on what kind of coverage is essential, to whom, and why. It provides a detailed historical map for negotiating the political process to achieve those ends.

GEORGINA FELDBERG
York University

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

BRIDGET BRERETON and KEVIN A. YELVINGTON, editors.
The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Postemancipation Social and Cultural History. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1999. Pp. xxiii, 319. \$49.95.

This collection of essays is a tribute to Donald Wood, whose 1968 monograph, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years after Slavery*, was seminal in twentieth-century

West Indian historiography. At the University of Sussex in Britain, Wood formally and informally mentored many new scholars of Anglophone Caribbean social history whose writings are now standard in the historiography of the region. Several of them, including Bridget Brereton and Kevin A. Yelvington, are contributors to this volume. Wood himself provides an autobiographical note, a modest but fascinating account of his own transition from a student of practical mathematics in Elizabethan England to a pioneering Caribbeanist.

A general introduction by Brereton and Yelvington provides a postemancipation (after 1834 in the British West Indies) overview of the Caribbean in general, establishing a comparative Hispanophone and Francophone context for the chapters that follow, the majority of which are focused on the Anglophone Caribbean. The editors cite Joseph Zobel's 1950 novel *La rue cases-nègres*, set in 1930s Martinique, to establish the keynote theme of a people who are forced, consciously or not, to assess continually emancipation's legacy. In one of the eleven essays that follow, Brereton surveys the entire British Caribbean in her study of family, gender, and economy. The other essays focus on specific colonies: five on Trinidad, three on Guyana, one on Jamaica, and one on revolutionary Ste. Domingue. They examine such problems as religion and labor, the wills of free creoles and Africans, wages, leisure, immigrant women, racial and ethnic stereotypes, agricultural innovation and stagnation, and the impact of world events on the region.

There are some minor flaws in what is in general a conscientiously edited book. A number of misspellings were overlooked in the copyediting. Mary Turner's chapter on religion and the control of labor in Jamaica to 1834, rewarding in itself, seems out of place in a volume dedicated to the postemancipation period. An essay on religion and the problems of free society would have been more appropriate. Carl Campbell's tables, in his essay on the wills of free Africans and creole blacks in Trinidad, are needlessly complex. Yelvington's otherwise excellent essay on the response in Trinidad to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia could be clearer on the distinctions and relationships among race, ethnicity, and class. The book contains no bibliography. But the endnotes are veritable bibliographical essays, providing ample sources and helpful annotations.

That eight of the twelve articles are about Trinidad or Guyana can be construed as an editorial imbalance. The editors state in their introduction, however, that their intention is to explore themes common to the postemancipation Caribbean as a whole, rather than to represent the various geographic and linguistic areas of the region (p. 21). A careful reading of the volume reveals the success of their thematic approach, and the apparent bias toward the southern Caribbean need not be criticized as being lopsided.

This volume is not only an informative source on various aspects of West Indian social and cultural

history; it includes essays that are fresh and absorbing. Depending on their interests, readers will discover certain chapters that are of more than ordinary appeal. I was especially captivated by Robert Moore on inter-ethnic stereotypes, Bridget Jones on representations of Haitian history by three Martinican playwrights (Édouard Glissant, Aimé Césaire, and Vincent Placoly), and Yelvington on responses to the 1935–1936 Italian invasion of Ethiopia. In spite of some not entirely clear distinctions among concepts of race, ethnicity, and class, Yelvington presents a comprehensive view of individual and group responses in Trinidad to events in Africa in the 1930s and convincingly contextualizes those responses in the political and labor ferment of that time in the Caribbean.

Brereton and Yelvington have produced a book that does more than simply pay tribute to Wood. It gives us essays that suggest the sense of excitement that motivated Caribbeanists in the 1960s and 1970s, a time that can be considered something of a renaissance in West Indian historiography. This book represents a renewal of that energy. Yet it is a curiously tentative renewal, almost apologetic about its cautious innovations. And it seems incomplete without any inclusion of oral history.

ROBERT J. STEWART
Trinity School

RENÉ DE LA PEDRAJA. *Latin American Merchant Shipping in the Age of Global Competition*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 209.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1999. Pp. x, 188. \$59.95.

This book is the second by René De La Pedraja on the subject of Latin American merchant shipping. His first book explored the rise of the shipping industry in Latin America during the period prior to 1950, and this work examines the politics of merchant shipping since 1950. As the author argues, the Latin American nations came to see shipping as a critical link in their attempts to develop economically at the very moment that increasingly nationalistic governments willing and able to use government intervention to promote and protect their fledgling shipping industries came to power. The creation of merchant fleets required significant initial capital investments as well as continued and substantial outlays for the fleets' maintenance. Nationalistic pride rather than sound economic or strategic interests, however, sometimes drove decisions made by the regions' governments regarding the creation of merchant fleets. Despite the obstacles and significant expenses, nearly all but the smallest Latin American countries could boast fairly respectable fleets by the 1960s. Beginning in the 1950s, however, technological changes in the ways in which cargo was packaged began to reduce the competitiveness of the Latin American shippers. By the 1970s, the use of containers to ship ocean cargo was nearly universal and had shifted the comparative advantage to foreign multinational companies who enjoyed easier access to the

credit that was needed to construct or purchase large numbers of these containers. Unable to compete, many of the Latin American shipping companies went bankrupt and were disbanded.

De La Pedraja organizes his book into two parts. Part one, titled "Nationalism," documents the prominent roles played by the governments of the regions in organizing and protecting the merchant shipping industry, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. Part two, "The Container Age," examines the subsequent difficulties faced by Latin American shippers resulting from global competition and Cold War politics from the 1970s on. These two parts are divided into eleven short chapters, most of which examine a single topic as it relates to several countries. Unfortunately, the chapters are so short that issues are not sufficiently developed. For example, one chapter dedicates seventeen pages to a discussion of the impact of neoliberalism on the merchant shipping industry in five countries. Another chapter devotes seven pages to the merchant shipping policies of the revolutionary regimes of Nicaragua and Cuba and the United States' response to these policies. Given that the author feels compelled (rightfully) to provide some context for neoliberalism or U.S. relations with the revolutionary governments, he is ultimately left with little space to develop his points. Instead, De La Pedraja merely provides a brief synopsis of the policies that one government or another government pursued, accompanied by an overly brief discussion of the political climate in which they acted. Nevertheless, the author is convincing that the shipping industry is important beyond merely its economic function. Nations desired to possess operational fleets out of national pride and strategic interest, in part because there existed a perceived overlap between merchant shipping and naval power, but also because reliance on foreign shippers made nations' international trade more vulnerable to international politics.

This book certainly presents a topic that is not well explored in other books. In fact, the bibliography, which includes only works related directly to this narrow topic, contains eleven entries. Instead the book is largely based on articles from newspapers and specialized shipping periodicals. De La Pedraja's study might prove useful to economic historians interested in attempts by Latin American nations to develop economically in the post-World War II era, but the limited elaboration of ideas and the failure to relate the discussion to a broader historiography certainly reduce the book's value.

JEREMY BASKES
Ohio Wesleyan University

ADA FERRER. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 273. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$18.95.

How the independence movements of Cuba affected the ideas of race and nationality between 1868 and

1898 is the central focus of Ada Ferrer's book. During this thirty-year period, white and black Cubans fought Spanish forces on three separate occasions: the Ten Years' War (1868-1878), the Guerra Chiquita (1879-1880), and the Spanish-Cuban War of 1895. The first two wars sought to end not only the colonial relationship but also African slavery. Ferrer argues that the war experiences of white and black rebels, and the reinterpretation of those experiences in the early 1890s by revolutionary leaders and white and black intellectuals and journalists, led them to define Cuban nationhood and citizenship. They envisioned an independent Cuba as a racially egalitarian society. The revolutionary movements of Cuba and the society its leaders and members imagined were thus unique, given the ascendance of late nineteenth-century racism predicated on the biological and cultural assumptions that people of color, particularly those of African ancestry, were inferior to whites.

Ferrer uses the accepted historiography to examine the origins and goals of the first (1868) movement. Later, she contributes to our understanding of both the 1868 and 1879 movements by employing new and rich archival materials that focus on the daily experiences of some lesser-known black and white insurgents, including African slaves, who had been invisible within the historiography until now. How these actors viewed the war with Spain, Cuban independence, and the role and status of blacks are explored. What becomes apparent is that white rebels fought for different reasons than their black counterparts, and these differences created racial tensions between the two as the behavior of black leaders and troops subverted the racist convictions of white Cuban society. Not only did black behavior have social consequences as some blacks conducted themselves as the social equals of their white comrades; it also had political consequences, according to Ferrer. Afro-Cubans expressed political power when some ascended the army's ranks to command white troops.

These racial tensions were exacerbated by the racist propaganda of Spanish colonial officials in Cuba. The latter insisted that black insurgents desired to transform Cuba into another Haiti once independence was won. Ferrer claims that this counter-insurgency campaign was very effective and contributed to the failure not only of the Ten Years' War but also of the Guerra Chiquita.

Between 1880 and 1895, racist propaganda lost much of its currency as a result of a number of socioeconomic and political developments in Cuba. The most important development occurred in the early 1890s. Veteran leaders of the wars of independence, along with white and black pro-independence intellectuals and journalists, constructed an antiracist paradigm. This paradigm emerged out of their revisionist histories of the wars of independence. Maximo Gómez, José Martí, Rafael Serra, Juan Gualberto Gómez, and others emphasized not only the cooperation between the races but also the heroic leadership, partic-

ipation, and sacrifice of blacks. This interpretation of the revolutionary movements allowed blacks to reclaim their humanity while making racial equality a principle of Cuban nationhood, or what Ferrer calls an "ideology of raceless nationality." The notions of black equality and citizenship were reinforced as Afro-Cuban benevolent societies collectively campaigned to gain the civil rights of all blacks on the island.

This conceptual framework provided black officers and soldiers with the ammunition to contest and reject the racism of their white comrades after Martí declared Cuba's independence in 1895. Nevertheless, after the deaths of Martí and Antonio Maceo, and as the war approached its end in the spring of 1898, white civilian and military insurgent leaders began to employ other criteria to determine Cuban citizenship after the war. Education, civility, refinement, and whiteness became requirements for citizenship. These qualities carried assumptions about race, class, and gender, according to Ferrer. She also proves that U. S. military leaders expected the Cuban leadership to exhibit these characteristics before they considered leaving the island. Therefore, the socioeconomic and political marginalization that blacks experienced after 1902 began before the United States' intervention and occupation and was not a direct consequence of North American racism.

Ferrer's book is a significant contribution to the historiography on race and race relations in Cuba, its revolutionary movements, and on the construction of Cuban nationhood. Her examination of the construction and influence of the "ideology of raceless nationality" adds and departs from Aline Helg's *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (1995). While Ferrer gives much import to this ideology's persuasive nature among white and black insurgents, Helg dismisses it, claiming that it became central to Cuba's myth of being a racial democracy. Yet the strength of Ferrer's monograph is her insightful narrative and analysis of the social and political tensions created within a movement that, because of its multiracial composition, sought to liberate Cuba and African slaves simultaneously. Her approach and analysis adds to the historiography because it is based on the experiences and agency of the subaltern, and not just on well-documented heroic leaders like Calixto García, Gómez, and Maceo.

Yet, Ferrer's book does have some flaws. She omits the role the government in Madrid played in encouraging the rebels, led by Manuel de Céspedes, in 1868 to abolish slavery immediately, as both sides forced each other to abolish slavery to gain the support of Afro-Cubans. In addition, she never demonstrates how many whites in Cuba, as well as within the 1895 revolutionary movement, actually accepted or genuinely believed in the antiracist ideology constructed by Martí and others.

Nevertheless, Ferrer's book is an insightful study on Cuba's subaltern population and the role it played in constructing the Republic of Cuba. It should be read in

courses on race relations and independence movements in Latin America and the Caribbean.

PHILIP A. HOWARD
University of Akron

DOROTHY TANCK DE ESTRADA. *Pueblos de indios y educación en el México colonial, 1750-1821*. (Centro de Estudios Históricos.) Col. Pedregal de Santa Teresa: Colegio de Mexico. 1999. Pp. 665.

In 1765, José de Gálvez, the inspector general for King Charles III, arrived in Mexico. Among many other projects, the crown instructed him to bring some order to the finances of all cities, towns, and even *pueblos de indios* (indigenous towns). Such an initiative seems a long way from the question of education for children in the numerous indigenous communities of the viceroyalty of New Spain. But Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, well known for her studies on education during the colonial period of Mexican history, makes a connection between this fiscal project and instructional initiatives in the late colonial period.

The educational project was a minor part of the Bourbon Reforms, a series of efforts aimed at strengthening Spanish royal control over its colonies. The link between such goals and these new educational projects was the metropolitan desire to have an indigenous population that spoke Spanish rather than native languages. In order to establish the schools that would accomplish this goal, however, the indigenous communities had to get their finances in order, because they were to pay for them usually through their *caja de comunidad* (a type of community treasury). Because of these interlinking themes, Tanck de Estrada's study is a rather extraordinary amalgam of information on local finances, indigenous government, and education at the level of the villages. She separates out these themes into distinct chapters and sections, with education sandwiched between long sections on local politics and finances as well as the upheavals of the Wars of Independence.

Tanck de Estrada's work is path breaking in that she establishes that these schools did actually exist in over 1,000 villages in New Spain. These schools taught 76.6 percent of the eligible children, even though they were represented in only thirty-seven percent of all villages (p. 444). Until now, many scholars have assumed that indigenous education was relatively nonexistent or entirely controlled by the church. Certainly, since the sixteenth century, priests had organized separate classes, along with daily prayers, for boys and girls. The establishment of the new schools did not mean that there was a stark division between religious and secular schools. Many priests remained involved and cooperated with the teachers. The new schools' curriculum also remained highly tinged with religion. The principal text used in all schools was a catechism, written in the sixteenth century, by the Spanish Jesuit Jerónimo de Ripalda. It was republished in 1784 in an "easy

read" version with large letters. Parents also bought small books on morality as additional texts.

The new schools were established only where income was sufficient to pay the teacher's salary and have some funds left over. The actual financing of the school varied depending upon local conditions. At times, funds from the *caja de comunidad* were sufficient to pay the teacher, but, in many cases, parents had to contribute as much as six reales a year (a real burden for many). In a few instances, local colonial authorities felt strongly enough about the importance of this educational mission to subsidize them. When parents paid the teacher directly, they had more control and could reject a candidate who treated their children badly.

The main objective of these schools was, of course, to teach young Indians how to speak Spanish. The pedagogy (if one can call it that) varied from making the children repeat prayers in Spanish without any effort to explain the meaning of words to them to a real attempt to relate Spanish words to the Nahuatl (or Maya or other indigenous languages) concepts understood by the children. Parents preferred the second method and, consequently, often insisted on bilingual teachers. The schools were also not always exclusively indigenous. Children of other races who tended to speak Spanish at home also attended the classes and probably were instrumental in the learning process. Most villages wanted an indigenous teacher because they felt that Spanish teachers treated their children poorly in relation to the children of other races. But, also, such teachers often began to take on important community functions as translators and counselors.

This book is the result of painstaking research in many archives and collections. The author successfully uncovered information for all the viceroyalty and not just certain parts, which is a difficult undertaking. Tanck de Estrada's presentation is almost overwhelming in detail, and minutia sometimes seems more important than interpretation. This is a study that will be extremely useful for specialists and makes a real contribution to the literature on indigenous communities and education in the colonial period.

SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA
Carleton University

CARLOS MARICHAL and MARIO CERUTTI, compilers. *Historia de las grandes empresas en México, 1850-1930*. (Obras de economía Latinoamericana.) Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica. Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León. 1997. Pp. 349.

Business history has attracted some of the most talented historians in Mexico. This collection of eleven studies of large enterprises in Mexico in the years between 1850 and 1930 is one of the finest collections of business history I have read. (That this is not an isolated phenomenon is evidenced by the excellent collection *Business History in Latin America: The Ex-*

perience of Seven Countries, edited by Carlos Dávila and Rory Miller [1999]).

Because Mexico received in this period more foreign capital than almost anywhere else in the Third World, and thus hosted some of the largest firms in the Third World, the compilers are able to present studies of firms characteristic of advanced capitalism but not usually expected to appear in Latin America before 1930: petroleum refining, railroads, banks, public works companies, fertilizer and soap factories, and Latin America's only integrated steel mill, as well as more traditional companies such as textile mills and silver mines. The volume is edited by two of Mexico's leading economic historians. Carlos Marichal has concentrated on state policy and international finance, while Mario Cerutti has focused on the Mexican elite of the north of the country. The book mirrors their broad concern by examining large companies that brought together the Mexico City elite, international capitalists, and the provincial elites.

In reviewing a collection such as this one, the conventional disclaimer is that the articles are uneven. That is most certainly not the case here. Although the time periods, epochs, nationality, and economic sector studied vary, all of the studies are first rate. Most of the contributors have already published monographs on the company they analyze here. They apply the insights of Alfred D. Chandler, Douglass North, Albert O. Hirschman, and Ronald H. Coase to understand bureaucratic organization, transaction costs, property rights, and linkages. Karl Marx, V. I. Lenin, and dependency authors are not much in evidence.

This is not a neoliberal treatment of Mexico's economy, however. The chapters attempt to discern, in Sandra Kuntz Ficker's words "the possibility of success of a large modern enterprise in the context of an underdeveloped economy" (p. 58). Although the concept is not expressly mentioned, many of the studies are employing analysis that was done at the beginning of the twentieth century in Russia: Leon Trotsky's notion of "combined and uneven development" and Nikolai Bukharin's notion of "state capitalism." Alexander Gerschenkron could also provide useful insights. Given that Mexico, like Russia, was a largely oligarchic and autocratic rural regime that bordered on the most developed economies and entertained vast amounts of foreign capital, this similarity is perfectly understandable. But because most of the authors here were trained in the United States or are well read in U.S. economic history, they stress more the U.S. model, which emphasizes capital markets and the demand in civil society rather than state-led growth. A more open discussion of the peculiarities of Mexico in the world context would have permitted these fine empirical studies to provide valuable theoretical contributions that could be generalized to other countries and other eras.

Nonetheless, the authors do recognize that Mexico faced peculiar conditions. The state is seen as active and often helpful in pushing development particularly

in the nationalization of the railroads, deftly treated by Kuntz Ficker and Arturo Grunstein Dickter; the S. Pearson public works company, expertly analyzed by Priscilla Connolly; and the nationalization of the petroleum industry detailed by Jonathan C. Brown. On the other hand, the line between private and public was fuzzy because government officials and entrepreneurs were often the same people. Leonor Ludlow's insightful treatment of the history of the Banco Nacional de Mexico reveals overlap between public and private, Mexican and foreign, and *capitalino* and provincial. The bank was a conduit for foreign capital but helped in the nationalization of the railroads; it was immensely profitable but often renounced profits (or failed to maximize them) to assist state fiscal and financial policy.

These essays undermine popular conceptions of the interaction between large foreign firms and Mexicans. First, Mexico did not lack for entrepreneurs. Mexicans, often immigrants, played central roles in developing the large companies such as the Banco Nacional de Mexico and Monterrey's Fundidora de Hierro y Acero, intelligently analyzed by Aurora Gómez Galvarriato. The main stockholders were generally a mix of landlords, merchants, bankers, and industrialists, politically well connected if not members of the government. As in most countries, it was a heterogeneous bourgeoisie.

Foreigners often did not bring new technology to Mexico but instead learned their craft in Mexico, as was the case with Weetman Pearson, who used his Mexican base to create one of the world's largest engineering firms and later developed the petroleum industry. In other cases, such as the irrigation of Laguna Valley, the Mexican agriculturalists used state-of-the-art technology. Indeed, rather than a backward farming elite, we see here "agro-industry," as in Mariano Torres's account of San Mateo de Atlixco flour mill in Puebla, and the Laguna soap company expertly detailed by Cerutti. Gómez calculates that the Monterrey steel mill equalled British productivity levels by 1910, aided by the development of the petroleum industry to substitute Mexico's poor-quality coke. Rocío Ruiz de la Barrera notes in a study of the Real del Monte silver mine, that it was the Mexican company that created a successful modern silver mine, not the preceding British firm.

These authors do not find status-conscious landlords but rather profit-maximizing and diversified capitalists. If technology modernized in Mexico, the Díaz government aided industrial growth, and foreigners invested but did not dominate the economy, why did Mexico continue underdeveloped? Certainly, as many of the studies point out, the domestic market was too small to allow economies of scale. And, in this era of imperialism, Mexico confronted high duties in its potential trading partners such as the United States. Moreover, family groups continued to dominate as capital markets were slow to spread and transaction costs remained excessively high.

These studies present us with a picture of combined

and uneven development and economic growth that was too little accompanied by political and social advance. Because these are business histories, the emphasis is on capital, entrepreneurship, and technology, not workers. We see the products of labor, but not the social reproduction of labor. As a result, we only see the "asset" side of the ledger. The debits exploded during the Mexican Revolution, though many of the large firms were able to survive and sometimes prosper in the tumult.

Marichal and Cerutti are to be commended for presenting us with such an excellent collection. One hopes that it is a harbinger of the blossoming of business history, which could never be more relevant than in today's neoliberal climate.

STEVEN TOPIK
University of California,
Irvine

NATIVIDAD GUTIÉRREZ. *Nationalist Myths and Ethnic Identities: Indigenous Intellectuals and the Mexican State*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 242. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$25.00.

The issue of state creation or formation, particularly how political entities garner the acceptance or at least tolerance of their subjects, is a hot topic in current Latin American and, specifically in regard to the present book under review, Mexican historiography. Witness, for example, the oft-cited anthology edited by Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (1994) or the recently published monograph by Thomas Benjamin, *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth and History* (2000).

In this book, Natividad Gutiérrez examines the main tools and strategies of the Mexican state's efforts to create a unified, nationalistic populace. She gives most credit to the public school system and related institutions of mass persuasion, which, since the nineteenth century, have emphasized indigenism and *mestizaje* as the key tenets of this process. In other words, Mexicans, according to the official interpretation of the country's history, trace their roots to the Aztec past which they believe was followed by the commingling of indigenous and European peoples to create a uniformly ethnic populace with common origins.

At this point in her analysis, however, Gutiérrez raises the central issue of her work, which distinguishes it from other studies of the nature of state building. She asks: what about the native people who are not of Aztec (Nahua) origin? How do they fit into this mythicization of the state? What role do they have to play in present-day and future Mexico?

To answer these and related questions, the author presents evidence from interviews and surveys of intellectuals, students, and professionals from a range of indigenous groups located in central and southern Mexico. Gutiérrez then makes the point that although

many of these indigenous people have at some level imbibed the idea of Mexico as a nation, when it comes to examining one's personal place in that structure, doubts arise among the non-Nahua subjects. Many individuals expressed the feeling that the nation did not necessarily include them nor represent their interests. Hence, the author argues, the process of state building has only been partially successful in Mexico.

Further to underline her point, Gutiérrez describes several of the most important indigenous organizations to be found in the country and their activities in support of ethnic plurality. This process of growing ethnic awareness, realization of exclusion from the state, and subsequent organization based on these factors is only enhanced, Gutiérrez asserts, by the modernization of the state, which has meant greater access to education, social mobility, and communication. In conclusion, then, the author says that the old state-building strategies of indigenism and the mestizo model have lost validity. As a result, she claims, the state has even begun to replace these two ideas with a discourse addressing the variety of cultures. Nevertheless, the state still works to prevent cultural development and denies the logical conclusion of this process, as it would mean self-rule.

It should be added, here, that Gutiérrez does not let native people completely off the hook as faultless victims of a government determined to deny them self-rule. She says that divisions among natives as well as the penchant of their leaders to be coopted by lucrative and prestigious government programs and positions undermine the struggle for some type of autonomy.

At this point, then, one might ask, what about the 1994 rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas, which has been interpreted as at least a partially successful movement for indigenous self-rule. Gutiérrez rejects this interpretation, saying that the movement was mestizo-inspired and controlled and that at no point did the rebels or the government or any other organization involved in the conflict's mediation seek out more than token indigenous input. She also asserts that the San Andrés Larrainzar Accord of 1996 between the rebels and government, establishing a basis for so-called self-rule, is in fact no such thing, but something more accurately termed "free-rule." Free-rule, she says, is a situation in which indigenous people are allowed to decide their own forms of government and inner organization, but it does not provide for true self-determination.

While this is an informative and, indeed, provocative study that offers a unique perspective on Mexican nation building, it does contain two basic problems. First, the author seems compelled to place her work within an elaborate theoretical framework, in this case between the extremes of Ernest Gellner and Anthony D. Smith. The former, a so-called modernist, argues that state policy and particularly mass education is the primary component of nation formation. The latter, a historical-culturalist, posits that ethnohistorical factors

have most to do with this process. Fine and good, but after chapter one, in which these competing theories are discussed at length, the author refers only occasionally and inadequately to them. If theory is so important, as it appears to be by the emphasis placed on it early in the volume, then why so little subsequent treatment of it? It seems that a less theoretical beginning, one merely mentioning the likes of Gellner and Smith for contextual purposes, would have been adequate, as this study is well enough conceived and executed to stand on its own.

Second, there is an underlying assumption throughout the book of the correctness or rightness of the indigenous viewpoint with no analysis or explanation of why the Mexican state has been so reluctant to recognize, accept, and allow the indigenous desire for self-rule to flourish. Here a more nuanced historical analysis of the trials and tribulations of the creation of the state would have been worthwhile. Indeed, Mexican history is a stark lesson in what happens to the presumably positive objective of stability when the central government relaxes control over the regions and their many socioethnic and economic groups. One may neither like nor accept the inevitability of such a historical view when applied to present-day Mexico, but it must be taken into account in order for a full and understandable picture to be drawn regarding the debate over multiculturalism that is currently underway in the country.

Despite these caveats, this volume is well worth reading and thinking about, particularly as the Mexican state faces the challenges of accommodating plurality while maintaining unity in a world of increasing demand for recognition of individual and group rights based on socioethnic and historical factors. This seemingly contradictory effort takes place even as the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the long-time official party, has now lost control of the national government.

DAVID G. LAFRANCE

Benemérita Autonomous University of Puebla, Mexico

JOANNE HERSHFIELD and DAVID R. MACIEL, editors. *Mexico's Cinema: A Century of Film and Filmmakers.* (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1999. Pp. xiv, 303. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$21.95.

Cinema studies scholar Joanne Hershfield and historian David R. Maciel have brought together a collection that illuminates Mexico's cinema over the last century. They have arranged twelve essays in three temporal groupings: two in "The Silent Cinema," six in "The Golden Age," and four in "The Contemporary Era." The eleven authors are a distinguished group drawn from both sides of the border, most of whom write from the point of view of cultural critics and interpreters of communication and language, but the

volume's most important component is the work of a historian.

Seth Fein's essay, "From Collaboration to Containment: Hollywood and the International Political Economy of Mexican Cinema after the Second World War," is a deeply researched and thoroughly documented examination of filmmaking and state power in both Mexico and the United States in the immediate post-war period. Fein has read widely in the relevant archives in Mexico and the United States. His argument is carefully articulated, entirely supported with evidence, and thoroughly convincing. The apparent nationalism (in ideological, industrial, and aesthetic realms) of Mexican cinema during its Golden Age disguised the fundamental ties between Mexican and United States film industries and governments. Fein begins with an examination of the ideas, themes, and styles of the 1948 feature *Rio Escondido* and demonstrates how the film expresses an "official" nationalist vision that supported Mexico's authoritarian government and its efforts to use the film industry. Mexican President Miguel Alemán, who appears in the film in a cameo as (what else?) the president of Mexico, was responsible for the Mexican film industry's wartime collaboration with Hollywood. *Rio Escondido's* producer, Raúl de Anda, had previously made "U.S.-backed prowar propaganda featured" (p. 127). War-time conditions (which restricted European and U.S. filmmaking) and government promotion of collaboration between Hollywood and Mexican filmmakers (at the expense of the more neutral Argentines) built the Mexican film industry into one of the largest employers in Mexico and one of the most productive and popular film industries in the world. But after the war ended, the resurgence of Hollywood and its alliance with the U.S. Department of State ended the privileged position of Mexican filmmaking. Attempts to impose a quota on Hollywood films in Mexico were met with demands for "free trade." Yet at the same time that the U.S. State Department argued against a film quota in Mexico, it used U.S. control of raw film stock to demand a large share of Spain's foreign film quota. The State Department demanded "free trade" only when it served to increase Hollywood's share of the market.

Another strength of this collection is its attention to women as filmmakers. Patricia Torres de San Martín brings to light the efforts of "Two Pioneer Women Directors," Adela Sequeyro and Matilde Landeta, who wrote, produced, and directed films between 1929 and 1935. Maciel and Hershfield's collaboration, entitled "Women and Gender Representation in the Contemporary Cinema of Mexico," documents how powerful unions, whose work rules had not allowed women to serve even as assistant directors, excluded women from filmmaking for decades. As the unions declined in significance during the 1970s and as increasing numbers of women began studying in film schools in the 1980s, women's issues have been better represented in contemporary Mexican cinema. Each of the editors

also has made an important individual contribution to the collection: Hershfield's is an essay on race and ethnicity in Golden Age films, while Maciel analyses the complex relationship between political power, subsidies, censorship, and the film industry in Mexico over the last three decades, based in large part on interviews Maciel has conducted in Mexico.

Two other outstanding contributions deserve individual mention. Translating Mexican comic geniuses for an Anglophone audience ought to be about as successful as making the Marx brothers seem as funny speaking Spanish. The physical humor of Buster Keaton or Harold Lloyd might translate well, but the word play of Cantinflas or Tin-Tan presents a real challenge to transcultural interpretation. Carlos Monsiváis succeeds in introducing these two comic geniuses and their times to an English-listening audience, although some knowledge of Spanish is particularly helpful in appreciating Tin-Tan, whose tendency to cavort and confuse in the borderland between Spanish and English presents perhaps insurmountable obstacles to the monolingual. Finally, Anne Marie Stock examines what it means to be "Authentically Mexican?" by looking at two post-NAFTA productions, the contemporary western *Mi Querido Tom Mix* (1992) and the science fiction feature *Cronos* (1992). Her articulate, intelligent, and amply footnoted contribution explores national identity in an age of transnational capital, multicultural tastes, and freely flowing influences and ideas.

This collection has some weaknesses, particularly when read by historians who expect thorough documentation. Some of the essays are less insightful and contain dense paragraphs chock-a-block with film titles and dates. Hershfield and Maciel have not intended this to be a history of Mexican filmmaking; the editors report that they will complete a cultural history of the cinema in Mexico to be published as another volume. But the chronological groups used here only create expectations and desires that cannot be satisfied by this volume, which seems thin in places. Inevitably films and filmmakers that are important will be slighted; the most crucial individual missing from this volume is undoubtedly Fernando de Fuentes. Nevertheless, the strong contributions by Fein, Hershfield, Maciel, Monsiváis, Stock, and Torres de San Martín make this collection essential for anyone interested in modern Mexico.

DONALD F. STEVENS
Drexel University

KAY B. WARREN. *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xxii, 288. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$16.95.

In the late 1980s, Kay B. Warren, a North American anthropologist, returned to San Andrés Semetabaj (Guatemala) after two decades of absence to study the effects of the recent violence on the community. What

soon caught her attention, however, was the growing number of so-called "Pan-Mayan" organizations sprouting up across the country, fostering and fostered by the peace process. Generally these rejected the sort of class analysis that Guatemala's traditional left favored, pursuing instead identities and alliances based on cross-class ethnicities and the idea of a *pluricultural* Guatemala: a federation of cultures and languages that privileges the people over the state. But constructing identity has not proven to be an easy task. It is a continuous process, Warren argues, of making and remaking, of appropriating, discarding, and combining indigenous and imported cultural elements, and it is doubly difficult for a population long subjected to *ladino* (non-Indian) racism and historically riven by internecine violence.

These Pan-Maya groups found enemies on both the political left and right. The left faulted their lack of a class perspective, while the right made the traditionally racist argument that because Indians are not capable of serious intellectual work, the organizations could only be the product of *ladinos* passing as Indians and their foreign collaborators. But Warren makes clear the indigenous origins of the movements' best-known leaders. Indeed, much of her book focuses on the writings and public activities of a small cadre of national-level Indian intellectuals. She mentions but does not examine in any detail the second level organic intellectuals of the local communities and says little about how Pan-Mayanism is viewed by the mass of the population, Indian or *ladino*. That is, the book details production of a "Pan-Mayan discourse" but does not tell us how this discourse is received outside of a small group of self-referential indigenous elites and their opponents.

In an environment where overt political activity is still dangerous, the organizations have given special emphasis to culture, and particularly to history. Warren examines, for example, the debates within a study group as the members read and analyze conquest chronicles. Their intent is to construct and publicize a "counter history," one that opposes an official narrative from which the Indian is either excluded or appears only as a barrier to national progress. In the process, however, the Pan-Mayans inevitably come into conflict not only with *ladino* elites, some of whom might otherwise be persuaded to be their allies, but foreign academics, many of whom have a deep investment in Guatemala but whose purposes and politics are now suspect. Warren herself found her former San Andrés informants divided on her project and her presence.

The last part of the book returns to the original question, asking how both Pan-Mayan leaders and the inhabitants of San Andrés understand the violence of the 1980s. For many of the former (for example, the writer Victor Montejo), the central problem is the complicity of Maya themselves in the violence, as army troops, civil guards, or informers. Among the people of San Andrés, the violence introduced a constant uncer-

tainty into their lives, an awareness that social interaction may not be what it seems and that all relationships are freighted with potential betrayal. This reveals itself in stories of changelings and of humans inhabited by malevolent spirits. At the same time the village sought to restore a sense of community by reviving traditional rituals (*costumbre*); Warren makes the excellent point that such rituals do not so much reflect unity and agreement as seek to shore them. Each generation in San Andrés, she concludes, has struggled against *ladino* racism and violence as best it could, only to find itself often suspected of complicity by the next.

One of the jacket blurbs congratulates the author on her clear writing and the absence of jargon. This is certainly true by the standards of anthropology today, but some historians may be startled when, for example, Warren praises a Guatemalan writer's work as "creative, unstable, and self-contradictory" (p. 145). Disciplinary prejudices aside, this is an important contribution to a growing literature on post(political)-violence Guatemala. Whether the Pan-Mayan's *pluricultural* Guatemala is possible remains to be seen. That it can be imagined and expressed is a major step forward.

DAVID MCCREERY
Georgia State University

ANN FARNSWORTH-ALVEAR. *Dulcinea in the Factory: Myths, Morals, Men, and Women in Colombia's Industrial Experiment, 1905-1960*. (Comparative and International Working-Class History.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi. 303. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

A slightly older generation of historians than that of Ann Farnsworth-Alvear has often looked with amusement, sometimes with astonishment, as gender moved to the forefront of historical scholarship on twentieth-century Latin America. The attitude of most of these historians, myself included, was not so much that gender was a mistaken category of analysis as that its practitioners seemed too eager to follow the fashion of the dominant European and North American fields and frame their questions accordingly, often at the expense of explaining imperialism, capitalist development, revolution, social conflict, and dictatorship. Books like this one will help to convince even the most skeptical that gender has earned a place, perhaps not its current status as the favored paradigm but certainly an important place, in the study of the central questions of Latin America's twentieth-century dilemma.

The book begins with a straightforward account of Medellín's industrialization, a process that followed the pattern found elsewhere in Latin America at the time, one characterized by family-owner firms, oligopoly, informal work rhythms, low-volume production, and paternalistic management practices. Although the author probably regards this as something of a background chapter, it is actually a significant contribution in its own right to the literature on early Latin American industrialization in a city that emerged as

one of the most important industrial centers in the region in the early decades of the twentieth century. But Farnsworth-Alvear's main concerns are not primarily economic but rather the implications of industrialization for the men and women who labored in Medellín's textile mills, for "the history of social relationships and cultural understandings" of those workers, and it is here that she breaks new ground.

On one level, in her treatment of company social and educational programs to fashion a workforce consonant with the cultural norms of the prevailing society, to control labor on the shop floor, and to ensure social peace, Farnsworth-Alvear deals with what has become a rather familiar story in these kinds of studies. What gives the Medellín case a new and fascinating twist, albeit a peculiar one, was the attempt to combine a rigid and highly engendered moral code tied to Fordist industrial reforms (what collectively Farnsworth-Alvear calls *la moral*) that was directed at both men and women and promoted sexual honor and Catholic piety as part of management's strategy to strengthen industrial discipline in increasingly tense shop-floor and political conditions. As a corollary, Farnsworth-Alvear demonstrates the way *la moral* was ultimately contested in the popular memory and, one would assume, in reality as well.

In addition to an interesting narrative tracing the history of these changes, the author employs in an illuminating way Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of "doxa" and "habitus," as well as a much more persuasive application of Antonio Gramsci's concept of "hegemony" than most recent studies (which according to Gramsci, and as the Medellín case reveals, was directed not by the state but privately, by classes or blocs of them). The story returns to a more conventional one with the introduction of Taylorism and modern managerial practices in the 1950s, although even here the author persuades us of the importance of the gendered dimension of industrial modernization and scientific management in the Medellín mills.

As a methodology, oral history—and therefore the inflections and nuances of language—figure prominently in Farnsworth-Alvear's book, with parts of her interviews reproduced textually in the narrative. These interviews are generally handled with great intelligence, intuition, and empathy. Occasionally, she does seem to stretch things a bit, as for example when she finds the use of the female form of the adjective *alborotado* ("*Esa gente alborotada*") by one of her interviewed women workers replete with meaning (pp. 125, 233). Perhaps the texture of the interview revealed deeper meaning, but in terms of language, all that her interviewed worker seems to me to be doing is speaking correct Spanish, with the gender of the adjective agreeing with the gender of the noun (in grammatical terms, not social ones). Less frequently, Farnsworth-Alvear pulls her punches and misses the opportunity to exploit language fully, as with the surprisingly bland translation (p. 177) of "*fábricas alcahuetas*" as "factories of tolerance." In the graphic,

working-class argot, I have to believe that a translation of "alcahueta" closer to its literal meaning better captures her workers' words, one that moreover would have supported the author's argument about the Telsa mill's reputation for immorality and employing "bad girls."

As in any book, there are questions, unanswered or never posed, that the reader is left wondering about. Perhaps more could have been explained about Medellín's Catholic tradition since, if *la moral* was, as Farnsworth-Alvear very persuasively shows, not only a management strategy to foster labor control but also an integral part of Medellín working-class identity (which is precisely why management could employ it so effectively). I at least wondered about its history and content outside the factory walls. Many of these workers were rural migrants or second-generation ones, and it would certainly have been interesting and perhaps even useful to learn more about the role of religion, popular Catholicism, and identity in rural Antioquian society and their subsequent effects on class formation in an industrializing Medellín. But that quibble aside, in her analysis of the development of the different stages of industrial capitalism in Medellín, the author skillfully unravels the social negotiations between capitalist and worker, and in the process she does something that many engendered studies fail to accomplish: she demonstrates rather than merely asserts that gender really does matter in social relations and can have an important effect on economic processes and political outcomes.

Farnsworth-Alvear's book is a welcome arrival at time "culturalists" and "cliometricians" in the Latin American field are engaged in a rather acrimonious debate about the future of historical scholarship. It demonstrates, more than any other recent gender study that comes to mind, that cultural history and economic history present similar kinds of limitations. Both ultimately offer too one-dimensional views of society, of causality, and of change over time. Whatever problems the old social history may have had, its great virtue was and remains its attempt to integrate the disparate detritus of the human past into a coherent, compelling narrative. It is that integrative mission that defines history as a discipline and sets it apart from anthropology and cultural studies as well as from the social sciences. Although well-grounded in feminist theory and the cultural studies literature, in its eclectic use of sources and broad vision, this book conveys a sense of the totality of the past, a sense that is the essence of the historical enterprise itself.

JAMES P. BRENNAN
University of California,
Riverside

MIRTA ZAIDA LOBATO, editor. *Política, médicos y enfermedades: Lecturas de historia de la salud in la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Biblos. Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata. 1996. Pp. 246.

This is one of the very few works that tackles the history of medicine and public health in Argentina. The field itself has had only a brief existence, and modern treatments range in approaches from the sociological perspectives of Jorge Balán to the historical and gendered focus of Donna J. Guy. Some of the more intriguing contributions are highlighted in this review.

In a fine introduction, Mirta Zaida Lobato presents the study of medicine and the medical profession in the context of the "social question," which is closely intertwined with the development of the state. Regulation, she reminds us, goes hand in hand with increasing social complexity: as the corps of medical professionals increases and diversifies, so does the state's role as regulatory overseer. The state is not seen as an independent agent but rather as a reflection of the direct involvement by the medical professionals themselves into the important public health and social development issues of the day. In Argentina, this involvement included the responses of socialist reformers, Catholic activists, and even anarchists.

The essay by Ricardo González Leandri explores the slow process of professionalization among medical doctors in the province of Buenos Aires over the course of the nineteenth century, focusing on its third quarter. He argues that, as a "learned and consulting profession," medical doctors in Buenos Aires had to contend with restrictive conditions that inhibited their structural dominance. Popular healers (*curanderos*) outnumbered licensed medical doctors in Buenos Aires by a factor of 2.3 to 1 as late as 1869. This ratio, however, merely reflected the licensed physicians' worst obstacle: a population accustomed to—and trusting of—popular healers. Among the barriers to establishing greater professional standards of training and practice were the physicians themselves; diverse and divided, many medical doctors resisted change and feared the intrusive potential of professional associations in their own lives and practices. Ultimately, the medical association's leadership gained the support of government circles. However, this apparent victory brought its own contradictions as physicians chafed under new and expanded regulations. Negotiating the hegemony by physicians over medical matters was neither easy nor cost-free.

The essay written by Agustina Prieto deals with the cholera and yellow fever epidemics and the bubonic plague experienced in the city of Rosario in the second half of the nineteenth century. Prieto underscores the in-fighting among competing authorities, both among the public health officials and political agencies, together with the resistance to public health measures from the business sectors involved in real estate, manufacturing, and commerce. Ultimately, the federal government achieved its goal of jurisdiction in matters of epidemic control and administration, but not before lives were lost, as occurred during the bubonic plague that struck the city at the start of 1900. Prieto's essay also demonstrates the vital importance of the immi-

grant communities in controlling epidemics. The growing numbers of Italians, French, and Spaniards, acting through their voluntary associations, employed their own medical doctors in combating cholera and in aiding municipal officials in the distribution of clothes and food to those who lost their homes.

Adriana Alvarez addresses the matter of how positivists in *fin-de-siècle* Argentina analyzed the crowd and public health. The premier analyst of the crowd in Argentina was José Ramos Mejía, a physician and prolific author who wrote extensively about the relationships among the massive immigrant population, the urban classes, political stability, and the dangers to a fast-changing cultural environment. Ramos Mejía, who had been a founder of Argentina's physicians association, the public health system, and other organizations and institutions of modernized health services, was a strong believer in the salutary powers of institutions in restraining the excesses of the masses. Alvarez points out the important differences he had with Gustave Le Bon, who took a more nihilistic approach to the palliative effects of state institutions, such as education, which he believed had little effect in curbing the worst excesses of the masses. By contrast, Ramos Mejía believed that it was essential to invest trust and faith in the state to change attitudes and behaviors.

Diego Armus, who has written on popular culture and public health matters in *belle époque* Argentina treats the radical left's discourse on tuberculosis as a metaphor for the well-being of the working classes in an elitist state from 1890 to 1940. Armus points the way to a more nuanced interpretation of the radical wing's discourse by noting that tuberculosis presented bipolar options: on the one hand, it offered a perspective on the state and its treatment of the working class that required a revolutionary social reconfiguration; on the other, however, it shared with the reformist elements among the political elites and the medical establishment a means for improving public health conditions through both popular education and treatment. Here we find an overlap in the approaches taken to the involvement of the popular classes at the center of the nation's well-being by anarchist and reformist groups that has not been commonly recognized by historians.

Finally, Beatriz Ruibal presents a thoughtful and well-written essay dealing with the intersection between the legal and medical establishments on matters of insanity and criminal behavior. She delineates the arguments that held great promise of reforming the criminal code but were seldom victorious.

On the whole, this is a valuable contribution to the study of public health issues. By linking the medical profession to the social and political environments, it offers opportunities for new relationships and models for additional research in the rich matrix of nation-building studies.

MARK D. SZUCHMAN
Florida International University

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

LESLIE KURKE. *Coins, Bodies, Games, and Gold: The Politics of Meaning in Archaic Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1999. Pp. xxi, 384. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.

The advent of coinage in the Greek world is now attracting much belated attention from classicists and ancient historians. This excellent book provides a new approach to the subject, which is both scholarly and eminently accessible. It is not Leslie Kurke's purpose to enter the debate about the date and circumstances of the appearance of coins in Greece, although she does provide a useful review of current theories that analyze the spread of coinage between the late seventh and mid-sixth centuries B.C.E. Kurke is concerned rather with the symbolic and social orders within which Greek coins functioned in their first 100 to 150 years and with their relationship to the wider historical forces at work in the archaic city-state, or polis.

Kurke's book is lucidly and coherently written. Its overall and complex argument is previewed with great clarity in the introduction, while the separate parts of the argument are summarized in the conclusion to each of her subsequent chapters. Shorter routes into individual areas of discussion have also been made available, for Kurke has succeeded in her aim of producing a book that both stands as a whole and also functions as a "constellation of free-standing essays grouped around related issues" (p. 37). You do not have to read this work in its entirety, but having sampled some of its chapters you may well want to explore further.

Like Sitta von Reden (*Exchange in Ancient Greece* [1995]), Kurke recognizes the profoundly political nature of Greek money and its links to the new civic order which was being shaped within the emerging polis. But while she acknowledges the importance of von Reden's work, she believes that the reception of coinage is only half the story and that much needs to be said about the resistance coinage provoked within elitist aristocratic circles. It is the ideological struggle implicit in the contest between aristocratic gift exchange on the one hand, and the coinage through which the authority of the polis was asserted on the other, which forms the focus of Kurke's investigation. In pursuing it, she employs analytical tools developed in disciplines other than ancient history, making particularly telling use of Peter Stallybrass's and Allison White's model of the four cultural domains that form the sites for ideological combat: the bodily, the social, the topographic, and the psychic (see *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* [1986]). Through these, Kurke is able to throw considerable light on the "conceptual categories through which the Greeks thought and contested 'the meanings of money'" (p. 35).

Aristocratic drinking clubs, the language of metals, an Egyptian upstart who farts his way to power: listing just some of the topics covered by Kurke should give an indication of the tremendous scope of this book. It

is divided into two principal sections. In the first, the imagery of lyric poetry and Herodotus's narratives of kings and tyrants provide the material for an exploration of specific discourses through which ideological contestation was played out. In the second section, the system of reading developed in the first is used to analyze particular practices involving the body: the much discussed opposition between the "courtesan" (*hetaira*) and the whore (*porne*), the traffic in women perpetrated through Babylonian temple prostitution and bride auctions, games of chance and skill, and the symbolic value of Athenian coinage. The *hetaira/porne* dichotomy, for example, functions according to Kurke in the same way as the precious metals/money binary, as a way of differentiating between aristocratic "favor swapping," and the more promiscuous exchanges of the market place.

Kurke suggests that the division of the book into these "discourse" and "practice" sections may seem artificial, since much of our evidence for the latter comes from the former (and Herodotus in particular features prominently in both sides of the treatment). But this is a difficulty intrinsic to all historical studies that rely heavily on literary texts; and in this case, it certainly does not preclude the creation of numerous insights into the domain of popular material culture. Whether Kurke's overall argument can be sustained successfully from one section to the other is something that individual readers will have to decide for themselves. Many will want to quarrel with certain elements in her interpretation (for example, the notion that coinage is an implicit signifier in lyrics, which on the face of it refer only to precious metals), and some will feel that objections such as these may threaten the entire edifice of her argument. But the issues that she raises and the connections that she makes are enormously stimulating, and even if we cannot unreservedly sign up to Kurke's thesis, we still feel that we have learned a great deal in following its progress.

SUE BLUNDELL

The Open University

NICHOLAS F. JONES. *The Associations of Classical Athens: The Response to Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, UK. 1999. Pp. xvii, 345. \$55.00.

How did the Athenian polis as a whole function during the period from the foundation of democracy by Cleisthenes in 508–507 down to the suppression of free government by Macedonia in 321? Nicholas F. Jones attempts to answer this complex question in his book on Athenian associations. According to the author, the key to a holistic model of Athenian public life lay in understanding how Athenian associations responded to a central government that was both exclusive and severely limiting. As Jones reminds us, egalitarianism as an ideology was not all embracing. Athenian democracy favored the urban elite, those adult male citizens who could attend meetings in the Assembly. As the population embraced more than this minority, impor-

tant segments were effectively disenfranchised. Women and resident aliens were excluded; so were citizens living a distance away from the urban center or disinclined temperamentally to make the trek into the city. The disenfranchised also included conservative and reactionary aristocrats and alienated intellectuals. The response of these groups to democracy was through membership in various associations. An aristocrat could turn to his club, an intellectual take refuge in a philosophical school. Athenians seeking relief from massed public gatherings could find a more intimate form of community in sacrificial cults. So long as the various groups were neither seditious nor promoting themselves at the expense of the whole, the central authority, in accordance with Solon's law of associations, protected and even fostered the *koinonia*. The democracy compensated for its lack of infrastructure by preserving, strengthening, and working through existing institutions. Because their local interests and ambitions could be addressed through the various associations, the majority of the populace was reconciled to the status quo. The classical Athenian polis in its inclusive sense thus rested on an equilibrium; it was a state of peaceful coexistence.

The number of associations open to Athenian citizens numbered in the low hundreds and varied enormously in scope and function. Citizens were eligible for membership in over half a dozen *koinonia*. At the local level, there were demes whose members, often related to each other through blood or marriage, kept a wary eye on the approach of strangers, "the movements of women and the observation of pregnancies" (p. 198). At the other extreme were the phratries, brotherhoods that were outward looking and stressed common ties, where Athenians could forge links with fellow Athenians and even indulge in pan-Ionian sympathies. Tribes, clans, philosophical schools, and aristocratic clubs were also *koinonia*, as were regional cultic groupings that centered Athenians in time as well as space. For the most part, associations had little to do with each other. Demes had little contact with other demes or with the tribes to which they belonged. What all the associations explored in this book did have in common was that, in various ways, they were responding to the dominant ideology and political power of the time, the Athenian *demokratia*. It is this instrumental function of an association that is important to Jones, and only those groups that communicated their criticisms of and special interests to the central democratic government are discussed. Otherwise, following Solon and Aristotle, the author argues that associations could be either voluntary or nonvoluntary, public or private, temporary or permanent, expressive (centering around such activities as sacrifice or social discourse) or instrumental. The categories are not mutually exclusive but rather scales that measure and define any given organization.

Two points about associations deserve special mention. Jones argues that besides the Cleisthenic, constitutional deme, there existed an alternative deme based

on residence. This residential deme was physically the same as its constitutional counterpart, though it never had a separate corporate existence. However, argues Jones, it was a fully fledged association, and over the years it gradually eclipsed and replaced the deme of descent. Further, the epigraphic record reveals that within this territorial deme there was "a well circumscribed pocket of female activity." The deme included the wives and daughters of citizens as well as foreigners. Even slaves may have been registered in such demes, albeit Jones does not press this point. Through the deme, Athenian public activity can be shown to be more inclusive than hitherto believed. Jones argues his case with confidence and skill, analyzing over 150 documents. Nevertheless, specific evidence for such an alternative deme remains quite sparse. At various points, Jones himself admits that it is a hunch and in the realm of hypothesis. Ultimately, the case for the territorial deme rests on too little evidence and too much conditional thinking.

The author's other contribution concerns the tribes and the representational principle in government. One of the most important functions of a tribe was to award honors. Such honors were awarded to leading citizens who, while in positions of authority in statewide offices benefited their tribe to the exclusion of others. Side by side with direct rule we have a principle of representation, and once again public life in the polis has become more inclusive and hence more stable. The question arises as to why Aristotle has nothing to say about this phenomenon. Jones, who has already crossed swords with Aristotle over the role of the *koinonia* in the polis, argues that due to "difficulties with access to information . . . the phenomenon of 'representative' government . . . escapes him entirely" (p. 293). Earlier, Jones had argued that Aristotle, a non-citizen, could not have known the seating capacity of the Pnyx because he could not attend the meetings held there. The philosopher deserves more credit, and Aristotle's silence on the representational issue remains an obstacle to Jones's arguments about an alternative principle of rule.

Jones may not have proven all of his points, but he has succeeded in constructing a thought-provoking analysis of Athenian politics that will take a leading place in any future discussion of how the polis functioned during the classical age. Some sections such as the location and ideology of the philosophical schools are especially illuminating. The author's mastery of the epigraphical record is impressive. M. I. Finley remarked that archaeological and epigraphical studies of demes and tribes have provided one of the great advances of modern scholarship on the subject of ancient politics. Jones's book falls solidly into this tradition.

FRANK L. VATAI
California State University,
Northridge

V. G. KIERNAN. *Horace: Poetics and Politics*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xi, 204. \$39.95.

Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65–8 B.C.E.), better known to an English-speaking audience as Horace, is the ancient Roman poet of contradictions. Horace was the son of a former slave who had gained his freedom and made a modest fortune at auction sales. Educated in Rome, Horace moved in the circles of the aristocratic elite from childhood. He studied in Athens as a young man, and when civil war broke out following the assassination of Julius Caesar, Horace fought on the side of Brutus and Cassius, the self-proclaimed liberators of the republic. After defeat, Horace found a patron of his poetry in a foppish eccentric who boasted of Etruscan kingly descent, Gaius Maecenas. Through him, Horace became the friend of his former enemy, who later ruled Rome for more than forty years under the name of Augustus. An author of odes, verse satires, and literary epistles, Horace exalted the pleasures of wine, lovemaking, and an unwarlike muse as he celebrated—often within the same poems—the military exploits and civic virtues of Augustus. This tension between private and public, light and serious, bedroom and battlefield is at the core of all modern studies of the poet.

Ancient Rome's greatest lyric poet might seem an unlikely candidate of critical study for a historian of modern European imperialism and Marxism. But V. G. Kiernan hardly needs an introduction to readers of this journal. Born before World War I, the Cambridge-educated scholar has shaped our conceptions of modern diplomacy, militarism, and empire for more than half a century. Kiernan acknowledges Horace as "a lifelong friend" whose verses delighted the author throughout his widespread travels and even on one occasion saved him from danger and military arrest. This is an elegantly written and immensely learned book.

Every generation reads its own Horace. Kiernan's is curiously still the poet of his schoolboy days. His Horace is the radical reformer and part-time pacifist whose themes are "government, social inequity, poverty, fading faith, war." Kiernan understands the contradictions of the poet in terms of progressive beliefs tamed by patriotism and political expediency. Kiernan's Horace thinks like the revolutionary in denouncing greed and wealth but he acquiesces to the realities and necessities of an Augustan autocracy.

Kiernan's book is written to attract a new generation of readers to Horace. *Caveat lector!* While the historian cites from a collection of essays published on the bimillennium anniversary in 1993 of the poet's death (*Horace 2000: A Celebration*), his rich source of quotations comes mainly from an earlier era. Readers seeking to find a development of critical thought on Horace since Archibald Young Campbell's *Horace: A New Interpretation* (1924) are advised to look elsewhere. Classicists may have the most serious difficulties with this study. Some will question the liberal

comparisons to nineteenth-century British colonialism and Prussian imperialism, interspersed freely throughout the book. Others will be perplexed at the heavy moralizing tone that pervades Kiernan's otherwise penetrating analysis where the world conqueror is continually chastised for its "slave society." Rome's legacy of cruelty and injustice to modern Europe looms large in Kiernan's narrative. Kiernan views Augustus as an ambitious but humane "new-style leader" who prefers to be called a god rather than a king. But when Kiernan curtly remarks that Augustus also seems to have been a "pedophile," the term is suggestive of his ignorance of current scholarship on Roman cultural as well as political studies (actually, Augustus's enemies accused him of playing the role of the "boys" and submitting sexually to older men, including his great-uncle, for political advancement).

The historian is most persuasive when he writes on poetics, not politics or culture. His chapter on the *Epistles* is perhaps the best, offering a lucid analysis of the poet's ethics and sensibilities. Kiernan's most interesting reflections converge on the Roman's contemplations of death—the shared bond that links master and slave, Roman and barbarian, princeps and poet. Viewing the collection as a failure if the poet really had hopes of being a philosopher, Kiernan compares Horace to Columbus, who never made his way to China but discovered unexpected riches. Kiernan's book is full of treasures culled from a lifetime of learning and thinking, and if they tell us more about the ideologies of a historian than the verses of a poet or the politics of ancient Rome, they are nonetheless a worthy complement to the lyrical discourse of an old friend.

ROBERT GURVAL
University of California,
Los Angeles

DAVID FRANKFURTER. *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xvi. 314. \$49.50.

This book represents an effort to reconceptualize the process of religious change in late antiquity. David Frankfurter's analysis is not entirely revolutionary—the religious history of the Mediterranean region in late antiquity has been the subject of much creative research over the past several decades—but it does challenge the assumptions made by those who view the fourth and fifth centuries as the locus of the "triumph" of Christianity. Such a view, to Frankfurter's eyes, is more the product of either a "religious triumphalism" associated with Christian sentiment, or its secular twin, an "intellectual triumphalism" rooted in the "post-Enlightenment tradition of James Frazer" (p. 23). Reports of the death of paganism, Frankfurter might say, have been greatly exaggerated. His revisionist outlook, which is deeply influenced by the discipline of anthropology, presumes a broadening of what we take religion to be. Religion, for Frankfurter, is less a

construct of ideology and doctrine than a basket of "phenomena that orient sacrality and tradition in the culture: practices, places, institutions, and offices or social roles" (p. 34), in particular that of healing and the negotiation of daily needs in a perplexing and sometimes hostile world.

Of course, the very term "paganism," if it is taken to signify a coherent and clearly delineated religious tradition, can obscure far more than it clarifies: "to buy into such a category," argues Frankfurter, is "to render oneself immediately imprecise" (p. 33). For example, what we call paganism consisted, even in Egypt, of far more than temple worship. It is true that Mediterranean religions rooted in ancient polytheisms were subject to certain centripetal tendencies in late antiquity, but it is in local religious identities and traditions that the author finds evidence of a vitality that hardly suggests endemic decline. So, for example, the cult of the Nile, despite attempts by the powerful priesthoods to appropriate and homogenize it, remained in essence not a national cult but a series of local ones, bound together perhaps by a stock of common mythical elements, but also fraught with the tension produced by competing renditions of the mythical framework and distinct and very localized manifestations of sacred power. This is central to Frankfurter's argument. Historians have understood certain phenomena—for example, the underlining of the financial foundations of temple worship from the third century C.E.—as signs of paganism's decline. But in fact, as the author demonstrates with a staggering abundance of detail, much of it drawn from the Christian sources themselves, the local cults survived such traumas. Moreover, much of the religious authority displaced by the pressures on "official" priesthoods and establishments came to rest in local religious traditions and figures that were decidedly not Christian.

Moreover, the pagan traditions did not simply survive. On the contrary, they went a long way toward determining the cultural contours of Coptic Christianity. Here Frankfurter's work fits into a tradition of scholarship set in motion by Peter Brown's *The Making of Late Antiquity* (1978), one which conceives of the process of religious change in late antique society less as the triumph of Christianity than as a "shift in the locus of the holy." Temple priests may have fallen on hard times, but their powers, oracular and other, were not viscerated by the ideology of the new church. Rather they came to rest in holy men, more widely accessible texts, and the various ritual experts credited with the ability to interpret them. The peculiarly thaumaturgical character of Coptic Christianity owed much to the claims of localized pagan traditions and to the expectations those claims raised in the minds of late antique Egyptians.

Frankfurter draws on an astonishing array of primary source material and scholarship, both about Egypt and about the wider Mediterranean region. He also illustrates his points with apt comparisons to developments in other societies, from modern Africa

to the sixteenth-century Andes. The result is an exemplary work, engagingly written, which will be of interest not only to students of late antiquity, early Christianity, and Egypt but to anyone concerned with issues of religious change and practice. The book's rich comparative dimension makes this reviewer wonder how the story might be continued into the Islamic period. There are enough points of continuity—for example, in various cults of the Nile river, some of which have survived down to the present day—to raise the question of the later fate of the practices and religious outlooks that are Frankfurter's subject. The question is interesting in part because it raises an issue that the author's approach temporarily sets aside: namely, that of religious identity. Frankfurter's analysis rightly downplays the ideologies and doctrines that one faith tradition uses to distinguish it from others in favor of an attempt to understand the psychological realities of the religious experience. But by the Islamic period, the question of religious identity cannot be avoided. Islam, with its highly self-conscious profile, its historical understanding of the origins of the different religious communities and its own role in the unfolding of a divine plan, and its explicit intolerance of polytheism, demands that the individual, whatever his or her religious practice, take some sort of a stand on questions of ideology, doctrine, and religious identity. The process took some time, but Islam did, in some sense, finally "triumph." It is not an ahistorical question to wonder what became of those on the far side of that triumph.

JONATHAN P. BERKEY
Davidson College

GEORGES ARABATZIS. *Éthique du bonheur et orthodoxie à Byzance (IV^e-XII^e siècles)*. Foreword by ANDRÉ GUILLOU. (Textes, Documents, Études sur le monde Byzantin néohellénique et Balkanique, number 4.) Paris: Association Pierre Belon. 1998. Pp. 206.

André Guillou's brief introduction to this book nicely sums up part of the proposition to which it is dedicated: as the people of Europe are preoccupied with their identity and self-definition, they naturally seek the historical roots of issues that concern them. Nowhere is this more appropriate (if unrealized) than in the concept of happiness or general well-being, something that certainly lies at the heart of modern concerns for the value of life. The idea of happiness, of course, was discussed in antiquity, most notably by Socrates/Plato, and by Aristotle. The concept then became a mainstay of the philosophy of Epicurus and the Stoics.

To be sure, the concept of happiness is not strongly connected with Byzantium, an empire usually associated with the "triumph of religion and barbarism." Indeed, Georges Arabatzis begins his book with this apparent contradiction and then goes on to trace the idea of happiness from antiquity into medieval Byzantium. He prefaces this historiographically by showing

how nineteenth-century Greek historians (Spyridon Zampelios and Emmanuel Roidis) investigated this phenomenon as part of their concern to demonstrate continuity between Greek antiquity and the Greek Middle Ages. Arabatzis offers a long quotation of Zampelios's description of Michael VIII's entry into Constantinople in 1261 as an illustrative and convincing example of the theme.

The book as a whole, however, focuses on the transformation of ideas from antiquity into the Christian period. The narrative is not really a detailed or analytic-philological argument but is rather impressionistic and suggestive. Thus, specialists in ancient philosophy will probably not be satisfied with the rigor of Arabatzis's discussion, compressed as it is into a very few pages (with even fewer specific references), although they may still find his exposition sound. His treatment of the transition from pagan to Christian philosophy is more firmly grounded, although here again he limits himself to remarkably few sources. Nonetheless, he views this transition as nothing less than "une véritable révolution éthique" (p. 69), involving a complete transformation in the way that well-being was defined. The basis of this difference was, of course, the all-defining importance of the Christian God: citing Guillou, he argues that happiness was ultimately the result of the experiential knowledge of God (p. 107). An important aspect of the transformation is the replacement of the ancient words for happiness (*eutychia* or *eudaimonia*) by words that had a significantly different character (*chara*, *agalliasis*, *makariotes*), although the ancient words were resurrected once the main struggle with paganism had been won.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Arabatzis's book is his consideration of (Christian Eastern) Orthodoxy and its relationship to all areas of life. This consideration is not especially well defined and he seems to confuse historical, Eastern Orthodoxy with some broader "orthodoxy" in a Chestertonian sense (p. 69), even failing (apparently) to realize that Orthodoxy was not some monolithic block that could be easily distinguished from various heresies (pp. 75–76). Nonetheless, the book insists that the apophatic (negative) tradition in Orthodox theology had real implications "on the ground" as far as individual people were concerned. This had the result that orthodoxy was a system that encouraged an essentially optimistic view of life.

After the discussion of the transformation of ideas and the creation of the Byzantine synthesis, the book focuses, rather unevenly and unconnectedly, on a number of different topics: among them, Byzantine concerns with the land, the interpretation of dreams, individualism in the ninth through twelfth century, mysticism, and Maximus the Confessor. These are all interesting essays, although they do not hang together in any significant way, and the bibliography is not as complete as one might like. The latter is almost completely limited to works in modern Greek and

French, and some important works are overlooked (e.g. A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* [1985]; Gerhard Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* [1997]; J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867–1185* [1937]; and Paul Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantine* [1971]). All in all, the book is more what we might call an extended essay rather than a closely argued monograph in the English-speaking or German-speaking tradition.

Nonetheless, the book raises many significant issues, especially considerations about Byzantium that one hopes might reach a broader public. The main thesis of the book, that Byzantine Christianity (and therefore Byzantine civilization) had a positive attitude about and toward mankind, deserves greater circulation among historians and the interested public more generally.

TIMOTHY E. GREGORY
Ohio State University

ISABEL MOREIRA. *Dreams, Visions, and Spiritual Authority in Merovingian Gaul*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 262. \$49.95.

During the last thirty years, there has been a resurgence of interest in matters related to dreams and visions in the early Middle Ages. This interest led to the publication of two seminal studies, one by Patricia Cox Miller (*Dreams in Late Antiquity* [1994]) and the other by Paul Edward Dutton (*The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* [1994]). Isabel Moreira's engaging book undertakes to bridge the gap between late antiquity and the Carolingians by focusing on the Merovingian period.

The book contains three sections, each of which is divided into smaller chapters. Following a short introduction, the first section of the book focuses on the issue of visionary access. In the pagan society of late antiquity, we are told, dreams and visions were perceived as a gateway to divine power and divine knowledge. Similarly, "in early Christian literature dreams and visions were cherished as moments when ordinary Christians were made extraordinary through a gift of the Holy Spirit" (p. 225). The access to the divine through dreams and visions was open to all Christians. Yet by the end of the fourth century, this concept of open access was challenged and circumscribed by prominent Christian authors, and, consequently, modern scholars have suggested a roughly chronological development in the Christian attitude toward dreams and visions from "open access" in the first centuries to "restricted access" in the late fourth century. In her first chapter, Moreira manages very convincingly to challenge this chronological model by demonstrating that the access to the divine through dreams and visions was clearly open to ordinary Christians throughout the early Middle Ages. Thus, "in accepting that the dreams of ordinary Christians could have

divine significance the clergy perpetuated an ancient tradition that held that divine dreams were potentially open to all" (p. 75). In the second chapter, Moreira asks whether the ascetic life of the monks turned them into a group of privileged visionaries. By analyzing Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St. Martin and the Life of St. Eugendus of Condat* (the third part of the anonymous *Life of the Fathers of Jura*), she arrives at the conclusion that "monks were not regarded as a special class or caste of spiritual dreamers, nor were they encouraged to think of themselves as such" (p. 74).

The second part of the book is dedicated to the question of visions and authority in Merovingian Gaul, and in it Moreira examines how dreams and visions helped Gregory of Tours to articulate and refine his episcopal ideal (chapter three); how healing dreams in the shrines of saints were recorded and published by the clergy in order to promote widespread recognition of the shrines' effectiveness (chapter four); and how visionary journeys to the otherworld were used to "promote the soteriological efficacy of clerically dispensed liturgical offerings" (p. 80). The relations between visions and hagiography are examined in the third section of the book, mainly through the prism of Baudonivia's *Vita Radegundis* (chapter six) and the *Life of St. Aldegund of Maubeuge* (chapter seven). A brief conclusion, two short appendixes (one on other-world visions and apocalypses and the other on the earliest *Vitae* of Aldegund of Maubeuge), and a comprehensive bibliography conclude the book.

This is a very interesting and engaging work, full of insights and thought provoking ideas. But, like all books, it has some minor problems. For example, Moreira, apparently still subscribes to ideas that were rightly questioned and convincingly challenged in recent years, such as Friedrich Prinz's concept of Hiberno-Frankish monasticism or Walter Berschin's notion of *Epochenstil*. Her use of the liturgical material is rather shaky, and there are some minor inaccuracies in reading the sources (see, for example, p. 115 and her interpretation of Gregory of Tours's *Gloria Martyrum*, ca. 50). More disconcerting, however, is the fact that in several cases Moreira ignores the immediate cultural, religious, or political contexts in which the "Merovingian" dreams or visions occurred, were recorded, and were transmitted (three different processes that, in some cases, merit separate treatment).

These minor reservations aside, this is a splendid book, written with an exceptional verve and clarity. Moreira's careful, perceptive, and engaging discussions (albeit derivative at times) and her firm grasp of the sources, both primary and secondary, make this book a significant contribution to our understanding of Merovingian culture, society, and religion.

YITZHAK HEN
University of Haifa

PAUL SAENGER. *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*. (Figuræ: Reading Medieval Culture.)

Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 480. \$49.50.

Over 276 pages, Paul Saenger discusses (in 15 chapters of uneven length) essential aspects of the history of writing in the West from antiquity to the late Middle Ages. The basic theme is the very gradual abandoning of *scriptura continua*, which had been a marked feature of Greek writing and was taken over by the Latin scribes in the second century A.D. The bulk of the material investigated are manuscripts (around 700 of which are referred to with painstaking attention to detail), with charters being mentioned occasionally. In the earliest medieval Western manuscripts, all written in Latin, *scriptura continua* is in evidence; it was the universal legacy of late antiquity. This was given up in favor of leaving space between words (the author rightly avoids the term "word separation," for which see Index s. v. *trait d'union*) that facilitated reading an unfamiliar language. Saenger, generally sober and rather understated, calls this the "great divide" (p. 12) and "a revolution" (p. 48). The practice began in those countries that had received Latin as a foreign language. Pride of place goes here to Ireland, the first Western country to adopt Latin as *lingua sacra* and set the example for other societies in the West. In Irish manuscripts, separation of words comes up during the seventh century, the earliest period of extant manuscript culture from there. (It is a pity that Saenger mentions CLA A 1864, discovered in 1984, only in footnote 69 on p. 311f without suggesting a date that is important for several reasons.) Saenger suggests that the Irish scribes took this practice from Syriac biblical exemplars, a line that should be pursued further (see the extensive note 24 on p. 319). From Ireland, the practice spread (presumably through Irish personnel) to England, then to the continent (where it is unusually early in evidence in St. Gallen). But it took more than half a millennium before space between words found acceptance in the Romania rather than the traditional *scriptura continua*. Saenger suggests convincingly that this was due to the relatively greater familiarity there with the Latin language (see pp. 41, 66, 101, 110, 235). It is also shown that interlinear translations made their first appearance in the British Isles (p. 93, where the more precise term would once, again, be "Ireland").

The other theme pursued in the book is the history of reading on the basis of the investigated habits of writing. Physiological aspects are taken into account as well as the antique culture of rhetoric and its aesthetics. Reading aloud was the norm almost universally before the twelfth century, when silent reading, initially particularly to devotional ends, can be documented to a sufficient extent to suggest a cultural landmark. This book itself is a landmark in the history not only of writing but also of reading, two activities that are not normally investigated together. It should be used together with Malcolm Parkes, *Pause and Effect* (1993), which Saenger does most skillfully.

The book includes thirty-six well-chosen illustrations

and nearly all the required scholarly apparatus (the glossary includes the term *aeration* with a meaning not given in the Oxford English Dictionary). Each reader will add items of personal choice in the index (in the present case, Moengal, pp. 103, 111). A work of stupendous learning (with 150 pages of endnotes) as well as down-to-earth vision, this monograph is the fruit of a long process of studying manuscript culture in the Middle Ages; the first tentative steps in this field were published by Saenger twenty years ago. The bibliography (pp. 439–48) in no way does justice to the amount of scholarly achievement that is pressed into service here. This study has all the qualities to make it indispensable to medieval studies of every kind.

MICHAEL RICHTER
Konstanz University

MARY DOCKRAY-MILLER. *Motherhood and Mothering in Anglo-Saxon England*. (The New Middle Ages.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xiv, 161.

Turning a postmodern feminist eye toward Old England, Mary Dockray-Miller makes a bold attempt to bring together the divergent worlds and techniques of cultural studies and Anglo-Saxon history and literature. Feminist medievalists have long regarded seventh and eighth-century England as a unique time and place for the exercise of power and authority by women, at least by a small number of royal and aristocratic women in religious life. Hoping to close some of the many gaps in our vision of that Golden Age, Dockray-Miller revisits prominent canonical sources such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and *Beowulf*; beyond these, she searches monastic deeds and charters, the letters and lives of saints, and a variety of manuscript fragments for surviving traces of "maternal genealogies" and "maternal performance" in Anglo-Saxon England.

In a very brief introduction (perhaps too brief to carry the weight assigned to it), the author sets forth her theoretical framework and rationale, based primarily on significant paradigms and definitions in the writings of Luce Irigaray, Judith Butler, and Sara Ruddick. She follows Irigaray in attention to mother-daughter and other female bonds, Butler in the notion of gender performance, and Ruddick in the definition of maternal "work" as the "protection, nurturance, and training of children" (p. 2). Acknowledging the severe limitations of her sources, Dockray-Miller scrutinizes the Anglo-Saxon texts for evidence of maternal intention and activity. She examines the lives and achievements of the royal abbesses of the great convents and double monasteries of the Golden Age, before Viking raiders and monastic "reformers" put an end to women's leadership as well as to peace. The line of Ethelbert and Bertha, the king of Kent and his Frankish Christian queen, is discussed and displayed in a gender-balanced family tree that reveals the familial relationships on which leadership of the great religious houses depended—a female network flourishing *within*

the patriarchal societies of church and court. One chapter is devoted to the inheritance and accomplishments of Adelflad, the "Lady of the Mercians," who was the daughter of Alfred the Great but also the inheritor and practitioner of a tradition of female determination to raise children in peace. Dockray-Miller finds in tenth-century Wessex "four generations of maternal figures (who) work to protect, nurture, and teach their children in the face of Viking attack and more domestic masculine aggression" (p. 44), a "maternal genealogy" constructed in an era much more violent than the Golden Age.

I found the final chapter, on "The Mothers of *Beowulf*," most intriguing and persuasive, perhaps because the poem presents a range of mothers, from Grendel's dam to Hrothgar's queen, of sufficient variety and depth to allow the reader to reflect upon the author's thesis. Dockray-Miller opposes the "masculinist heroic ethos" (p. 115) of Hrothgar to Wealthow's maternal performance, presented as a "successful challenge to the heroic code as she negotiates to keep her sons safe with a value system based on relationships rather than conquests" (p. 118). Here the argument does seem to offer a new and useful lens through which to read the many characters and events of *Beowulf*. However, the work as a whole rests on complicated and difficult contentions, and the evidence in earlier chapters is sometimes stretched too thin to be convincing. It is unfortunate that the arguments are not effectively reinforced by the book's sketchy conclusion, an afterword on "The Politics of Motherhood." Dockray-Miller's work is original and ambitious and the attempt well worth making, but the connections between the theoretical base and the interpretation of texts are not always sufficiently tight or convincing to carry this interesting case.

CLARISSA ATKINSON
Harvard University

H. E. J. COWDREY. *Pope Gregory VII: 1073–1085*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xvi, 743. \$150.00.

This is the first scholarly biography of Gregory VII to be written for more than sixty years. A great deal of work has been done on the papal reform movement since then, and a new study was urgently needed. H. E. J. Cowdrey, who has spent the past thirty years working on aspects of Gregory's life and times and has edited his *Epistolae Vagantes*, is uniquely well qualified to write it. Cowdrey stresses the importance of the city of Rome in the formation of Gregory's character. He trained there as a Benedictine monk, and as Archdeacon Hildebrand was in charge of the routine administration of the Roman see in the reign of Alexander II (who, because he retained his former bishopric of Lucca while pope, was frequently absent from Rome). Hildebrand was separated by his modest birth from the aristocratic college of cardinals who had spearheaded the reform movement since Leo IX's pontificate, and

Cowdrey argues that when the cardinal-hermit, Peter Damian, called Hildebrand "my holy Satan," he was referring to Satan as he appears in the Book of Job, an important official in God's court, who can, under God's providence, inflict plagues on the righteous.

When Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII, there is no doubt that in broad terms he wished to continue the papal reform policy: to ensure the free election of clergy, to end simony, and to combat concubinage—but he did not have a speculative mind. "It is commonly stated that, from the time of his becoming pope, he acted upon a number of sharply defined and clearly formulated principles of papal action. Such a view is misleading; the presuppositions upon which he acted were subject to change and adaptation" (p. 405). Cowdrey refuses to accept that the *Dictatus Papae* was a mission statement, arguing that the purpose of this record, inserted in the papal registers in March 1075, at Gregory's dictation, is uncertain and "must not be interpreted as expressing Gregory's characteristic and final position, which must be sought in the letters of his last years as pope" (p. 504).

Gregory's general reform principles led him into a series of dramatic confrontations with Henry IV of Germany. Cowdrey considers that the penitential context of that dispute is of great importance, because penitential rituals occupied so central a place in Gregory's life as pope, being a normal part of the exercise of his office of binding and loosing sins.

When examining Gregory's relations with the other rulers of Christendom, Cowdrey shows a pleasing sense of proportion by treating the Anglo-Norman kingdom as part of the periphery of Europe and dealing with it in eight pages. He shows that Gregory was prepared to be more flexible in his dealings with some rulers, provided that they were willing to cooperate with him in the service of Christ and his church.

Cowdrey shows how Gregory was hampered in his attempts to implement reform by a lack of adequate administrative support. His use of the Lenten synods as a means of diffusing knowledge of his legislation was defective, because attendance was patchy and those who opposed his policies were able to claim ignorance of them. On a practical level, Gregory had ineffective support. The *Patarini* of Milan did not prove strong enough to oppose the pro-imperialist interests in the city, while the Normans of South Italy could not be counted on. When Henry IV besieged Rome in 1082, Jordan of Capua made his submission, while Robert Guiscard took his main armies to Epirus to attack the Byzantines.

Cowdrey gives a sympathetic picture of Gregory as a man who tried to live the austere life of a Benedictine monk even after he became pope, who had an unusually comprehensive view of the extent and diversity of the church, and who was sincerely concerned to forward the work of Christ's kingdom on earth. But he is also critical of him. Gregory thought of the bonds of society in terms of the organization of a Benedictine abbey, an analogy that was simplistic and inappropriate;

he saw differences of opinion in black and white terms, which made compromise almost impossible; and he identified himself so fully with St. Peter, whose vicar he claimed to be, that he sometimes behaved as though he were more important than the office he held. Overall, he should not be treated as the architect of the papal monarchy that came into being under Urban II but rather as a prophet, whose vision of a Christian society inspired his successors to found that monarchy. It is a measure of Cowdrey's success that his Gregory VII comes across as a credible human personality.

BERNARD HAMILTON

University of Nottingham

DEBRA J. BIRCH. *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1998. Pp. 238. \$60.00.

Although its title suggests that this book covers the whole of the Middle Ages, it is in fact about the period to about 1300. It is none the worse for that, since this is precisely the period about which much less has been published. The part that is most original is probably that concerning 1099–1216, with its conclusions (based on a very interesting trawl of cartularies) that pilgrimage to Rome may have been less popular then and that a serious attempt may have been made by Innocent III and his successors to publicize and popularize it. Although Debra J. Birch agrees that the 1300 Jubilee resulted from popular movements, she argues that it was also the result of a steady campaign by the popes to promote Rome, with indulgences, relics, and better institutions.

The work begins with a careful discussion of the sources, followed by a survey of the development of the cult of the saints. We then have a discussion of the journey, beginning with some attempt to consider motives for pilgrimage. Oddly, although the work of the Turners is cited in the bibliography, there seems little evidence that anthropological thinking has colored the text here or elsewhere. There is careful analysis of the routes used (there are good maps) with information about inns and about shrines that might be visited en route and the costs and hazards of the journey. Chapter three considers the privileges that, theoretically, pilgrims came to enjoy, such as exemption from tolls and safe-conduct. One does wonder, however, whether any of this existed very effectively in practice.

Once in Rome, the pilgrim of course made the round of shrines and holy sites, did shopping, and stayed somewhere to sleep. The writer points out that, before the eighth century, most pilgrims probably went to basilicas and burial places outside the city, whereas after that relics were brought into city churches, which then also became targets for pilgrims, although the older shrines remained popular. In the twelfth century fashions changed again, and pilgrims came to desire to see actual holy objects, so that the Lateran displayed

its Uronica (the miraculous image said to have been painted by Saint Luke) and the Vatican finally instituted a procession for the Veronica (or *sudarium*). What little is known about the activities of twelfth-century pilgrims is discussed, with interesting use made of the unique account by the Iclander Nikolas of Munkathvera. Unfortunately, very little about the "tourist" side of pilgrimage can be known for Rome at this time, but Birch has used material from other pilgrim sites to make conjectures about the kind of thing that was probably to be found in Rome too.

The welfare of poor pilgrims was looked after up to the eighth century by *diaconiae*, with *xenodochia* (various types of hospice) providing a bed and perhaps nursing if necessary. By the twelfth century, *diaconiae* had fallen into disuse, and there is doubt about what took their place. In the next century Innocent III built Santo Spirito as a hospital, which became the most important institution for pilgrim welfare. By then, clearly, there were also inns, though little is known about them. The climax of the book is an account of the triumphant Jubilee of 1300, with some details about what went on.

This is a sound and solid rather than a sparkling book, which will fill a gap. The writer never argues beyond her evidence, although, when it is sparse, she sometimes uses information from other pilgrim places. It is mostly well proofread; one of my few cavils is that here and there the "cut and paste" that is now possible with word processors has not been checked carefully enough, so that, for instance, almost the same text appears at pp. 4 and 203 or 181 and 195. But this is a tiny fault in a careful and interesting account.

MARGARET HARVEY
University of Durham

CONSTANCE A. H. BERMAN. *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2000. Pp. xxiv, 382. \$59.95.

For years, monastic and secular historians have held that the Cistercian Order in the early twelfth-century France created an organizational model that became not only a way to maintain the ideals of the founding fathers but also the basis of the administrative structure for other religious orders as well. The achievement was spelled out in "primitive documents" known as the *exordia* that are found in three main texts: *Exordium Cistercii*, *Exordium Parvum*, and *Exordium Magnum*. English translations of the first two by Bede Lackner can be found in Louis J. Lekai's *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (1977).

When Constance A. H. Berman started to write her book, she had every intention of focusing on the twelfth-century history of the Cistercians in southern France. The final product, however, as its subtitle states, challenges the manner in which the Cistercian Order originated in the first place. It is her conclusion that a group of anonymous Cistercian monks, one of

whom might be Alexander of Cologne, "invented" the history of their order in response to conditions in the third quarter of the twelfth century. Berman's proof of this creation myth is based on several factors.

In chapter one, she holds that the *exordia* documents cannot be copies of records from the early twelfth century. Using paleographic diplomatics, Berman examined the original *exordia* documents and found that they could not possibly have been written before 1160. She discovered no confirming evidence in either papal or episcopal records. No dates, seals, or witnesses testify to an earlier date. The documents themselves contradict each other even in their effort to create a united impression that the organizational structure of the Cistercians was there from the start. Moreover, monastic churches in southern France often cited to establish uniformity of practice can easily be disallowed by architectural historians comparing the buildings.

In chapter two, Berman challenges the dating of every statute published in J.-M. Canivez, ed. *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786* (1933) for years 1134 and 1152. These are not statutes from Cistercian abbots' meetings, in her opinion, but a list of ideals drawn up ca. 1160. She discovered that the manuscript Trent MS 1711, dated to 1135, has two versions; the second has *exordia* documents attached dated no earlier than 1161. The *Summa Cartae Caritatis* (Chapter of Charity) was in response to Pope Alexander III's letter denouncing the Cistercian acquisition of churches and altars and their use of litigation. Berman proves that Pope Calixtus II's bull *Ad hoc in Apostolicae* (1119), which was purported to confirm the Cistercian constitution, is in fact a forgery, just as the tithe exemption of Cîteaux (1132) is a forgery. She dates the constitution no earlier than 1165, when Alexander III confirmed it.

Chapters three and four address the manner of what Berman calls "pre-Cistercian," or before anything Cistercian was used, compared to "proto-Cistercian," when certain customs were adopted. As a consequence, it is inappropriate to call the Cistercians an "order" when the word "ordo" only applies to the implementation of practices such as the use of *conversi* or the establishment of granges by proto-Cistercian monasteries. It is only in the third quarter of the twelfth century that the *ordo cisterciensis* would mean the Cistercian Order in the full sense of the term. Berman is quick to point out that what was happening in the abbeys in Burgundy was not applicable to monasteries in southern France, since many monasteries of both nuns and monks were not founded as Cistercian but evolved as affiliated houses with established congregations that only became incorporated at a later date. These pre-Cistercian houses were given foundation dates and made part of the organizational tree structure as if they were in the order from the beginning.

The concluding chapter documents that women were very much a part of the success of Cistercians; to

assume that the monks wanted nothing to do with women is the product of the myth about the early years of the order. To cite the lack of references for the incorporation of nunneries does not make the convents any less Cistercian. No such standard is required to prove affiliated status for monasteries of men.

In conclusion, Berman promotes a revision to the historical argument about how the Cistercian Order came into being. It will be interesting to see if her findings are accepted, since she uses only the monasteries in southern France to prove her filiation theory.

JOHN A. NICHOLS
Slippery Rock University

WILLIAM J. COURTENAY. *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 41.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. Xix, 284. \$64.95.

Sometime toward the end of 1329, the arts student Jean le Fourbeur was imprisoned on the charge of raping a woman named Symonette. Although he claimed to be innocent, he was convicted by the episcopal court and sentenced to pay a substantial fine. Quite soon after the money had been paid, however, Fourbeur raised the question of papal immunity of university members from monetary fines, which had been granted in 1231 by Pope Gregory IX (*Parens scientiarum*). The university brought a lawsuit against the bishop of Paris, because it believed that its exemption had been undermined. Since in those days, just as today, the expenses of litigation were high, the university held a collection (*collecta*) among the university population in order to generate the necessary funds. As is clear from other documents, such collections were an instrument that was invoked occasionally to meet some special financial need of the entire university community. What makes this particular collection interesting is that it created a unique financial account, a *computus*, which has the potential of helping us reconstruct a social portrait of the University of Paris of the year 1329–1330.

The financial record in question was edited a long time ago in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, that indispensable collection of documents pertinent to the medieval University of Paris. Neither its editors, however, nor other scholars were aware of how this document could substantially add to our knowledge of one of the least studied aspects of the University of Paris: namely, its topography and the social composition of its community. The publication of William J. Courtenay's book has now fundamentally changed this situation. By recognizing the true origin and nature of this unique financial record, by attaching a more precise date to it, and by linking it to a biographical register, compiled on the basis of other evidence, Courtenay has provided us with the 1329–1330 edition of the Yellow Pages of the Paris university district.

Part one (chapters one through three) of the book deals with the context of the document. In chapter one, Courtenay corrects two mistakes of the editors of the *Chartularium*. First, he convincingly explains that the folios of the original document were incorrectly arranged (a new edition of the document, reorganized according to the correct binding, is given in Appendix 1). Second, he narrows down the old dating of between 1329 and 1336 to 1329–1330. Furthermore, Courtenay lays the groundwork for the general claims that are made in part two of the book, when he argues that this record reflects a representative cross section of university membership at this particular point in time. The author estimates that the document covers approximately two-thirds of the Parisian university population of about three thousand members, not including those who belonged to the four mendicant orders and the Cistercians, since they were exempt from the money collection. More importantly, those who were recorded by name constitute over three quarters of the more prominent members of that community. Chapter two discusses the phenomenon of university collections, and chapter three deals with the discovery of the tragic event, mentioned above, which generated this document.

Part two of the book (chapters four through seven) presents the topographical and sociological analysis, which is based on the 1329–1330 record and on an accompanying biographical register. In chapter four, Courtenay leads the reader by the hand through the streets of Paris, in pursuit of the route that the collectors took in their street-by-street survey. He tells us who used to live in each house. Four clear maps indicate the area and parishes where the majority of the masters and students resided. At the end of this itinerary, the reader has an address book of those who "mattered" in the year when this financial record originated. One can learn, for instance, that William, son and heir apparent of the count of Hainaut, Holland, and Zeeland, was studying in Paris and was living in a private mansion on the rue St.-Etienne-des-Grez. One can also understand why it is uncertain that John Buridan, if indeed he is to be identified with the "magister Johannes Birendan," really lived on the rue St. Victor as other scholars have assumed.

Chapter five provides an analysis of the residential structure of the larger part of the Parisian academic community; chapter six of its sociological background; and chapter seven of its geographical distribution. One of the patterns that emerges is that the largest number of Parisian masters and students came from northern France, with almost none from the South and Southwest. Another noteworthy trend is the existence of master-students households, associated through regional ties, in which teaching may have continued outside the classroom. For these and many more conclusions, Courtenay's study will be of great interest also to scholars who, so far, have been focusing on the

organizational structure, curriculum, or intellectual output of the University of Paris.

J. M. M. H. THIJSEN
University of Nijmegen

BRIDGET ANN HENISCH. *The Medieval Calendar Year*. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 232. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

The title of this book could refer to a number of very different subjects; in the event, it turns out to be a densely researched monograph devoted to a particular genre of late medieval art: the illustrations of those late medieval calendars that are commonly known as "Labors of the Months." Bridget Ann Henisch has hunted down most if not all of the surviving examples and richly illustrates her text with reproductions. She demonstrates beyond any doubt both the conventions of the art form and their significance and so makes a noteworthy contribution to the study of medieval culture.

One of the most important messages of the book is how much the calendar illustrations did not show. They included almost no scenes or motifs of a religious character, very few women or children, very few episodes in which the differing ranks of society are shown in interaction, and very few processes of marketing and retailing of produce. While most of their subject matter concerned farming activities, the range of these was itself constricted by convention: great prominence was given to the production of major cereal crops, hay, and wine (even in northern Europe). The making of beer or cider, or the cultivation of peas, beans, and cabbages, were not considered fit subjects: proper crops and products were those that were most prestigious and, above all, had sacramental significance.

At the core of this tradition, Henisch makes clear, was the desire to invest both labor and the cycle of the year with a feel-good quality. None of the discomforts consequent upon extreme heat, cold, or moisture, or the perils attendant upon productive processes, were ever shown. The work is always carried on by dignified, purposeful, and successful figures and relieved by rhythmic interludes of refreshment and play. Workers are proficient, cheerful, and self-motivated; the weather is good; and produce is ample. A few people are sufficient to accomplish major processes. The scenes embody not merely a well-regulated society but a peaceful and benevolent cosmos, in which people, time, and nature move together in harmony to achieve the best results for humanity.

Henisch has read widely into the social and cultural context of these images, and her analysis of them makes frequent points concerning the wider attitudes of the society that produced them: the symbolism of childhood, gardens, shepherds, and crops, receives particular attention. She also shows how, in the course of the fifteenth century, the genre began to diversify, bringing in more frequent representation of hitherto marginal phenomena such as women, children, pasto-

ral farming, gardens, and the sale of produce. These developments were associated in part with the growth of other genres of calendar art, such as that which related the human life cycle to the annual one.

The sheer quantity of research behind the writing, and the number of topics covered, make it easy at times to forget how many basic questions about the subject this book fails to ask, let alone answer. The reader is given no systematic information upon when or how this artistic tradition developed, who produced it, where, for whom, or how it came to an end. Instead, the author's fancy plays upon the images and interprets those aspects of them that catch her interest to produce a result that, like its material, charms, comforts, and cheers while leaving much unnoticed.

RONALD HUTTON
University of Bristol

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ALLAN ELLENUS, editor. *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*. (The Origins of the Modern State in Europe, Thirteenth to Eighteenth Centuries.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xix. 310. \$80.00.

This collection of essays is one of seven volumes on the origins of the modern state in Europe from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, the proceedings of a series of conferences sponsored by the European Science Foundation from 1989 to 1992. The conferences sought to examine the topic in new ways and to be both interdisciplinary and international. About one-half the scholars represented in the present volume are historians, and there is one professor of rhetoric; the remainder, including Allan Ellenius, are art historians. All the contributors make extensive use of material written by historians, and the historians concentrate on visual representations of rulership.

The first of the book's five parts begins with Kurt Johannesson's study of the portrait of the prince as a rhetorical genre. Tracing the development of the *Fürstenspiegel* into the sixteenth century, Johannesson draws on examples of the rhetoric of rulership concerning Gustavus Vasa to show that the intent of rhetorical praise was not to instruct the prince but to help him set a moral example for his subjects. Friedrich Polleross's study shows how the classical figure of Hercules came to be transformed from a representation of virtue in the fifteenth century to a figure depicting the monarch's apotheosis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the French Revolution essentially ended the use of imagery that had been extensively employed in France. Matthias Winner studies the orb as symbol of the state in Peter Paul Rubens's famous paintings of the life of Marie des Médicis in the Louvre; as he does so, he explains the meaning of two of the most puzzling canvases in the series, "The Apotheosis of Henry IV" and "The Proclamation of the Regency."

Part two contains studies by Fernando Checa Cremades and José Manuel Nieto Soria. Checa Cremades shows how the use of portraits changed from the reign of Maximilian I to the end of the Habsburg monarchy in Spain. In a court where the king was generally "hidden," these portraits served to exalt the family and the dynasty whose members they depicted. Soria concentrates largely on the fifteenth century to demonstrate how the Christian religion was infused into propaganda and legitimation in Castille to produce the decidedly Christian monarchy that was inherited by the Habsburgs.

Part three begins with Sergio Bertelli's survey of the concept of the king as *rex et sacerdos* in European civilization; using Napoleon Bonaparte's ceremonies to set the stage, Bertelli demonstrates that the medieval and early modern meanings of accession rites, coronation rituals, and state banquets were completely lost by the time of Napoleon's desacralized world. Gunnar Danbolt compares the decorations of a chapel in the church of the SS Quattro Coronati (1245) with those of the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican (early sixteenth century) to show one way in which imagery changed from narration to description, reflecting a changed conception of history and suggesting that "the iconography of power is to be found not just inside the picture frames, but to an equal degree outside, in the arena of politics and history" (p. 171). Rudolf Preimesberger addresses himself to the difficult problems of employing a statue of nude Neptune to represent papal authority in Bologna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Part four opens with a very wide-ranging study of ceremonial space in church, residence, town, and country by Juliusz Chrościcki, who brings the concept of ceremonial space up to our own time. Gérard Sabatier discusses the functions and meanings of the decorations in the royal palace at Versailles and elucidates the process whereby the palace was transformed from a site of monarchical glorification in the seventeenth century to essentially a museum by the mid-eighteenth century.

In part five, Peter Burke reflects on the problems of representing power brought on by the "crisis" of the seventeenth century, comparing Europe of the seventeenth century with Europe after the French Revolution. Thomas Fröschl outlines the ways in which new methods had to be devised in Europe and North America to personify and inculcate republican virtues, no longer in subjects but in citizens.

Space does not permit comments on the individual studies, although two or three misleading statements should be noted. Bertelli states that two crowns were used in the French coronation ritual; they were, but not at all in the way the text reads here (p.133). Also, on the same page, Bertelli implies that anointing came to the West from Byzantium, whereas the reverse was true. Chrościcki's description of the coronation space in the cathedral of Reims (p. 196) is not as clear as it could be. Fröschl (p. 274) erroneously refers to plate

69; it should be plate 71, but it is missing. No translator is listed for any of these studies, and it may be that some of the ambiguities are simply the fault of less than perfect translations. It is, however, sometimes impossible to translate a foreign language into good English—the first three pages of Preimesberger's study of imagery in Bologna give a good approximation of what academic English would sound like if it were written in that German academic style that drives beginning German students to tears.

The authors of these studies are all men who know their subjects and their literature and who have reflected long and deeply on the material they discuss, but the book hardly addresses the subject exhaustively. Indeed, the book's title is somewhat misleading because, although all studies discuss iconography and propaganda, only a few of them really treat of the relationship between these two and legitimation, a topic that deserves further investigation. Rather, the book should be regarded as a companion to another set of similar studies, *Répresentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, edited by Joël Blanchard (1995). The latter are not quite as focused on a topic as those in the present book are, but most of them deal with a single country, France, mainly during the fifteenth century. Therefore, they dig fairly deeply into the subject of images of power, whereas the beauty of this book is that its studies range over five centuries and superbly portray the cultural transformations that occurred from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance to the French Revolution.

Unfortunately, the presentation of the book does not do the authors credit. It is not just that the book is difficult to read because it is set in such small type. More serious is the footnote style, normally just an author's name and his work's publication date, without page reference. This forces the reader constantly to refer to the twenty-one-page bibliography at the back of the book, a time-consuming nuisance. Surely, in this day of sophisticated word processors and electronic typesetting, the Clarendon Press could have given its authors the option of composing real footnotes. The book's footnote style is even dangerous: practically all of Checa Cremades's references, some of Bertelli's references, and at least two of Burke's references are missing from the bibliography. Proper footnotes would have eliminated such defects.

RICHARD A. JACKSON
University of Houston

BERND ROECK. *Kunstpatronage in der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zu Kunstmarkt, Künstlern und ihren Auftraggebern in Italien und im Heiligen Römischen Reich (15.-17. Jahrhundert)*. (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 236. DM 48.

The title of Bernd Roeck's latest book is rather misleading, since it suggests a sweeping study of artistic patronage during the early modern period. In

actuality, this short paperback volume focuses primarily on the art of Venice and, especially, Augsburg around 1600, the subjects of Roeck's prior scholarship. The author offers six excellent if largely independent essays that only in the very loosest sense constitute a coherent book.

Chapter one is the most useful for the general reader. Bearing the book's main title, the essay sets out a general introduction to and theoretical statement about patronage. Roeck posits four main types of patronage: orders made for a specific individual or institution; works made within a market system; objects linked to an academy system, which he sees as often tied to the cultural politics of the state; and art produced within a subvention system, such as an institution, foundation, or university. Unfortunately, the author never explains his categories nor the limits of their applications. For example, is it valid to talk about an academy system prior to the mid-seventeenth century or in the case of Germany before the eighteenth century? The remainder of the chapter introduces the reader to iconology, *Zeitgeist*, art and its milieu, the art market, and the legibility of art.

Chapter two addresses the motives underlying bourgeois demands for art. Roeck's categories are both surprising and conventional. He opens by suggesting that some patronage was prompted by melancholy in which the beauty of a painting or sculpture served as a cure for this humor. More standard motivations include religious and aesthetic reasons, self-understanding or identity, and art as a statement of personal or civic power. Although the author's intention is merely to introduce each category, I wish that he had presented a more sustained discussion, one that took better advantage of the chosen patrons and works of art.

Roeck does get more specific in chapters three and four. The former assesses the motivations a tomb and painting for Agostino Barbarigo, who served as the Doge of Venice from 1486 to 1501. In chapter four, for me the book's most satisfying, Roeck explores the economic and social conditions in Augsburg that prompted the remarkable building boom from 1602 to about 1630 during Elias Holl's tenure as the city architect (*Stadtwerkmeister*). Here Roeck is on familiar ground since he has written extensively on Holl. Using tax records, he discusses how the city gradually recovered from its dire economic problems between 1556 and 1584. No longer dependent on just a few families, such as the Fuggers and the Welsers, Augsburg cultivated a stronger civic identity through major architectural projects. Concentrating on the areas around the Siegelhaus and the Perlachplatz, Holl erected a host of significant buildings including the monumental city hall (1615–1620). Such large-scale urban developments projects provided sustained employment to Augsburg's large community of craftsmen and artists.

Chapter five considers the erection of imposing city halls in German imperial free cities. When does the *Rathaus* change from being a simple administrative

office to the symbolic center of a town? From the late fifteenth century onward, city halls are given unified facades, often elaborately decorated, that face on to major public squares. Painting scenes of historical or divine judgment are increasingly supplemented with allegorical representations defining both civic virtues and local identities.

The final chapter comparing the relative social positions of south German and Venetian artists is again quite general. Roeck briefly discusses such topics as the relation of art to the more traditional concept of craft plus the gradual elevation of painting, sculpture, and architecture over the other arts; the influence of humanism; the art work as a creative and spiritual act; the expression of artistic identity through signatures, monograms, and self-portraits; the development of the art market; and the impact of the Reformation on the arts.

I find it difficult to identify Roeck's intended audience since the book vacillates between the overly general and the very specific. This should not dissuade the determined reader since the text is full of thoughtful insights about method, patronage, and, of course, art. Roeck aptly draws his comparative examples from both sides of the Alps. A thorough study of early modern patronage still remains to be written.

JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH
University of Texas,
Austin

PIETER LAGROU. *The Legacy of Nazi Occupation: Patriotic Memory and National Recovery in Western Europe, 1945–1965*. (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare, number 8.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 327. \$59.95.

This work of thorough scholarship raises two sets of major questions: the first (of interest to all students of the twentieth century) concerns the effects on society of that century's total wars; the second (of interest perhaps only to pedants like myself) concerns the validity of the modish historical discourse of today. Early in the book (p. 16), Pieter Lagrou seems to engage with this second point: "The universality of the fashionable terminology of 'national memory' might cause its users to forget the metaphorical and probably even inappropriate use of the word 'memory' in this context." Few human characteristics are more inalienably individual than memory." These are wise words. Unfortunately, Lagrou scarcely heeds them himself. Too frequently, words and phrases that started out as metaphors come to be treated as having materiality of their own. The phrase "patriotic memory" features in the title, and "national memory" is invoked frequently throughout the book, together with the by now too-familiar "script," "negotiate," and "national narratives."

If, however, one utters a mild criticism here, one cannot withhold admiration for the triumphantly comparative character of Lagrou's study. Many are the

statements invoking the comparative approach as the proper one for state-of-the-art historians; few are the actual achievements of a properly detailed and scholarly character (as distinct from those pretentious series that are little more than collections of textbooks). Lagrou has achieved real depth by focusing on the experiences, and treatment, in three different countries, of three particular groups, during and after World War II: resistance fighters, labor conscripts, and victims of persecution. The three countries are Belgium, France, and the Netherlands, and the author has devised a structure (the key to all effective historical writing) that is not simply mechanistic and repetitive in setting up comparisons and contrasts but that changes shape in accordance with specific national circumstances.

Sometimes a particular topic affecting one of the groups is considered across all three countries; sometimes the comparison is limited to two countries, with a further chapter pointing out the unique features of the third country. Thus, in discussing the postwar treatment of resistance veterans, Lagrou, after a three-nation general study, proceeds to a comparison of Belgium and France, where liberation, when it came, was mercifully quick, and where the "Social Pact" in the former was the analogue of the Program of the National Council of the Resistance in the latter, both being instruments of substantial postwar social change. He then turns separately to the Netherlands, where liberation, horrifically, came in two parts, divided by a period of vicious Nazi retribution. The book recognizes the central significance for social change of the massive population movements of World War II, correctly seeing them as upheaval and disruption, dismissing older myths about their "radicalizing" effects. But, ultimately, this is an organizational study, a study of the bodies that represented the three groups, such as, the *Fédération Nationale des Déportés et Internés Patriotes et Résistants* (FNDIRP) in Paris and the *Confédération Nationale des Prisonniers Politiques et leurs Ayants-Droit* (CNPPA/MCPGR: I have spelled out only the French half of the title) in Brussels. The range of public and private sources consulted is impressive: one never has doubts as to the foundations upon which Lagrou's arguments are based.

For sheer, priceless information on its chosen (though limited) topics, this book cannot be faulted. That the same can be said with respect to the relationship between the specialized organizational studies and the final conclusions about the effects of World War II is less certain. Nonetheless, these conclusions are worth pondering. After reminding us of the strength of racism and authoritarianism in the 1930s, Lagrou continues: "the experience of the Second World War, the human consequences of occupation by a Nazi enemy aiming to implement its ideological designs in the defeated nations, deepened notions of democracy and citizenship in Western Europe," while "the memory" of the war "contributed to a profound

transformation of concepts of national identity, citizenship, and human rights" (p. 306). More contentious is Lagrou's insistence that the two total wars do not share common features that necessarily entailed the same kind of social upheaval and transformation (pp. 4, 304–305). World War II, he maintains, had a peculiar, hideous horror and unique outcomes of its own. Has he forgotten his Henri Barbusse, his Erich Maria Remarque? Has he forgotten the testimony contained in the Treaty of Versailles concerned with "notions of democracy" and "concepts of national identity, citizenship and human rights"? Has he forgotten that in most countries women gained voting rights at the end of World War I, but that the process was only completed in France (and Italy) at the end of World War II? It is congruent with Lagrou's meticulous scholarship that he draws attention to the particularities of the second total war; but in doing so he misses the larger implications of total war itself. As a lean and sinewy study of the consequences of Nazi occupation, this book is splendid; when it puffs up its muscles and pontificates about twentieth-century war in general, it is less successful.

ARTHUR MARWICK
The Open University

ROLF TORSTENDAHL, editor. *State Policy and Gender System in the Two German States and Sweden, 1945–1989*. (Opuscula Historica Upsaliensia, number 23.) Uppsala: University of Uppsala. 1999. Pp. 239.

TERESA KULAWIK. *Wohlfahrtsstaat und Mutterschaft: Schweden und Deutschland 1870–1912*. (Politik der Geschlechtsverhältnisse, number 13.) New York: Campus. 1999. Pp. 411.

Teresa Kulawik's study shows how far we have come from viewing welfare as an adjunct to industrialization, the rise of social democracy, or the result of capitalist manipulation. These cannot explain the gendered aspects of early welfare states, nor why welfare so often meant restricting women's paid work. In the past, sexist policies were often ascribed to "culture," a joker explanation for strange residuals. Kulawik's review of welfare state research shows that gender interests should be ranked with those of class. She sets out to denaturalize this hidden category through a comparison of Germany's gendered welfare state with Sweden's relatively gender-neutral welfare system.

Kulawik establishes a model of policy formation that includes class political organization, voluntary organizations, and professional groups, which she relates both to public spheres and to government actors and procedures. These are historicized by comparing Sweden's and Germany's democratization, unification, industrialization, and militarization along lines established by Geoff Eley and Göran Therborn. Kulawik adds depth to their analyses, however, through a broad analysis of political discourse, with attention to the establishment of gender identities.

Gender identities were especially relevant in Germany, where both bourgeois liberals and social democrats had aggressively masculine profiles, and where tensions arising from the early politicization of society, "conservative modernization," and class polarization made masculinity both a measure of class defense and a means of papering over political differences. Liberal parties depended on an all-male associational culture; their identification with national unification and imperialism reinforced their soldierly identity. The socialists' patriarchal vision of citizenship, in which escape from the infantilization of wage slavery was defined, not least, as the reconquest of familial patriarchy—the right to a breadwinner's salary and a woman's full-time services—was founded by Germany's strong guilds and continued in state-supported *Innungen*. Sweden's liberal bourgeoisie was, by contrast, emasculated through lack of a mission of national unification and imperialism, while the paucity of strong class enemies allowed it a fragmented identity. Sweden's socialists were also relatively gender neutral. The Swedish guild tradition was weak, the fight to defend the family against liberal economics marginal. Swedish women had the legal right to organize; inclusive unionization diminished their *Schmutzkonkurrenz*. Women's industrial work was often seen as ameliorating rather than causing poverty and immorality. Swedish socialists never sponsored arguments such as that made by Clara Zetkin, who maintained that women, too weak-willed to organize, should prefer the natural calling of domestic work, for women's domestic work benefited the working class, while their factory labor benefited only capitalists.

Kulawik traces the legislative results of these identities. In Germany, a pattern emerged that equated the problem of poverty with the "Workers' Question," a question to be solved (agreed most Reichstag parties) by restricting women's industrial work. This would increase male workers' wages, morality, and health. The view of the housewife as a prime agent of social contentment and health was soon reinforced by social imperialism, medicalization of social analysis, and racism; Germany's women's movements, already divided by class, were unable to voice objections to restrictions on women's paid work. The result was an obfuscation of class differences through a masculinist attack on women's social citizenship. In Sweden, meanwhile, weaker class and masculine identities allowed an early acceptance of women's factory work. Cross-class women's organizations effectively countered the nationalist advocacy of restrictive laws; when legislation did pass, speakers emphasized women's ability to civilize homes, provide culture, and thus educate male workers into political citizenship rather than the patriarch's and society's right to women's services.

The book is eminently successful in its stated purpose; it should be read by any historian interested in comparative political history, in gender identities, and in discourse analysis. The depth of the analysis (of

which the above can give only a very superficial idea) derives from the linkage of politics and discourse. This multifaceted linkage, and the book's comparative rigor, demonstrate the benefits of a true mastery of two countries' primary sources. The book is also—necessarily, given its scope—terse; one wishes for further exploration of interesting points. One such is the tension between the liberal free market and political system, on the one hand, and the family and work ideals of guilds, bourgeois, and farmers on the other; this might explain the silence on women's paid work as servants and agricultural workers. Another concerns different types of masculinity. German liberal parties were underpinned by associations wed to a warrior-type masculinity; the Swedish left depended on temperance and evangelical organizations. These, as Kulawik notes, had an alternative masculine ideal. This alternative proved politically potent: the Swedish left, both male and female, attacked upper-class men as drunken, violent, and eugenically irresponsible. Such competing masculinities bear further investigation. Finally, it would be pleasant to get beyond the idea that gender identities are constructed, economic interests given. It might be interesting to investigate the degree to which class identities obfuscated gender agendas.

Rolf Torstendahl's anthology discusses the postwar German and Swedish states' gender-specific welfare. The essays range from analyses of Sweden's party ideologies and electoral maneuvers, Swedish feminist bureaucratic activity, and Swedish state education programs to feminists' campaign against West Germany's masculinist civil service and meaty reviews of East (GDR) and West German (FRG) labor and family policies. (I particularly recommend Wiebke Kolbe's study of West German welfare, the one contribution that is explicitly comparative.) In each case, bureaucrats and parties faced common challenges: labor market shortages, feminist pressures, and new patterns of family formation. These resulted in attempts to bring women into the labor market, to socialize some of the functions of the family, and to change attitudes and legislation on gender roles. The GDR's labor market and family socialization policies were earliest and most advanced, if relatively unsuccessful in altering attitudes toward male parents and female careers. Swedish feminist groups and labor market administration influenced media and parties in an ambitious bid to use legislation and propaganda to redefine parental as well as labor market roles. The FRG was more conservative, long stressing the need to keep mothers at home for the good of society. (These divergences seem to confirm the endurance of Kulawik's models.)

The essays, while attentive to policy formation, are unambitious when it comes to gender theories. Most rely on an uncontroversial normative slant. Torstendahl's brief conclusion summarizes the findings, provides a discussion of the relative autonomy of the bureaucratic state, and discusses the process and extent of ideological change. His conclusions remain

tentative: for example, "it will seem that propaganda may be an important means to change the normative system in society in general in favor of a policy which is desired to be implemented" (p. 231). Despite this, and despite some clumsy English, the contributions are both informative and accessible; the essays on the Germanies, in particular, would be suitable for undergraduate teaching.

A comparison of these essays with Kulawik's prewar analysis highlights both historical and historiographical shifts. The contributors analyze changes in youth culture and ideologies, the explosive rise of new familial structures, and shifts in labor market needs, taxation opportunities, and budget restraints. This relatively class-free model of bottom-up electoral influence, combined with the state as rational manipulator of economic structures, provides a strong contrast to Kulawik's focus on class interests and masculine identities. Whether this reflects a shift in the nature of German and Swedish politics, or a shift in both German and Swedish historiography, is an open question; the answer may lie in a comparative history of the interwar period. I highly recommend both books. Torstendahl's collection provides workmanlike and pedagogically useful analyses, while Kulawik's book bids fair to become a classic in comparative political, gender, and welfare state research.

MADELEINE HURD

Stockholm University College South

N. J. G. POUNDS. *A History of the English Parish: The Culture of Religion from Augustine to Victoria*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxv, 593. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$39.95.

This learned and careful volume by N. J. G. Pounds is distinguished by its subject approach—it looks almost exclusively at the most basic level of the English church, the parish—and by the abundance of its illustrations. The author studies the economic and personnel challenges of the parish and concludes with an account of its failure to meet all its obligations, social, governmental, and religious in the period going from Augustine to Queen Victoria.

Chapter one, entitled "Church and Parish," recalls that the parish, as basic territorial unit of England from the Middle Ages to the late nineteenth century, was large enough to support a church and its clergy and small enough for the parishioners to gather at its focal church. Chapter two studies "Rectors and Vicars: From Gratian to the Reformation" and the change from aristocratic to lay patronage. In chapter three, Pounds considers the evolution of "The Scope of the Parish" to include socially and territorially based institutions. Chapter four analyzes "The Urban Parish" and the sources of its wealth and income.

Chapter five dwells on the various functions of the parish and its servants and the difficulties and deprivations of both rectors and vicars. Chapter six analyzes the economics of the parish: the tithes and the bene-

fices collected from the glebe. Chapter seven correlates the parish and the community, noting, for example, the interconnection of petty crime and the price of wheat.

In chapter eight, Pounds links the parish and the church courts as a mirror of society, arguing that their influence waned in the mid-nineteenth century as they clashed with contemporary views of equity. Chapter nine centers on popular culture and the Reformation and the church's inability to obliterate completely the popular folklore elements of its worship.

Chapter ten describes the parish church and churchyard. It was the only building within the town or the village in which the parishioners could take corporate pride and to which their ancestors had contributed. An average rural cemetery would have seen the burial of six thousand to eight thousand bodies by the late eighteenth century. Pounds illustrates this predicament with a vivid example taken from Kirk Barton (Yorkshire). The cemetery was so full that the sexton often publicly declared that he wanted to put down his spade, but that he was afraid of hitting the old bones and crushing them (p. 423).

Chapter eleven, "The Fabric of the Church," recalls that the medieval Mass was a lovely drama combining bright colors, sound, smell, and ritualized movement. Chapter twelve, "The People's Church: The Nave and the Laity," identifies the nave as the sphere of the parishioner, responsible for its building and upkeep. Here were lodged the parish chest, often containing records; the poor men's box for charitable contributions; and the parish hearse. The greater comfort of pews and benches mirrored the introduction of sermons in the liturgy.

This book as a whole is unquestionably a very learned work, with an incredible amount of references to support its widespread evidence. Its only disadvantage is that it multiplies the many exceptions offered to the main positive affirmations, which interrupt the reading more than is desirable for the reader. With sixty-seven pages of notes, an index of fourteen pages, and a multitude of illustrations and diagrams, this book should be on the bookshelf of any serious scholar of English church history.

HORTON DAVIES

Princeton University

A. N. McLAREN. *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 272. \$54.95.

A. N. McLaren's revisionist work proves once again that even a partial understanding of the political and religious culture of Tudor England cannot be achieved without a sophisticated gender analysis rooted in a careful examination of early modern texts and manuscripts and subsequent historiography. She begins with the prophetic treatises of the 1560s, including that of John Aylmer, who legitimated Elizabeth I's accession

to the imperial crown. Because women were widely believed to hold a status inferior to men as rational human beings, these apologists placed sovereignty in a mixed monarchy composed of lords, commons, and ruler. As queen, Elizabeth was expected to accept counsel from her nobility, who were defined as virtuous male citizens of varying social ranks, coming together as brothers equal in the body of Christ. Their counsel for the good of the Protestant commonwealth was to be conveyed to her, their Deborah, providentially identified with the nation, mostly through Parliament and her privy council. They ultimately ceased to use the word commonwealth interchangeably with common weal to mean the general good; for them, commonwealth came to embody the collective will of male citizens. Viewing Elizabeth as a limited king, they claimed that she was symbolically married to the realm at her coronation and that her authority lay in the office rather than in her person.

Exploiting the weak nature widely attributed to females, which emphasized mercy over justice and relied on love rather than force to win her subjects' obedience, Elizabeth thwarted the wishes of her apologists to further the Reformation. By the 1570s, some of them viewed her as a reprobate because she refused to accept their counsel, which included Edmund Grindal's retention as archbishop of Canterbury and Mary, Queen of Scots's execution. Some, like Laurence Humphrey, postulated a resistance theory, contending that when unqualified obedience to a monarch endangered true religion, the deposition of that ruler became acceptable. To exert pressure on her to accept their wise counsel, even her most trusted privy councilors turned to Parliament. Some parliamentarians, like Peter Wentworth, who increasingly viewed themselves as royal advisers and not simply as representatives of their localities, argued for the enactment of laws in spite of her opposition to them.

By the 1580s, in reaction to this extremism, a new political alignment emerged that no longer authenticated a commonwealth of godly men bridling a queen but that validated the sovereign capacity of the monarch counseled by a few male advisers whose virtue was defined as loyalty to the crown. By insisting on her possession of imperial power that was equal to her father's, Elizabeth seems to have increased her political autonomy.

McLaren is the first to identify Sir Thomas Smith's book, *De Republica Anglorum* (1581), which was not published until four years after his death, as the text for this changing scenario. Composed in 1565, its author, who probably also wrote *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, which has been attributed to John Hale and William Stafford, seems to have intended to bolster the work of the apologists for limited female rule. With extensive emendation of some of *De Republica's* more ambiguous language, royal supporters relied on it in the 1580s to confirm Elizabeth's stronger monarchical presence and the male counsel's more limited role. It is inter-

esting that Smith legitimated her accession on the basis of her blood and not on the recognition of her as Deborah.

A consequence of her accession was that monarchical rule in England generally would remain somewhat problematic. In the 1580s, most men agreed to legitimate a queen regnant in the expectation that ultimately a godly king would replace her. Furthermore, the apologists' philosophy would be resurrected with a vengeance. McLaren draws parallels between this philosophy and that of the leaders who effected the execution of Charles I, grandson to Mary, Queen of Scots.

This fascinating and complex study contains summaries at the end of each chapter, as well as a final concluding section. Although they provide useful guides, they do give the book a somewhat repetitive nature. This is a minor point, however, for McLaren demonstrates vividly the widespread male anxiety, held even by Elizabeth's most trusted privy councilors, to the female possession of imperial power; this was "the wild card of gender" (p. 90), indeed.

RETHA M. WARNICKE
Arizona State University

ALEXANDRA WALSHAM. *Providence in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xvi, 387. \$85.00.

This is a brilliant book by an outstanding young scholar. Alexandra Walsham is the author of the excellent *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (1993). Since its publication, she has expanded and refined her ideas in a series of important articles on Catholicism and anti-Catholicism in Elizabethan and early Stuart England.

Walsham here offers a contribution to two wider debates: on the cultural repercussions of the English Reformation and the transition from oral and pictorial modes of communication to modes deeply influenced by and dependent on print. More specifically, she wishes to suggest that providentialism—a belief in supernatural intervention in human affairs that helps to explain perplexing or threatening events—was not primarily the concern of a "godly" minority (as Keith Thomas had implied) but part of the mainstream of early modern English culture. Nor was it a single idea but a "cluster" or "compound" of presuppositions, rooted as much in oral as academic tradition and in medieval exempla as much as in Calvinist predestinarianism. Moreover, the fact that these presuppositions took varying forms meant that it could act as a "cultural cement," a form of cultural brokerage that, through cross-fertilization and interaction rather than top-down instruction, helped to bond a collective Protestant consciousness from very different elements, old and new, elite and popular, "godly" and ungodly, and thus anchored the Reformation firmly in England.

In chapter one, the author explores the ideology of

providentialism in Calvinist theology, preaching, and popular print. In the next three chapters, she examines the ways in which contemporaries saw divine providence at work in sudden deaths and spectacular punishments, in public calamities, and in prodigies and portents. In chapter five she suggests that England's deliverance from the Spanish Armada in 1588 and the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 encouraged the emergence of a powerful myth of a Protestant nation protected by divine providence; and in chapter six, she examines the regular jeremiads delivered by early Stuart preachers at St Paul's Cross, just outside the cathedral, in which, like Old Testament prophets, they warned Londoners of the dangers of incurring divine wrath if they persisted in their sinful lifestyles.

In a short review, it is not possible to do full justice to the variety of sources used—from scholarly theological tomes through sermons and anthologies of cautionary stories such as Thomas Beard's *the Theatre of Gods Judgments* to the flimsiest pamphlets and ballads by “ten-groat rhymers”—or to the subtlety of the way in which the interpenetration of ideas and images in these works is explored. Walsham is also much too careful and honest a historian to try to paper over the tensions that existed between Calvinist theology and many popular beliefs, or the problems posed by the plural and potentially contradictory meanings of ballad texts. Indeed, if there is a criticism, it is not of the skill with which the central thesis is pursued but of the firmness of the conclusion that what resulted was a growing rapprochement between, on the one side, a “godly” clergy ready to “exploit” and “accommodate” popular ideas, and, on the other, the people at whom their ideas were targeted. If the cautionary stories in a work like Beard's *Theatre*—which held a position half-way between late medieval moralism and new Protestant orthodoxy—could (as the author admits) be used and interpreted in one way by the zealous clergy and informed laity but in quite another by others who lived “in complete ignorance, even pelagian negation” of high Calvinist soteriology (p. 195), then we may ask whether providentialism operated not as a cultural cement but as a shared frontier that looked and functioned very differently according to where contemporaries stood. Furthermore, if one looks at a variety of other widely disseminated contemporary texts, such as godly living and godly dying manuals, catechisms, and cheap printed works of a less sensational nature, one finds a surprising dearth of providentialism, perhaps indicating that the shared frontier may have been limited in length and duration.

IAN GREEN
Queen's University Belfast

DAVID ZARET. *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions, and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England*. (Princeton Studies in Cultural Sociology.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 291. \$45.00.

After the abundance of books on the public sphere that have been published in recent years, historians could be forgiven for thinking that everything worthwhile had been said on the subject. David Zaret's new work proves that such a conclusion would be premature. Zaret, a sociologist, brings the perspective of his profession to bear on the topic. His book is significant because it takes clear aim at three issues of major importance: the chronology of the public sphere, and in particular of its origin; the character of the public sphere; and the public sphere's interpretation in modern social science. In all three respects, Zaret has provocative and challenging things to say, and even those who disagree with his conclusions will find this a powerful work.

First, Zaret wants to situate the origin of the public sphere not in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as have Jürgen Habermas and most of his followers, but in the early and mid-seventeenth century. Making this change involves altering the kind of story we tell as well as its chronology. Now, the public sphere arises less from entirely novel social phenomena like coffee houses, and more from the effect of London's printing craft—a craft that was some 150 years old by the time Charles I fell—on communicative practices that were themselves thoroughly traditional. Zaret sets himself the prime task of tracing this transforming process. He provides a painstaking reconstruction of political communication in Renaissance England, covering the period from the introduction of the press to the onset of civil war. His central interest is in the practice of petitioning, which he takes to exemplify a political culture directed to central authority. The practice allowed petitioners to “enter a privileged communicative space,” Zaret explains, where secrecy actually encouraged a certain freedom to comment on matters of politics and public conduct. But in the 1640s, petitions began to be widely distributed and to make appeal to the views of a public. They also began to urge that those views should legitimately influence the actions of king and Parliament. Although the change was in turn unperceived, roundly denied, and actively repudiated by the very people bringing it about—something Zaret calls “the paradox of innovation”—it nevertheless soon became permanent. A shift in communicative practice thus brought about the social reality of a public sphere long before its cultural character was ever recognized.

Zaret's account hangs on a portrait of “print culture” that emphasizes not so much its capacity for fixity or veracity—though these are present—but its intimate dependence on competition and controversy. It was the printers' need for controversy, he insists, that led the printing revolution to facilitate a revolution in political culture. Quite simply, printers depended on continuing public debate to sustain their undercapitalized workshops, so they spurred the production of petitions, pamphlets, and newspapers as a matter of self-preservation. The result was an unending dialectic—not at all the ordered realm of print that histori-

ans have often assumed to have existed, but instead a riot of chaotic meanings, in which no truth survived unscathed. This is what changed so profoundly even traditional practices, petitioning being Zaret's key example. It was the printers' community that created the public sphere *avant la lettre*.

That it is even possible to imagine a public sphere *avant la lettre* underlines Zaret's second point. His idea of the public sphere is different from those of most recent historians. He sees it as first and foremost an objective social reality: first, in the sense that this reality existed before anyone articulated it; and foremost, in the sense that nobody could have articulated it without its prior existence. In this he reflects not so much the views of the Enlightenment's most renowned protagonists as the practices of a multitude of now little-known practitioners of political communication in preceding generations. His key players are not John Locke and Immanuel Kant but a medley of citizens and subjects who sought to affect their own world by printing and petitioning alike. Of course, he is not alone in proclaiming the importance of this group: historians like Robert Darnton have built their careers on analyzing its role. Yet Zaret surely has a point when he argues that in social scientists' accounts of the public sphere, at least, its importance is often neglected.

Having said that, Zaret sometimes runs into problems in dealing with the perspectives of his actors. For example, he is content to speak of Archbishop John Whitgift denouncing Puritans' attempts, in Zaret's words, to "manipulate the appearance of public opinion"—this being some half a century before, even on his own account, public opinion can really be said to have existed. And an example like that suggests a more general critique of Zaret's perspective. It could be said that the public sphere was never an objective institution like, say, parliamentary elections. It was always substantially a representation: one crucially intertwined with social practices, it is true, but nonetheless one that was as much cultural as social. Historians who emphasize its cultural history, accordingly, are not making a mistake, or at least they are not making a simple mistake. On the contrary, they are acknowledging that this is a case where (as Thomas Hobbes might have put it) the representation of a thing's power in large part was its power. This may in turn partly explain why Zaret's book exhibits such unease about the "paradox of innovation" involved in the mid-century invention of the public sphere. Indeed, he is reduced to calling his topic not invention, but "invention," in inverted commas. This awkward circumlocution is made necessary only because his approach neglects the cultural half of the story. And, worse, his account of the process by which men and women subsequently came to recognize the practical reality as a public sphere, and thereby to resolve the paradox, is thoroughly old-fashioned and disappointingly skimpy. It consists of little more than a few offhand references

to the publicizing of experimental science and natural religion in the era of Locke and Isaac Newton.

All this may amount to saying that Zaret has stopped short of realizing the full potential of his own questions. In the end, despite changing its chronology and its analytic focus, he rests content with the standard Habermasian trajectory that we all use: the one that proceeds from court culture to public culture to mass culture, in that order. This being so, early modern political communication must have been based either on appeals to the courtly center (as in early petitioning), or on the public sphere. In the scheme of things, there is simply nothing else it could have been, whatever the views of actors at the time. But, with so much else bravely jettisoned, why retain this restrictive scheme, which after all owes as much to twentieth-century social understandings as it does to seventeenth-century ones? Closer examination of, and greater fidelity to, actors' categories in that crucial mid-century period might have allowed Zaret to qualify our standard narrative in a much more radical fashion. Interestingly, Zaret's own evidence about petitioning sometimes testifies against him in this respect. His evidence reveals that even in the early period petitioning was often not, in fact, directed exclusively at the center but rather was intended to have local as well as courtly impact. This could have been used to question the character of what preceded the public sphere, as well as the public sphere itself. But what Zaret does is to endorse actors' rhetoric in the earlier period *despite* their practice, and then discount it in the later one *because* of their practice. The inconsistency is itself a measure of the tenacity of our standard story.

The third respect in which this book matters, however, is precisely that it allows us to raise such fundamental questions. It is, as Zaret clearly intended, an exemplary study, showing how historical research can fully inform the perspective of a social scientist. Its introductory chapter alone is a model of how to articulate a monograph's subject and approach, marrying the need for historical sensitivity with the requirement to provide a thesis that is consequential as well as merely correct. The book itself is full of telling evidential details, cited without fanfare, that cumulatively show how an unusually perceptive author can use such nuances to fine-tune our larger stories about the past. Both sociologists and historians can read it with immense profit.

ADRIAN JOHNS

California Institute of Technology [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

JOSEPH M. LEVINE. *Between the Ancients and the Moderns: Baroque Culture in Restoration England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 279. \$40.00.

In *The Battle of the Books: History and Literature in the Augustan Age* (1991), Joseph M. Levine provided a thorough and up-to-date account of a well-known episode in the history of ideas: the later seventeenth-century controversy over values and intellectual standards in which partisans of classical antiquity like Sir William Temple (and later Jonathan Swift) clashed with defenders of modern achievement like William Wotton and the philologist Richard Bentley. In the present work, Levine complements that account of controversy with a study of the broader cultural ambivalence that characterized the age's continuing orientation toward the achievements of the ancients.

Arranged as a series of four "parallel lives," the book explores a common preoccupation with the relationship between the ancient and modern worlds in the diverse careers and endeavors of four Restoration intellectuals: the diarist and virtuoso John Evelyn, the critic and poet laureate John Dryden, the exiled aristocrat Charles de Saint-Évremond, and the architect Christopher Wren. Tracing the many influences and projects led each of these figures to repeated reflection on the ancient/modern divide, Levine lays particular stress on the ways in which each exemplifies a number of paradoxes and contradictions. Thus Evelyn, whose appreciation of antiquity derived from the Earl of Arundel's collections and was expressed in his own translations of Roland Fréart's pro-ancient treatises on painting and architecture, became a frequent contributor to Royal Society proceedings and numbered among his friends the most vociferous of moderns, Wotton and Bentley. Dryden, who began his career defending such "modern" literary inventions as the rhymed heroic play, inclined increasingly, as he became disenchanted with the contemporary stage, toward the *ancienneté* reflected in his many later translations from the classics. Saint-Évremond, nothing short of a contortionist in his responses to the problem, praised Pierre Corneille, who was accused of being a modern—but on the grounds of his fidelity to the ancients. Wren, an astronomer and member of the Royal Society who proceeded to modernize London on the basis of classical example, became in the eyes of such later classical "purists" as the neo-Palladian Earl of Burlington or the Greek revivalists a symbol of the excesses of baroque modernity.

A number of key perceptions emerge from these fine-grained and richly documented studies: a sense of the elastic and unstable definitions of the terms "ancient" and "modern" in the period; a sense of the genuinely provisional and open-ended nature of the debate in the eyes of many contemporaries (Levine here offers a salutary antidote to such earlier "triumphalist" accounts of scientific modernity as R. F. Jones's *Ancients and Moderns: A Study of the Rise of the Scientific Movement in Seventeenth-Century England* [2 ed., 1961]); an awareness of the larger parameters that made unequivocal decision on the matter impossible ("if the practical limit to *ancienneté* in this period was servile imitation, then the practical limit to modernity

was the conviction of a timeless reason and good taste," p. 142); and a fine appreciation for the embattled judiciousness of thinkers who tried "to combine a decent respect for antiquity with a due recognition of the claims of modernity" (p. 148).

Citing Geoffrey Webb's 1947 observation that "the opposition between the authority of antiquity and modern freedom is the first condition of the baroque" (p. 185), Levine suggests that the intellectual tensions created in attempts to balance antiquity and modernity were characteristic of the age. If there is a shortcoming in Levine's book, it is his failure to explain why this should be so, or, to put it another way, why the issue should have mattered as intensely as it did. Least satisfactory in this regard is his whiggish and rather old-fashioned suggestion that the whole debate was the unnecessary result of ignorance and misunderstanding: "What was lacking to both [sides] was a truly relative historical sensibility—modernity in our sense" (p. 142). This is perhaps to underestimate the extent to which relativism was also modernity in *their* sense, for the "relativism" that created the new human "sciences" was in many ways itself the essence of the controversy. The real challenge and danger of the "modernist" position was not the absurdity of the scientific idea of progress as applied to the humanities but the kind of thinking (exemplified in Wotton and to some extent in the skepticism of Dryden and Saint-Évremond) that freed natural science from the bondage of ancient thinking at the price of consigning the whole sphere of human value—the hitherto timeless and normatively binding realm of law, morals, literature—to a scientifically calibrated cultural "relativism."

LAWRENCE MANLEY
Yale University

RACHEL WEIL. *Political Passions: Gender, The Family and Political Argument in England, 1680–1714*. (Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 1999. Pp. ix, 262. \$79.95.

Restoration Whigs and Tories talked a good deal about marriage, inheritance, and the limits of authority, employing stories of disobedient children and tyrannical husbands to inform and reinforce their political arguments. In her linked case studies of political discourse during the Restoration, Rachel Weil dissects the rhetorical strategies, ideological divisions, and agreements between and among Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites when they asserted ideas about gender, marriage, and the family. Weil's attention to the role of gender in political argument seeks to bring this rhetorical obsession with domesticity to the attention of both political and feminist historians. In addition, she engages broader issues of women and liberalism, and particularly the implications of political modernity on the status of women, by challenging two narrative frameworks that speak to the question of women's progress in the eighteenth century. The first

narrative, posited by Lawrence Stone in *The Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500–1800* (1977), asserts a whiggish story of women who, along with rest of English society, move steadily in the direction of greater equality and individual liberty, due in part to the Revolution of 1688–1689 and the demise of patriarchalism. Second, Weil questions what she calls the “anti-liberal feminist case,” best exemplified by Carol Pateman and historians Sarah Maza and Lynn Hunt. Pateman and others have claimed that political liberalism did little to alter the status of women and that patriarchalism offered women greater protection and political influence which they lost in the course of the eighteenth century.

Weil’s study begins with a close analysis of late seventeenth-century discourses on the family, inheritance, Filmerian patriarchalism, and the limits of husbandly authority. She is particularly concerned with the Whig political perspective, which both promoted the liberty of women as individuals while simultaneously seeking to relieve male anxieties about female power. Weil asserts that “despite the bad reputation of whig political theory amongst some feminist scholars, it did have the potential to subvert patriarchal structures by putting the questions of power in the family onto the agenda of political argument” (p. 79).

Weil then focuses on questions of female power and authority within marriage, family, and affairs of state during the Glorious Revolution. Weil’s most fascinating piece here is on the politics of the “warming-pan scandal,” the Whig propaganda ploy that a supposititious baby had been secreted into Mary of Modena’s bedchamber as she pretended to give birth. The scandal gave women the opportunity to speak with authority on a matter of crucial concern: legitimacy and hereditary succession. Conversely, it demonstrated the potential power of women to deceive husbands and foist bastards on them. Weil believes that the scandal raised questions about the power of women without resolving them.

Weil also examines the Tory feminism of Mary Astell and Mary Delarivière Manley and concludes with fresh perspectives on Queen Anne and the Duchess of Marlborough. The petticoat politics and bedchamber intrigues of Anne and her female favorites have often loomed large in narratives of her reign. In her study of the images of Queen Anne and the rhetorical devices used by Sarah Churchill, Weil demonstrates how paradigms of feminine behavior attributed, explained, and apologized for the actions of these women. Even a woman as clever as Churchill could not win the battle to construct the legacy of her relationship with the queen in purely political terms. Instead, following her dismissal, both Whigs and Tories treated the tie between Sarah and the queen as personal and private and hence less significant or threatening.

Weil concludes that both Whigs and Tories had “multiple ideologies of gender” (p. 231) and that neither offered anything better for women than the other. Weil does not believe that the presence of

gender in late Stuart discourse signals a crisis in gender relations but instead has everything to do with the political divisions and uncertainties of those years. Tropes about family life were used to bolster essentially political arguments, a point she might have made in the introduction. Thus, neither Whig liberalism (as in Stone’s framework) nor Tory patriarchalism (Pateman’s) can be said to have helped or hindered the progress of women.

While it is to her credit that Weil is a cautious historian, it is frustrating that her careful analysis never bears more tantalizing fruit. Moreover, debunking Stone is hardly a triumph, and the “anti-liberal feminist” narrative has always seemed to fit French history far better than English. Still, Weil’s essays are of considerable value; she is a master at deconstructing rhetorical strategies, and her work thoroughly illuminates both the differences and the commonalities between Whigs and Tories on the subject of women and family.

MELINDA S. ZOOK
Purdue University

JEREMY GREGORY. *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660–1828: Archbishops of Canterbury and Their Diocese*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 355. \$74.00.

Jeremy Gregory’s fine study of the archdiocese of Canterbury over the “long eighteenth century” is a self-consciously revisionist one that sets out to contest received notions about stagnation and tepidity in the life of the Church of England. Sandwiched between the (to historians) more alluring Reformation and Victorian periods, the religion of England’s Old Regime has been relatively neglected, a distortion compounded by the partisanship of denominational historians from the nineteenth century onward as well as the tendency, in some quarters, to base assessments of the clergy on the pages of Henry Fielding, Jane Austen, and Anthony Trollope. Gregory’s is not a lone voice; he adds to a growing chorus of work attempting to rehabilitate the eighteenth-century church. Much of this takes its bearings from J. C. D. Clark’s influential study, *English Society, 1688–1832* (1985), but Gregory takes issue with Clark’s impression of an effortless Anglican hegemony as an adjunct of a more general eighteenth-century “stability.” Gregory’s churchmen, from archbishop to curate, work hard to maintain their privileged status.

The book surveys in turn the personnel of the church, its economic roles, and its relations with wider society. Among clergy at all levels, Gregory finds evidence of a growing professionalization (or “socio-cultural group formation”) at odds with the prevalent image of the eighteenth-century “squarson.” Cathedral dignitaries, and the archbishops themselves, were notably unaristocratic, and a significant number of parish incumbents had worked their way up through the

ranks: over one-third had served as curates by the early nineteenth century. They were, moreover, an increasingly articulate group (twelve percent of late eighteenth-century clergy had works in print), displaying various political allegiances. Gregory disputes Linda Colley's assertion that parsons were quintessentially Tories. In its financial management, the church appears as a generous and charitable landlord. Tithes were paid without much protest, and there was considerable success in persuading the laity to contribute to the repair of churches. "Anticlericalism" is significantly absent from Gregory's index. In relations with nonconformist rivals, tolerance and compromise were the rule. Huguenots were made welcome, as in their turn were French Catholic refugees after 1789. In general, Gregory tries to blur the boundaries between Anglicanism and dissent. There was considerable overlap in attendance at church and meetinghouse, and the development of nonconformity as a distinctive cultural tradition was a slow process. "Latitudinarianism" is defined less as a theological stance than as "the willingness of the clergy to get on with dissenters" (p. 211). Against the alleged pastoral failures of the church, Gregory sets the considerable evidence of thorough visitation procedures, encouragement of parochial libraries, and regular catechizing.

Cumulatively, all this makes a telling case for reassessment, although in places Gregory seems quite determined to think the best. When we are told, for example, that archiepiscopal nepotism may have improved diocesan administration, or that the prevalence of clerical parochial dynasties provided a welcome sense of continuity between parishioners and clergy, one suspects an element of special pleading. Rather more problematic is Gregory's insistence on a new historiographical framework and revised periodization to accommodate his perception that the ideology and priorities of eighteenth-century Anglicanism belong squarely to "the Reformation era." The identification of the ethical rigorism of such bodies as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) with a continuing "puritan" tradition begs some questions, as does the suggestion (p. 289) that sixteenth-century reformers were furthering "Anglicanism," a term (and associated set of resonances) not current until well into the seventeenth century. While the release of "the English Reformation" from a mid-sixteenth-century straitjacket has been a welcome development in recent historiography, the addition of a further two centuries might be thought to lead to its attenuation as a meaningful historical construct, if not its complete collapse into the perennial struggle of clerical elites to combat sin and ignorance. Ironically, Gregory's account of the pastoral aims and methods of the Anglican clergy evokes a readier comparison with their contemporaries of the later Counter Reformation, who were similarly engaged in an attempt "to replace social and communal criteria for orthodoxy with individual and internal definitions founded on educated understanding" (p. 286).

Yet approaching this territory inevitably exposes the limitations of an institutional study, albeit a sensitively contextualized one. In surveying the pastoral and educational endeavors of the clergy, Gregory is to an extent forced to take them at their own assessment, and admits that it is difficult to ascertain how parishioners responded. The evident failure to inculcate the habit of regular communion among the laity is worth reflecting on in this context. The ability to focus such questions, however, is a reflection of this book's ambition and qualities. It will be essential reading for serious students of the eighteenth-century English church.

PETER MARSHALL
University of Warwick

HANNAH BARKER. *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Clarendon Press Oxford University. 1998. Pp. viii, 202. \$65.00.

The English are a nation of newspaper readers. The daily habit of perusing the press has helped to shape their sense of themselves as a people. English newspapers claim to speak to a national audience, which in most other countries would be presumptuous. Paradoxically, they assume that readers are at once reasonably objective and fiercely partisan. How were such assumptions born? Did the reading public create English newspapers, or did English newspapers create the reading public?

Hannah Barker's book gives rise to this last question. She is concerned with the relationship between the English newspaper press and its readers in the late eighteenth century. Previous scholarship by Michael Harris, Robert Harris, Jeremy Black, and others has concentrated on the first sixty years of the century, an age of organized political parties, when the periodical press interacted with politics in dynamic, sometimes explosive, ways. The history of newspapers in the period after 1760 remains influenced by an older interpretation that saw them simply as the mouthpieces of factions rather than as attempts to address a broad audience. Although John Brewer cast doubt on this approach twenty-five years ago, it has been left to Barker to put it gently to rest. She shows that newspapers in the late eighteenth century, like those of earlier decades, were commercial ventures that attracted readers by putting their opinions (or what were thought to be their opinions) into print. Her book is carefully structured, with three chapters on newspaper readership and politics in London followed by three similar chapters on the provincial press. She pays special attention to the reform campaigns of the early 1780s, particularly Christopher Wyvill's Yorkshire Association.

This is not an exciting work, but it is a meticulous and judicious contribution to our understanding of the culture of print. Barker examines the business of newspaper publishing—circulation figures, advertising

revenues, distribution networks, editorial strategies, and profits—more broadly and systematically than any previous historian. Her graphs depicting the circulation and income sources of the *London Gazetteer* and *Public Advertiser* will be pored over by researchers. She uses contemporary cartoons to illustrate how newspapers were passed around among groups of readers. Building on Christine Y. Ferdinand's recent study of Benjamin Collins, owner of the *Salisbury Journal*, as well as on archival sources, Barker surveys the structure of the provincial press. She concludes that in London, the audience of merchants, tradesmen, and professionals was wider and more socially varied than in the provinces, where it consisted mainly of freeholders and clergy. It would be interesting to know whether this held true of larger provincial towns like Newcastle or Bristol. In any case, newspapers throughout England, according to Barker, catered to what were perceived as the views of the public and were responsive to shifts in opinion among readers. Her chapters on the impact of reform reinforce these observations, but they are less engaging than the rest of the book and indicate the need for an updated general study of the Yorkshire Association.

Barker does not have much to say about techniques of reading or the interaction between print and reader. Roger Chartier is not mentioned. Only in the concluding chapter does the author give attention to Jürgen Habermas's hypothesis about the creation of a "public sphere." She finds his pan-European approach to be "shaky," mainly because the newspaper press in England had greater liberty and more political impact than in France. The implied contrast between England and the rest of Europe may itself be a bit shaky. The practice of newspaper reading set the English apart from the French, but there were 189 newspapers published in Germany by 1789, and at 30,000 copies, the circulation of the *Hamburg Correspondent* dwarfed that of any English paper. The spread of newspapers, however, was no sure sign of political liberty. The Danes, who lived under an authoritarian monarchy, read great numbers of newspapers; the Dutch, who were famous for the freedom of their press, did not. In England, government prosecution of newspaper publishers was not unknown, even after the demise of general warrants, and censorship became more rigid under the Newspaper Publication Act of 1798. While an active and popular press made politicians more sensitive to public opinion, it did not transform eighteenth-century England into a democracy. When the government chose to clamp down on newspapers, few legal impediments stood in its way.

PAUL MONOD
Middlebury College

MARK W. WEATHERALL. *Gentlemen, Scientists and Doctors: Medicine at Cambridge 1800–1940*. (The History of the University of Cambridge: Texts and Studies, numbers 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2000. Pp. x, 341. \$90.00.

Mark W. Weatherall starts his detailed account of medicine at Cambridge in the early eighteenth century, at a time when the medical faculty was small and marginal. Although the number of matriculated medical students increased in the 1820s, it soon fell to an average of four or five per year. The book follows the ups and downs through 140 years and pays as much attention to the downs as the ups. Most earlier studies of medicine in Cambridge have focused on the success of the medical sciences in the early decades of the twentieth century, whereas they have glossed over the failure of the clinical school in the same period. Weatherall, by contrast, analyzes the clinical school in no less detail than the successful medical sciences. Indeed, he argues convincingly that the two developments were closely connected. The medical sciences thrived at the expense of clinical medicine.

The informative and massively documented study is basically a social history of medicine and medical science. Although it does not totally neglect the content of medical research, the emphasis is clearly on the educational, political, ideological, and economic aspects. The book includes information about funding, patronage, and institutional politics, much of which is based on university archives and minutes from committee meetings. These are often neglected in history of science and medicine, but according to Weatherall committee meetings are the very "crucible of academic medicine" (p. 6). In most histories of academic institutions, students do not figure or are relegated to statistical data. It is to be welcomed that Weatherall takes the student population seriously and devotes an entire chapter to it. He examines their motives for coming to Cambridge, their social life, and how they assumed a collective identity within a university environment that was basically hostile to medical students.

One of the book's general themes, running through many of the chapters, is the often strained relationship between science and medicine, and between medical science and clinical medicine. Weatherall shows in fascinating details how the two cultures of medicine and science diverged and fought to control what they considered their natural domains within the university system. Already in the 1880s, chemists took over the pharmaceutical portion of the medical curriculum, and later the physiologists began to control pharmacology. Although few clinicians dismissed science altogether, many were concerned about the delicate balance between science and medicine; they saw science as a potential threat that might one day dominate medicine rather than be its servant.

Closely connected with the tensions between science and medicine, from about 1880 medical science at Cambridge emerged as a field that was intellectually and economically independent of clinical medicine. The rise of Cambridge medical science is a success story, involving several Nobel laureates. Weatherall tells it as a story of how the scientists gradually appropriated teaching and research programs that were previously oriented toward clinical medicine.

Among his examples are pathology, sanitary science, bacteriology, and immunology. In Weatherall's account, control over resources is key. As he shows, the issue of control—intellectual as well as political and economic—was at the heart of many of the tensions and disputes that occurred in the period from 1880 to 1940. It is an issue that is as important today as it was in the past.

The book under review is an excellent example of contextual history of medicine and the first time medicine at Cambridge is critically analyzed in such depth. Perhaps the many details tend to blur the main themes. I miss a summarizing chapter in which these themes are discussed and compared with those found in other institutional studies. Because the focus of the book is on the contexts of Cambridge medicine and medical science, rather than their contents, the author misses the opportunity to investigate how social and institutional changes affected the research done by the Cambridge medical scientists. It is also somewhat surprising that Weatherall keeps so narrowly to the local environment and does not to a larger extent compare the development at Cambridge with developments elsewhere, in England and abroad. My guess is that a more comparative approach would have resulted in an even richer and more interesting book. These minor complaints apart, the book is both useful and stimulating. It will be of great interest not only to historians of medicine but also to historians of science and higher education.

HELGE KRAGH
Aarhus University,
Denmark

DALE A. JOHNSON. *The Changing Shape of English Nonconformity, 1825–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. 248. \$45.00.

The religious history of modern Britain has been overdetermined by the undeniably secular character of twentieth-century British culture. Historians acknowledge the intense religiosity of the Victorians, for example, but its apprehension is invariably clouded by our awareness of the dramatic decline in British church attendance after World War I. The history of religion even during what was its nineteenth-century heyday has thus been dominated by narratives of decline, with secularization generally presumed to be an inescapable consequence of modernization. Nineteenth-century historiography has, until very recently, been largely preoccupied with identifying more precisely the timing and the mechanisms through which secularization made its way.

These questions have generated much important work. But in focusing so exclusively on the causes of organized religion's eventual decline, we have neglected the study of its nineteenth-century strengths. Moreover, in our efforts to calculate the extent and timing of decline, we have tended to portray religion as a coherent subject, a "thing" whose rise and fall can be

charted rather than a set of practices and beliefs that changed qualitatively as well as quantitatively over time and space. The global resurgence of some of modernity's purported casualties, including the recent revivals of ethnic nationalisms as well as religious fundamentalism, have rendered the historical teleology of modernization an implausible account of change. This has opened up the field of British religious history to a much broader range of questions that allow for a more fully contextualized understanding of Victorian religious life.

Dale A. Johnson's book is a richly detailed analysis of a crucial and neglected chapter of Victorian religious history: the educational preparation of the Nonconformist ministry. Nonconformists (that is to say, Protestants who worshiped outside the established Church of England) were an increasingly vital presence in Victorian society. Their embrace of evangelicalism (with the exception of the Unitarians and most Quakers) breathed new life into what had previously been socially isolated and politically marginalized sects. Nonconformists were prominent in the most influential philanthropic and reform movements of the nineteenth century, including the antislavery movement, the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts, the temperance movement, and campaigns for franchise reform as well as church disestablishment, which were financially dependent on the largesse of an increasingly wealthy laity. Some of the nation's richest men (Titus Salt, Samuel Morley, Sir Francis Crossley, H. J. Wilson, Edward Baines, Albert Spicer, Henry Wills) were ardent Nonconformists. Their collective clout was further enhanced by the increase in Nonconformist numbers resulting from the Evangelical Revival; the 1851 census revealed that at least half of the nation's churchgoers attended Nonconformist chapels. The nineteenth century witnessed, in short, the movement of Nonconformity from the social and political margins to the mainstream.

Given Nonconformity's considerable contemporary influence, it is surprising that we know so little about the intellectual formation of its clerical leadership. Johnson's book is a welcome contribution in this regard, attending as it does to the evolution of the institutions in which the Nonconformist ministry was prepared. The transformation of the Dissenting academies into theological colleges was an important agent in the transformation of the Nonconformist ministry over the course of the nineteenth century, from a primarily evangelical or missionary vocation to a more pastoral and educative profession. Evangelical success generated settled congregations of an increasingly prosperous and educated character. Second and third-generation congregations required from the pulpit intellectual sustenance sufficient to maintain their faith rather than extemporaneous performances designed to inspire the nonbeliever. Advanced theological training was increasingly regarded as crucial to a minister's qualifications, although a vocal minority feared that the emphasis on education would stifle

spiritual inspiration. The establishment of theological seminaries continued nonetheless and resulted in the creation of a full-time professoriate whose energies were invariably directed at theological production. And this professoriate responded with energy and creativity to the intellectual ferment of the day (Biblical criticism is deemed less significant here than a larger shift in the very grounds on which religious authority rested).

Ministerial attention was diverted, according to Johnson, from the mechanics of inspiring conversions to the intellectual pillars on which faith rested—from questions about how to convert to those concerned with why we believe and in what. Following the lead of contemporary traditionalists who bemoaned these innovations as a weakening of the faith, a number of historians have portrayed the resulting theological innovations as capitulations to secularization and as precipitants of Nonconformity's impending numerical decline. Johnson rightly encourages us not to jump the gun, maintaining that Nonconformity's theologians recast Christian faith in vibrant and viable ways. Indeed, Nonconformity's subsequent malaise may well have been the consequence not of a failure of imagination but of a significant theological achievement. In the faith-based Christianity they constructed, Nonconformist theologians contributed to the emergent ecumenical movement. But by uniting Christians across denominational divides, the new theology rendered Nonconformist practice less distinctive, its observance less necessary.

SUSAN THORNE
Duke University

JOHN MARTIN. *The Development of Modern Agriculture: British Farming since 1931*. Foreword by TOM BLUNDELL. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xvii, 236. \$69.95.

Over the past seventy years, British farming has experienced several ups and downs of prosperity. The owners of the land, especially when it is used for growing cereals, have gained most from the ups. Consumers have gained least, although the British public seems astonishingly unaware or unconcerned about the cost of food and the negative environmental impact of farming. John Martin's book charts the fluctuations in agriculture's fortunes, concentrating on the government intervention and protectionism that has shaped the sector not merely since the depressed years of the 1930s but during those very years.

At that time, the government broke with British Free Trade tradition and formed marketing boards for several commodities. It also took steps to encourage wheat production. Although this mainly meant that wheat replaced other cereals, without expanding the tilled area overall, agriculture was not permitted entirely to float away on the currents of world trade. The sector thus did not shrink quite as much in the 1930s as is usually thought, and there was no enormous reser-

voir of unused capacity to be taken up when World War II dawned. The most interesting findings in the book concern productivity during the war, which was the subject of Martin's doctoral thesis. He reveals a multiplicity of ways in which the achievement of wartime agriculture has been inflated; after all, sixty writers were engaged at the time on promoting the food production campaign.

Temporary agricultural support provided during World War I had been ended early in the subsequent peace. After World War II, Britain found it inexpedient to withdraw support. The country could not feed itself, and the only sizeable source of imports, the United States, demanded hard currency for them. Having shouldered the burden of the war, Britain was in no position to pay up: it suffered a dollar crisis. Taxpayer support for farming was therefore forthcoming in the form of the Agriculture Act (1947), since which date the level of feather-bedding has sometimes varied, and the preferred bureaucratic targets for price support, subsidies, and so forth have often altered, but the general principle has never been reversed. Despite the fact that food had long since ceased to be scarce, support was greatly enhanced when Britain joined the Common Market in 1972. This was an enormous boon for the farm sector, although not all farmers were able to take full advantage of the protectionist bonanza known as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Rich arable farmers were the most conspicuous winners, especially when they possessed their own land. Today this requires British consumers to pay about fifty percent above world market prices for their food and leads to the country being known to gleeful retailers as "Treasure Island." It has also helped induce the production of the economically absurd, but politically intractable, "mountains" of surplus produce that the European Union has accumulated.

Modern sensibilities are also disturbed by the shift in the role of farming. In the 1930s, agriculture was accepted as the guardian of a highly attractive countryside, but through the relentless intensification of its methods it has now become the agent of what the conservation movement sees as irreversible damage to the landscape. Martin quotes Sir Colin Buchanan as noting in 1973, all too presciently, that "the real danger to the countryside now lies in the agricultural community" (p.172). The penultimate chapter accordingly deals with the impact of farming on Britain's natural heritage, a topic consistent with the opinions of a dense urban population for whom the countryside is a backdrop and for whom the conservation of wildlife is probably of greater interest than anything to do with agriculture per se.

Altogether, the results of agricultural protection (high food prices, environmental damage, limited leisure access to the land for ordinary citizens) make an extraordinary story, even an improbable one. Nevertheless, this is what the saga of British agriculture has been about. Martin chronicles the changes in thorough and well-documented detail, making this a useful

source book. He does not, however, always make the most exciting use of his very good material. All told, this is less an original contribution to historical analysis (the work on wartime productivity excepted) than a competent report on the analyses already contained in the literature. Perhaps that is why it has turned out to be largely an industry study that does not always accentuate the consumer's side. What is needed next is an investigation of the anomalous acceptance of farm support by British consumers and taxpayers.

ERIC JONES

University of Melbourne

MARTIN KOLINSKY. *Britain's War in the Middle East. Strategy and Diplomacy, 1936-42*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 308. \$69.95.

This book spans the years immediately preceding World War II to the end of 1942, by which time the external threat to the British position in the Middle East had been beaten off. The advantage of this is that continuities feeding into the war can be readily identified; the disadvantage is that the war itself cannot be assessed as a whole, especially as the book's conclusion does not go very far in providing a wider perspective.

The method adopted by Martin Kolinsky is to devote chapters to the making of British strategic policy during the main chronological sequences, followed up by chapters putting these developments in the contexts of British policies and actions in Palestine and Egypt. At points, attention is also given to the equally complicated situations in French-mandated Syria and "independent" Iraq. The goal is to trace the interaction between war and politics in the locations concerned. This is achieved within the limits of a book devoted largely to strategic and policy questions, so that the exploration of the local societies under the impact of the war is not pursued very far. For example, although Artemis Cooper's book, *Cairo in the War* (1989), is cited in the bibliography, the acute abrasions that developed between British soldiery and key sections of Egyptian society are not integrated into the account.

Several critical themes stand out from the treatment. The problems posed to Britain's position in the Mediterranean by Italian actions after 1935, and how these affected calculations in Whitehall, are well evoked. Kolinsky also effectively conveys the severe challenge posed by the Arab Rebellion in Palestine after 1936. Perhaps more original (if usually implicit rather than explicit in the text) is the degree to which the thinking of British commanders and decision makers after the outbreak of war was shaped by their recall of events between 1914 and 1918. The prejudice against being led by the French into a Balkan offensive whose real utility was doubted; the high premium put by the British on ensuring that this time Turkey remained at least nonbelligerent; the fear of an "administrative disaster" (shades of Mesopotamia in 1915) precipitated by excessive military risks in areas with very limited infrastructures; Winston Churchill's rosy vision

of being once more able to benefit from a "ceaseless stream" of Indian troops moving across the "desert routes" (p. 134) to underpin renewed conquests in the Levant: all these drew on experiences from that earlier occasion.

On several matters, Kolinsky voices strong criticisms, though perhaps the very complicated variables involved might have been deliberated more fully, even if the conclusions remained the same. Kolinsky is very much on Churchill's side in his jousting with Sir Archibald Wavell as commander-in-chief in the Middle East. Yet surely in strictly Middle Eastern terms there was and remains a lot to be said on behalf of the caution that typified both Wavell's political and military judgments. Sir Miles Lampson as high commissioner in Cairo is stringently held to task for not having moved to bring the popular Wafd Party into government in Egypt, so setting back "the cause of democracy" (p. 211) in that country. Whether the Wafd ever had much to do with democracy, however, is to be doubted. Moreover, when Lampson finally did break with the king and force such a ministry into existence in early 1942, he shortly found that the "popularity" of the Wafd was a phenomenon more likely to be turned against Britain than used in its favor. That Lampson's style grated damagingly on many Egyptians is beyond question, but the real political options facing the British were probably more constrained than this treatment supposes.

A similar query hovers over the author's treatment of Palestine. Kolinsky describes how the British, by separating in their own minds the plight of European and Palestinian Jews, first ditched the partition proposals of the Peel Commission of 1936-1937 and then constructed a policy leaning toward Arab sensibilities. This was epitomized by the White Paper of 1939; one effect was to leave many thousands of Jews stranded in German-dominated Europe. The author shows that some British policy makers found this more difficult to swallow than others. Yet Kolinsky also remarks how the attitudes of the entire Yishuv had shifted from a stance in 1938, whereby British control of Palestine was recognized as "broadly positive and necessary to facilitate the Jewish National Home," to one in 1942 in which the British Mandate had become the "chief obstacle to its further development" (p. 206). Can the British be credibly blamed for recognizing where the bigger threat to their own long-term interests in a vital territory came from? Maybe so, but the moral and political complexities involved need a more extended and probing exploration than they are given here.

This is an informative book that usefully defines British military dilemmas in Middle Eastern conditions, although we still await the fully rounded book on the origins and conduct of Britain's (and above all Churchill's) war in the Mediterranean and its hinterlands between 1939 and 1945.

ROBERT HOLLAND

*Institute of Commonwealth Studies,
University of London*

RUÁN O'DONNELL. *The Rebellion in Wicklow, 1798*. (New Directions in Irish History.) Dublin: Irish Academic. 1988. Pp. x, 441.

This book was one of the more substantial to appear during the bicentennial of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland. It is, on the whole, a straightforward narrative of the events in county Wicklow during this, one of the most divisive and bloody periods in Irish history. Wicklow was one of the key counties in the rising, because of its proximity to Dublin, and a full-scale modern study is long overdue. The book traces the background to the events of 1797–1798. Here the rise of a Catholic middle class and the presence of a liberal Protestant gentry placed Wicklow to the forefront in the campaign for Catholic emancipation. In this, the continued influence of the reformist lord lieutenant and largest landowner in the county, Lord Fitzwilliam, continued long after his controversial removal from office in 1795. The collapse of the campaign sent an unusually high number of middle-class Catholics into the leadership of the rebellion. The book also highlights a major split within the Protestant gentry on the eve of the rebellion. Since the implementation of government policy against mounting subversion largely depended on the Protestant gentry, liberal opposition softened (often by delaying) the impact of government repression in the months leading to the rebellion. The result was that the United Irishmen organization in Wicklow suffered less disruption than in a number of other counties. It also had a remarkable success rate in attracting defectors from the militia and yeomanry. The former is already well covered in a number of other scholarly works, but the revelations on the defection from the ultra-loyal yeomanry force are new and particularly interesting in this book.

Ruán O'Donnell then takes us through the rebellion itself, and those interested in the accounts of the battles will find them minutely detailed here. But without the assistance of trained soldiers, long expected from France, the rebel assault fell apart, defeated rebels and government forces often matching each other in atrocities inflicted in the aftermath. The postrebellion chaos, the devastated countryside, the burning houses, the continuing "brigand war" are particularly well documented and go some way to explaining the long shadow the rebellion cast over intercommunal relations in Ireland. This once liberal county was deeply polarized by the tragedy of 1798.

This is an impressively well-researched local history, which will be raided by scholars for generations because of its wealth of detail. Why, then, do I find it a deeply unsatisfactory book? In the first place, it is very badly written. The style is often impenetrable, and the non sequiturs, misspellings, and wrong tenses of verbs make for difficulty in tracing any coherent argument. This is clearly a first book, and the author will no doubt move on to produce more mature works. He could have benefited from more careful editing by the undoubtedly eminent editors of the series. He might, for

instance, have been advised that the historian is expected to interpret the evidence rather than reproduce it in all its minutiae. There is a compulsive tendency here to list and detail everything, leaving the reader gasping for air and struggling to detect any coherent argument. Much of this detail could have been reproduced in appendixes, and it is to be regretted that the promise of just such an appendix in the dust-jacket—which would have identified over a thousand known United Irishmen in the county—does not materialize. The 1798 bicentenary rushed a lot of authors into premature print, and it was disappointing that no overall history emerged. That honor was left to the still eminently readable *Year of Liberty* (1969) by Thomas Pakenham. In the long term, local histories such as that by O'Donnell will help inform a new overview. So whatever my reservations about the manner of the presentation of the evidence in this book, the world of scholarship can only be enriched by its publication.

MARIANNE ELLIOTT
University of Liverpool

PATRICK M. GEOGHEGAN. *The Irish Act of Union: A Study in High Politics 1798–1801*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xii, 290. \$59.95.

By contrast with the voluminous historiography on Ireland after (or under) the Act of Union, surprisingly little has been written on the making of the union. The question of how the union was carried was for long the province of polemical books with titles such as *The Story of the Union, told by its plotters*, which contained chapters on topics such as "A Carnival of Corruption." Not until 1966, with G. C. Bolton's *Passing of the Act of Union* did a full-scale scholarly monograph on the subject appear, and nor, until Patrick M. Geoghegan's book published thirty-five years later, has there been another. Moreover, the contrast with the steadily expanding literature on nineteenth-century Ireland is all the more remarkable if one accepts Geoghegan's assertion that the union failed, ultimately, "because of the protracted circumstances of its birth" (p. vii). There is something to that, not least because nineteenth-century Irish opponents of the union continued to focus attention on the act's tainted origins. As a pamphleteer wrote in 1830: "Can that which is engendered in corruption have any pretensions to immortality? It was . . . In simple truth, an act of downright plunder and spoliation, effected by a mixture of fraud and violence." The difficulty with that line of reasoning is that precisely the same accusations were leveled at the makers of the Anglo-Scottish union in 1707 and gave rise to the same legends of corruption afterward, and yet that measure not only survived but came to be celebrated as a supreme instance of statesmanship.

This is a resolutely, some might say refreshingly, old-fashioned book; there is not an Other, a subaltern, a public sphere, or a linguistic turn in sight. Instead we are offered a study in high politics. Geoghegan is right to claim that high politics is "perhaps unjustly ne-

glected" (p. vii), and the absence of theory-jargon is welcome, but when we are promised, in addition, a study in "character," the authorial voice conjures up images of frock coats, quills, and luxuriant Victorian sideburns. More seriously, a single-minded treatment of high politics to the near exclusion of events "out of doors" too often results not merely in a lopsided view of the past but in an inadequate picture of the very high politics under scrutiny. That is especially true of the Act of Union, the passing of which was accompanied by public meetings, petitioning, and a paper war. The neglect here of the arguably crucial role of public opinion in the years from 1798 to 1800 is notable both in the text and in the otherwise exemplary bibliography: five pamphlets are listed—one from 1761—whereas W. J. McCormack has identified over 320 published during the course of the debates.

On his chosen ground, however, Geoghegan is thorough, rigorous, and sure-footed. Yet, while he never loses control of the mass of archival material or of the minutely detailed, sometimes day-by-day, narrative of events, sometimes also (and maybe unavoidably) the wood is obscured by the trees. The reader cannot but sympathize with Lord Malmesbury, who complained after hearing about yet another twist in the saga of William Pitt's downfall that "the whole transaction is enveloped in a thicker cloud than ever" (p. 190).

This book succeeds in unravelling and elucidating the complex maneuverings in Dublin and London that carried the union against concerted opposition, and in that respect the character of the effective leader of the opposition, the last speaker of the Irish House of Commons, John Foster, is indeed shown to have been of critical importance. This book also carries the story of the union up to the resignation of Pitt after the king had blocked Catholic emancipation. The interconnectiveness of the union, emancipation, and the fall of Pitt is skillfully and persuasively presented, and Geoghegan thus makes a contribution to British as well as to Irish history; but it is a contribution for the specialist. This is not a book for the general reader.

JIM SMYTH

University of Notre Dame

SEAN FARRELL. *Rituals and Riots. Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784–1886*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. ix, 252. \$34.95.

Sean Farrell has written a sensible, modest, and frequently insightful discussion of selected episodes in the sectarian history of Ulster. The century that he covers begins with the period that led to the formation of the Orange Order and concludes with the alignment of Ulster politics in their "modern" form in the era of Home Rule politics. Farrell's great virtue is that he listens carefully to his subjects and tries diligently to let them dictate the flow of his analysis.

Thus, he gets right a basic matter that so many historians of Ulster (and most present-day social scientists) avoid recognizing: that, indeed, Ulster's divi-

sions are fundamentally sectarian and that other matters, such as social class issues, are real but secondary. Simultaneously, he recognizes that members of the "plebeian" class (his preferred term for working class) in Ulster was active as agents in the sectarian warfare. The plebeians were not simply, or even primarily, victims of manipulation by their socioeconomic superiors. Further, Farrell understands the importance of locale in Ulster's strife. The physics of confrontation change, parish by parish. His generalizations attempt to take that fact into account. And Farrell recognizes correctly that both sides situate their own actions in mythic structures of their own making.

Although Farrell wisely provides no overarching theory of sectarian violence in Ulster, he presents as a background concept his expansion of E. P. Thompson's concept of "moral economy." His expanded version centers on power relationships. Simply put, Protestants wished to maintain their ascendant position and aggrieved Catholics wished to reduce that ascendancy. That serves as the permanent ground base for the ritualistic, set-piece nature of Ulster's sectarian fracas.

Since this is a good book, it is worth reflection. Readers will wish to ponder three questions. First, has Farrell perhaps analyzed as Ulster sectarian violence matters that really were endemic to poverty-stricken rural Ireland? In this period, one finds a great deal of violence between rural Catholics, attended by the same sort of ritual challenge and response that also characterized Protestant-Catholic affrays. Second, has Farrell sufficiently made the case that rural violence and urban violence (especially in Belfast) were continuous phenomena? And, third, does Farrell's version of the moral economy concept have sufficient robustness to explain much about Ulster's sectarian violence? He uses the constant assertion of Protestant ascendancy as an *ur-cause* of many violent incidents, and he also uses the challenge to that ascendancy as an explanation. A causal variable that is perpetually operative (in every case, ascendancy is either being asserted or challenged) is of questionable value.

These are sympathetic questions, for this is a valuable book, well edited and nicely produced, and it will become a standard part of the literature.

DONALD HARMAN AKENSON

Queen's University, Ontario and

Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool

BERNADETTE WHELAN. *Ireland and the Marshall Plan, 1947–57*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 426. \$55.00.

Since the mid-1980s, numerous studies have appeared on Ireland's postwar economic recovery and on American aid programs, but none, aside from Raymond Raymond's article in *Anglo-Irish Studies* ("The Marshall Plan and Ireland, 1947–52" [1985]), has dealt with Ireland and the Marshall Plan. Bernadette Whelan fills that void by showing the extent to which

Irish life and politics were influenced by American Cold War designs. While Marshall aid appeared to have limited immediate impact, it served ultimately to energize and internationalize Ireland's conservative economy.

From the outset, motivations behind offering and accepting aid were complex. Whelan underscores Alan Milward's thesis that Marshall money was superfluous since Western European economies were already recovering by 1945. Furthermore, Ireland's agriculture, its mainstay, was in fairly good condition, and its devout Catholic populace seemed impervious to communist influence. Still, there were serious balance of payments difficulties and an increasing reliance on dollar areas for imports. Joining the European Recovery Program (ERP) would alleviate these stresses, but there were concerns about damaging political and social compromises. Nonetheless, Whelan concludes that Ireland's acceptance did not mark a break with existing trends on foreign policy expansion, continued domination of agriculture, industrial underdevelopment, and reliance on British markets.

What presaged the likelihood of Irish involvement was a general movement toward European economic integration envisioned by the Marshall planners, but geographic and market forces necessitated continued ties with the sterling bloc, even after the inter-party government's break with the Commonwealth in 1949. Therefore Britain's acceptance of ERP funds and its encouragement of Ireland to do so, in order to reduce pressure on the sterling pool, was a powerful incentive. But the most critical factor leading to Irish participation was the central position assumed by Sean MacBride, Minister for External Affairs, over foreign and domestic policy making. Whelan, even more than Ronan Fanning (in *The Irish Department of Finance* [1978]) shows how External Affairs gained the upper hand over Finance in determining the outcome of ERP negotiations. Yet Ireland's eligibility for funding was hampered by the perception that it had enjoyed a "good war" as a neutral and by attempts, in conjunction with the Irish-American lobby, to negotiate an end to partition. This strategy backfired. Not only did American officials adopt a pro-British stance, but they relegated Ireland initially to loan rather than grant status as a less-favored nation.

The American Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) implemented a dollar import program in Ireland from 1948 to 1951. Loans totalling £128.2 million, eventually supplemented by £18 million in grants, were used to finance "essential" imports in agriculture, industry, and transportation. Oddly, tobacco was also included, owing to public demand and its revenue-producing capacity. Irish recovery hopes were only partially fulfilled. While agricultural output barely surpassed prewar levels, industrial productivity improved significantly, thereby providing greater employment and consumer satisfaction. Utilization of counterpart funds and local currency receipts from the Marshall Plan was another subject of debate between

External Affairs and Finance. The latter feared that excessive capital expenditures, though targeted for national development projects, would cause inflation, increased taxation, and balance of payments deficits. But again MacBride's view that all available funds should be applied to "social purposes, specifically to improve standards of living" prevailed. "Political and social matters outweighed financial concerns" (p. 255), a line that was strongly reinforced by ECA officials and current Keynesian economic thought. Hence Irish capital expenditures increased from 7.93 million in 1947-1948 to £34.59 million in 1953-1954. By far the most important undertaking, emblematic of the government's progressive economic thinking, was the Land Reclamation Project, which by 1969 reclaimed 1.75 million acres of unproductive and underproductive land.

Arguably the most problematic aspect of Marshall assistance was Ireland's involvement in the Technical Assistance Programme (TAP), which sought to increase productivity by exposing managers and employees to "the American way" of working and thinking. TAP sponsored thirty-eight visits of Irish groups to the United States in key sectors and five visits by American experts to Ireland. But resistance to change and to American cultural values impeded the process. Responding to ECA pressure to develop tourism, one Irish official protested against American "haste and impatience" and called American tourists an "uncultured people" who would turn "all of our ancient gothic cathedrals into streamlined skyscrapers, compress Dante into a *Reader's Digest* edition, convert Rembrandts into nothing but technicolour" (p. 341). Overcoming such images while promoting America's political agenda was the object of an ERP publicity campaign. But Ireland's acceptance of the Western ethos of mass consumerism probably owed more to a natural antipathy toward communism and the popularity of Hollywood films. In this meticulous and amply documented narrative, Whelan succeeds in showing the problems inherent in the modernization of an introspective, self-sufficient, and rural economy.

JOHN D. FAIR

Georgia College and State University

JORDI MALUQUER DE MOTES. *España en la crisis de 1898: De la gran depresión a la modernización económica del siglo XX*. (Historia, Ciencia, Sociedad, number 287.) Barcelona: Península. 1999. Pp. 233.

Historians have long interpreted the effects on Spain of two wars during the 1890s—the colonial war against Cuban rebels and the Spanish American War—as seriously damaging to the country's political, social, and economic stability. Jordi Maluquer de Motes offers a strong revisionist argument to the contrary. Although acknowledging the destructive impact of the colonial and American conflicts, particularly in the realm of government finances, he maintains that the long-term effects of years of war on the national

economy have been exaggerated. He argues, indeed, that Spain began a period of economic expansion in 1899 unprecedented in its modern history until this time and that at no point during the 1890s was the political stability of the liberal constitutional monarchy in danger.

The author discusses four principal themes: first, the demographic impact of the Cuban and American wars from a Spanish perspective; second, the difficult problem faced by successive governments of financing heavy wartime expenditures; third, the economic impact of war on the national economy; fourth, the reasons behind the economic surge occurring after the end of hostilities. In each case, he offers a useful corrective to prevailing interpretations. There was, for example, no serious impact on the nation's demography because of 55,000 deaths in an army of approximately 200,000. Although these losses were substantial, they were significantly less than those suffered during the first Cuban uprising for independence (1868–1878), when more than 96,000 soldiers lost their lives.

Financing the enormous cost of the war, estimated by the author at around 5,000 millions of pesetas, posed a formidable challenge for the government. Initially, it adopted the policy, followed by its predecessors during the first Cuban revolt, of imposing the burden of paying for the colonial war on the Cuban treasury and taxpayers. When these resources proved insufficient because of deteriorating economic conditions on the island, the government resorted to massive borrowing at home and deflation of the peseta. These measures failed to avoid a serious financial crisis and an inflationary surge in 1898, even before the government was forced to assume responsibility for its Cuban debt according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Although serious, the financial crisis proved short-lived for several reasons. The government avoided heavy borrowing abroad to finance the debt, while the United States did not demand reparations in the peace settlement. Also, Spanish investors purchased bonds, largely floated by the Bank of Spain, in massive proportions, in part because interest was paid punctually even during the worst moments of the crisis. Moreover, a package of fiscal reforms carried out in 1899 by Minister of Finance Raimundo Fernández Villaverde, whose policies the author sees as "frankly brilliant," produced the miracle of a balanced budget scarcely a year after the end of hostilities. By 1903, these reforms also succeeded in curbing inflationary pressures.

The impact of the colonial and American wars on the national economy primarily affected the industrial sector dependent on stable finances at home and access to colonial markets. Although industrial production fell between 1895 and 1898, the decline was less severe than during the serious peacetime economic crisis of 1887–1890. Here, too, the crisis proved short-lived. Industrial production grew spectacularly between 1899 and 1902. Nor did Spain's foreign trade

suffer unduly as a result of the loss of the old commercial monopoly with its colonies. Although trade with an independent Cuba declined to a degree, it remained significant with a heavy trade surplus in Spain's favor until 1930.

That Spain rebounded so quickly from the disaster of war developed from several circumstances. The government's financial reforms created confidence among entrepreneurs. Investors proved willing and able to place their resources in a multitude of new industrial initiatives. This was particularly true of wealthy Spaniards living in Argentina and other Latin American republics who poured capital into the Spanish economy. The author estimates that one-fourth of the investment capital entering the economy between 1899 and 1913 came from this source.

Maluquer de Motes has argued a convincing and solidly researched case for the rapidity of Spain's recovery from years of costly warfare. His interpretation is primarily economic. There is little on the social effects of either the wars or the economic surge that followed. Given that the first decade of the twentieth century saw a significant increase in social agitation and labor conflict, it would have been useful to have had a more detailed discussion of the distribution of benefits or lack thereof among all social classes from the *auge finisecular* (turn-of-the-century boom). But this a minor reservation in a book that makes a significant contribution to the long debate over the significance of the "crisis of 1898" in the history of modern Spain.

WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN
University of Toronto

STANLEY G. PAYNE. *Fascism in Spain 1923–1977*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 601. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

In 1961, Stanford University Press published Stanley G. Payne's classic study, *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*. Banned by the Francoist censorship, it was translated by an exiled Spanish house in Paris and smuggled into Spain. After Francisco Franco died, it remained in print well into the 1990s. A new version was published in Spain with the provocative title *Franco y José Antonio: El extraño caso del fascismo español* (1997). Now, in refined form, it is published in English as the present work. It dwarfs the original, which was less than half its size. It also obviated the biggest defect of the original version: its sweeping title. Payne's pioneering work, for all its merits of lucidity and insight, seemed narrowly to identify Spanish fascism with Falange Española, thereby exonerating other rightist groups and the Franco regime of accusations of fascism. That ran the risk of rendering Spanish fascism insignificant and uninteresting except for the period of about twelve months between the spring of 1936 and after April 1937. Before then, Falange Española was a miniscule organization made up largely of students and taxi drivers. After the so-called Unificación of

April 1937, it was emasculated and became a bloated bureaucracy and patronage-dispensing machine in the service of Franco. Now, by locating Spanish fascism in the huge arena of right-wing politics that went from the clerico-military authoritarianism of Franco to the aristocratic fascism of the Falange's founder José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Payne has produced a book that is even bigger in its scope than its title promises.

Both chronologically and thematically, this book goes considerably further than its predecessor. The loss of empire in 1898 and the slow collapse of an electoral system based on corruption and frequent revolutionary outbursts between 1917 and 1923 led to the establishment of the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera. Initially successful, its failure to cope with the impact of the Great Depression led to mounting unrest and the withdrawal of the dictator in January 1930. The failure of authoritarian solutions to the Spanish crisis saw the right bereft of political options and opened a window of opportunity for the left. On April 14, 1931, the Second Republic came into being on a wave of popular enthusiasm. Payne's learned volume is thus concerned with the response of the Spanish extreme right to the perceived threat of the reforming program of the Second Republic. Initially, this took the form of abortive attempts to destabilize the republic sponsored by the patrician right. That failure led to the conclusion that the destruction of the democratic regime should be undertaken by the army or else by a modern political grouping capable of mobilizing popular support in defense of rightist interests.

Before the Spanish Civil War, that meant the overtly fascist Falange Española de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista, a hybrid collection of small groups welded together by the charismatic aristocrat, the debonair José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the late dictator. Falange Española's cult of violence—described lovingly by José Antonio Primo de Rivera as “the dialectic of fists and pistols”—facilitated the destabilization of the Second Republic and helped to generate the lawlessness that was used to justify the military rising. The rebel generals relied on help from the Axis powers, whose influence pushed the Falange to prominence, although the army always remained the ultimate arbiter. In April 1937, Franco forcibly unified the political groups of his coalition into a single party. He squeezed the monarchist groups and the populist Catholic authoritarian party, the Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Right-Wing Groups) into a shell given its name and iconography by the retitled Falange. Now known as Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista, or the Movimiento, it was so unwieldy as to be easily managed by Franco.

For three decades thereafter, even as its own ideological edge was dulled to the point of meaninglessness, the Falange played a central role in the regime bureaucracy. However, the relationship of Falange

Española to the other components of the Francoist coalition was complex and constantly shifting. The so called “old shirt” veterans hoped, with ever decreasing optimism, to make their unfinished revolution. For Franco and the majority of his coalition, the primordial task was the destruction of what they perceived as the threat of disorder, anticlericalism, and communism. Franco's greatest achievement was the skill with which he manipulated the tension between the patrician and military right and the more plebeian elements of the old Falange. That process is traced by Payne with even-handed urbanity and unparalleled knowledge of the inner workings of the Falange. In returning to his first book, he has produced perhaps the finest of his several important books on Spain.

PAUL PRESTON

London School of Economics

ANN W. RAMSEY. *Liturgy, Politics, and Salvation: The Catholic League in Paris and the Nature of Catholic Reform, 1540–1630*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 447. \$99.00.

In the 1580s and 1590s, militant Catholics in French cities banded together in the Catholic League to oppose Protestantism and the monarchs Henry III, who seemed to tolerate Protestants, and Henry IV, who was one. Despite its defense of Catholic orthodoxy, contemporary opponents and later historians characterized the League as a political rather than as a religious movement. It opposed legitimate political authority; it treasonously did the bidding of Spain; it was composed of lower-class political radicals; and it had no sincere religious motivation. As one opponent wrote, the League's struggle “was a war for the State and not a war for religion” (p. 60). Ann W. Ramsey's new book makes clear the fallacy of this claim by exploring League piety and its place in the Catholic Reformation. Ramsey starts with the idea Denis Richet advanced over two decades ago: that the League introduced the Catholic Reformation into France. But she shows that League piety was “Janus-faced” (p. 78); it looked back to a traditional civic religion while also looking forward to Tridentine Catholicism.

Recent work has shown that the Paris League's leadership was composed not of lower-class radicals but middle-ranking legal officials. The men and women of the League were angry about the increasing stratification of Parisian society and its increasingly oligarchical government. Parliamentary magistrates, ennobled by the monarchy, were monopolizing political power that was once more widespread among the bourgeoisie. Ramsey shows that in defending the true faith, the League also fought for this fading communal ideal, a sacred community united by religious rituals.

Three concepts inform her analysis: immanence, performativity, and transcendence. Immanence refers to the traditional belief that sacredness is located in the physical space of the city. Performativity refers to

the use of the body in the public rituals through which a sense of sacred community is constructed. Transcendence is the new understanding of the sacred, which the French first encounter in John Calvin's religion and then in Tridentine Catholicism, where pious activities are less concerned with the collectivity than with an individual's conscience. Its rituals are not communal but sacramental, focused especially on Christocentric devotions. Leaguers aligned themselves with the Catholic Reform but did not wholly adopt transcendent religion. Instead, they practiced a "reformed religion of immanence" (p. 163).

What this means becomes apparent in Ramsey's quantified examination of hundreds of Parisian wills. Other historians have counted bequests for Masses or charity in wills to study dechristianization and attitudes toward death. Ramsey has developed a much more sophisticated coding system for the wills' uses of vocabulary, gestures, rituals, and sacred spaces. She samples wills from three periods: 1543–1544, when the traditional religion of immanence was still paramount; 1590, when the League was at its height; and 1630, long after the League's defeat but when its religious legacy lived on in Catholic-Reformation Paris.

The Leaguers of 1590 rank high on Ramsey's "performativity index"; they performed their faith in the streets in penitential processions, an example of their "supercharging of the gestural systems available in religions of immanence . . . to restore sacrality to the commune" (p. 41). And they performed their faith when they made their wills. They paid great attention to invocations, funeral arrangements, disposition of their bodies in sacred spaces, and charitable bequests. They constructed sacred community by endowing processions and confraternity banquets. These provisions typify "immanentist" religion, but they can also look forward to Catholic-Reformation piety. The bequests of the Leaguer Georges Bucholicq made in 1590 tied him to the new Jesuit-sponsored White Penitents confraternity but also to the older mendicant Augustinians. He expressed attachment to the time-honored devotion of the Conception of Notre Dame, while also stipulating that meals be held in his memory on Christocentric festivals.

Changing sensibilities are particularly noticeable in the use of number symbolism. Medieval testators filled their wills with numbers of repetitive actions, particularly memorial Masses, to ease their souls from Purgatory. Trent condemned the practice as superstition, but Leaguer wills and those of 1630 still used number symbolism. They transferred it from the "liturgical (number of Masses) and paraliturgical (numbers of candles)" (p. 143) to charity (the numbers of poor to receive largesse). But such gestures still belonged to immanentist rather than transcendent religion. Performativity was reformed; it had not disappeared.

Ramsey thereby demonstrates that the League was not merely the avenue by which Tridentine reforms entered France. Rather it "spawned multiple economies of salvation," (p. 218) tied to the old and the new.

Indeed, one is left feeling that our separation of a traditional "exteriorized" piety from a new "interiorized" one may need questioning. Despite this book's sometimes complex and difficult terminology, its conclusions and sophisticated methodology make it important for all those interested in the religious changes of early modern France.

KEITH P. LURIA
North Carolina State University

ANNE BONZON. *L'esprit de clocher: Prêtres et paroisses dans le diocèse de Beauvais (1535–1650)*. Foreword by MARC VENARD. (Histoire religieuse de la France, number 14.) Paris: Cerf. 1999. Pp. 527. 198fr.

A good match between author and topic produces this competent history of a generally unremarkable northern French diocese during the age of religious renewal. Anne Bonzon's bishopric of Beauvais, bordering Paris to the south and Rouen to the west, was about twice as large as the region described forty years ago in Pierre Goubert's famous thesis on *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis au XVII^e siècle* (1960). Goubert's seventeenth-century provincials remain recognizable while going to church; the religious establishment that enrolled them displayed a comparable provincialism, tempered slightly by proximity to Paris. The religious history of Beauvais seems most notable for developments that failed to occur. Although Admiral Coligny's brother (a cardinal who was married by 1565) was its bishop and temporal lord during the peak of the French Reformation, the diocese never had a serious Huguenot movement. A century later, it had become a showcase of Tridentine Catholicism despite lack of input from the great new orders, Jesuits or Capuchins. Bonzon admits (p. 402) that Beauvais can serve as a textbook example of the cliché that Tridentine reforms only reached France after their legal adoption in 1614.

Although her careful study stresses the laity's religious practices and preferences, the clergy generally dominate the scene. Perhaps her most important finding is one of general satisfaction among these 200,000 provincials after 1600, because both their count-bishop and their parish priest were now performing their official duties in person. In 1551, with an absent aristocrat serving as bishop, under twenty percent of four hundred curés were resident (p. 124); but by 1619, with a bishop from the Parisian *noblesse de robe* residing in Beauvais, almost ninety-five percent of its parish priests also resided there, and had been doing so, on average, for fifteen years (p. 127). Even more significantly, most of the 1619 sample had been born less than six miles from the parish they served (pp. 129–30)—exactly the same radius as Goubert found for selecting marital partners. At Beauvais, this "local" religious arrangement preceded such Tridentine flourishes as catechetical instruction, evangelizing missions by associates of Vincent de Paul, or a diocesan seminary. Of course, a local priest was not necessarily a

high-quality priest, as numerous trials of parish clergy between 1630 and 1670 demonstrated (pp. 182–95).

If there was anything unusual about the religious history of early modern Beauvais, it would be the degree of popular zealotry this diocese displayed long before it became a Jansenist stronghold during Louis XIV's reign. Here was the first place in France where a mob mimicked a legal execution by burning the corpse of a renegade priest who had taught Calvinist doctrine to children (pp. 42–43); soon afterward, during the first War of Religion, Beauvais held seven general religious processions (pp. 384–85). A generation later, after massive processions of white penitents had reached this region in 1583, Holy League fanatics imprisoned the royalist bishop of Beauvais and his vicar in 1590 and wanted to put them on trial (pp. 53–54). Although no miraculous visions were reported here, the devil intervened frequently; exorcisms of demonically possessed women were noted at Beauvais by 1580 (p. 84), and one such account was published in 1623 (pp. 297–307). But by 1650, parish churches had been repaired and embellished, a diocesan seminary was operating, catechetical instruction was generally satisfactory, and a Jansenist era was about to begin.

WILLIAM MONTER
Northwestern University

A. ANNETTE FINLEY-CROSWHITE. *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589–1610*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 219. \$59.95.

A. Annette Finley-Croswhite offers a study that puts her in the ranks of revisionist historians who seek “to understand absolute monarchy as it was in practice, rather than as it was in judicial theory” (p. 1). She intends to modify the evaluation of Henry IV of France as one of the great architects of absolutism; to this end she has studied his dealings with French towns in considerable detail. Traditional historiography has maintained that Henry tried very hard to reduce towns’ freedom to elect their own governments and manage their own affairs. Finley-Croswhite argues convincingly that such were probably not his intentions.

She begins by noting that although most major towns belonged to the Catholic League between 1589 and 1594, the period did not entail a return to medieval urban liberties, as scholars like Fernand Braudel have argued. Rather, the great lords of the Catholic faction maintained tight control in the towns, stifling dissent and overriding popular opinion through their clienteles.

The concept of the clientele, for which Finley-Croswhite acknowledges her debt to Sharon Kettering, is key in her analysis. She defines it as an ongoing exchange of service, support, and favors between individuals of unequal social rank, the greater being the patron and the lesser the client. Such bonds allowed

Catholic leaders to reach far down the levels of urban society, since their higher-ranking clients had their own clienteles of lesser status, and these people had still lower-ranking clients in turn.

But through his own clients, Henry IV could do the same thing, as Finley-Croswhite demonstrates by examining the royalist takeover of Amiens in 1594. The relatives and friends of Henry’s clients Nicholas de Lan and Augustin de Lowencourt played key roles in the uprising that ejected the League. They then helped restore community stability by arranging royal pardons for the former Leaguers to whom they had ties.

Clientage also shaped Henry’s efforts to manage municipal governments after they accepted his rule. It was vital that his clients control all major towns, since the Catholic party remained strong in many of them long after the demise of the League itself. Finley-Croswhite points out Henry intervened directly only in places where that control seemed uncertain. He respected the traditional liberties of towns on whose loyalty he could depend, such as Tours. He also largely left alone the places dominated by his former allies, the Huguenots, since he did not wish to aggravate the distrust caused by his conversion to Catholicism in 1593.

Even many of the former League towns experienced very little royal interference. Henry acted most forcibly in border towns like Amiens or shipping centers like Nantes, where instability could offer a serious threat to his rule. And even in these cities, his actions often were mild. He may have had the names of one or more of his clients placed upon the ballot. More often, he decided to pick mayors and other important officials from lists of candidates nominated by the towns, but he almost always selected the names of those who had received the most votes in municipal elections.

Finley-Croswhite suggests that Henry changed the governance of French towns most markedly by reducing both the size of city governments and the numbers of those eligible to vote for them. He believed that smaller governments were more efficient and that the more people who could vote, the more opportunity for factional violence and unrest at election time. Perhaps his most drastic action of this sort came after the tax riots in Limoges in 1602. The number of town councilors went from twelve to six and those who elected them from over 1,000 to just 100. Finley-Croswhite presents several instances of similar interventions.

The author reiterates that she has found just one consistency in Henry’s actions toward French towns, his wish to foster the stability that would support his own position as king. “No systematic plan to destroy the privileges and franchises of France’s urban centers can be found in the papers of Henry IV and his ministers” (p. 182). Her argument is believable because of the extensive archival research upon which it is based. Her careful exploration of individual incidents and situations makes the book extremely read-

able and it is recommended for all scholars interested in early modern French history.

CHARLOTTE C. WELLS
University of Northern Iowa

CAROLINE HANNAWAY and ANN LA BERGE, editors. *Constructing Paris Medicine*. (Clio Medica, number 50; The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine.) Atlanta: Rodopi. 1999. Pp. xiii, 406. Cloth \$100.00, paper \$36.00.

Was the Paris Clinical School of the early nineteenth century "a recognizable entity not in spite of its polarities, but because of them" (p. 49), and did it mark a significant stage in the development of modern scientific medicine, as Erwin H. Ackerknecht and Michel Foucault claimed in the mid-1950s and 1960s? These questions form the basis of this volume of excellent essays edited by Caroline Hannaway and Ann La Berge. The result is an exposure of some of the myths, as well as the realities, of the largely received view of the uniqueness of the Paris School.

This is not an easy story to unravel. Even as the leading figures of the Paris Clinical School labored in their respective fields to rescue medicine, as some of them said, from speculation on the nature of disease, and embraced as their *modus operandi* the more direct route to its structures through observation, they disagreed on whether organs or tissues—to mention but one example from the many that are available—should be the focal point of their attention. To cite another instance, was it more productive to fix upon the body's anatomy or its physiology? If either was to be given primacy, should their normal or pathological pathways be followed; and if it was more advantageous to carry out physiological studies, should experimental or physiological medicine be given precedence? Taking into account the several components that made up a complex, often highly contradictory narrative of scorn for medicine's past and an unblinking admiration for the rational and linear, La Berge and Hannaway center their introduction on the Enlightenment ethos of reason and progress, the self-proclaimed "heroic" achievements of key individuals, their exploitation of theatrical effects in their appeals to lay and professional audiences alike, and, not least, their uses of medical and political rhetoric to lay down durable foundations for power sharing. From the plethoric confusion of individual claims, aggressively advanced by men intent on making their work the hallmark of modern medicine, the confidence of François-Joseph-Victor Broussais and Jean-Baptiste Bouillaud stands out most sharply. It is plainly encapsulated in the latter's description of the former's publication of *Examen de la doctrine médicale généralement adoptée, et des systèmes modernes de nosologie* (1816) "as one of those important events that will long be remembered in the annals of medicine." The authors of these essays question the universality of Bouillaud's conclusions. They question, as well, Ackerknecht's position that the

Paris clinicians, despite their differences, were united in a common quest.

L. W. B. Brockliss finds that the medical reformers, or rather, social revolutionaries, as he prefers to call them, overlooked the considerable contributions of their predecessors to the development of clinical medicine, especially after 1760, when the medical faculties began to include regular practical instruction in such subjects as obstetrics and chemistry. To be sure, the teaching was marred by inaccessibility for the many, leaving practice to the wealthy; and it was against these inadequacies, rooted in a hierarchical and privileged society, that the post-1789 critics chose to direct their weapons. Brockliss's largest point, however, is more conciliatory. On the one hand, there is evidence of greater continuity than of radical change, at least until the end of the first half of the 1800s, when the quality of teaching really improved. On the other hand, the strides made in medical research appear to have been impressive, even though, in the absence of more solid documentation, it will be difficult to know how finally to assess the quality of the "gaze" upon which Foucault based his theory of epistemological rupture.

Othmar Keel is more polemical. He reiterates many of his previous arguments, attributing to the British pathologists John Hunter, Matthew Baillie and the two Alexander Monros the originality that Xavier Bichat and Philippe Pinel, among others, appropriated as their own. That no meaningful work was done in gross pathological anatomy between G. B. Morgagni and Bichat is a distortion Keel has disputed for some time. The Paris School borrowed heavily from the British. Almost as importantly, its work—essentially, Keel claims, a work of appropriation—was taken up in turn by the British in the nineteenth century. Keel appears to be intent on crushing all dissenting voices, including those that try to achieve a fairer and nuanced balance on the question of distributing rewards. Russell Maulitz and, to a lesser degree, Christopher Lawrence earn Keel's withering denunciations, in spite of Maulitz's avowal that Bichat's studies in tissue pathology "could have sprung equally well from the Baillie-Hunter tradition, had English medicine and surgery been in a position to foster it" (p. 129). Keel, it seems, will accept nothing less than a final repudiation of Bichat as an innovator; and he pursues his quarry by selective citations from authors to support his argument.

Jean Louis Alibert's medical illustrations of skin diseases, some of which are reproduced in the volume, are part of L. S. Jacyna's refreshing study of how images can be both discursive and pictorial. Yet because Alibert intended them not as paintings but as illustrations, the pictorial element for the most part was subordinated to the verbal. Skin diseases were on display in the Paris hospitals, the gathering places of the dispossessed and the sick of Paris. As one tried to penetrate the various meanings of the illustrations drawn from these schools of squalor and disease, it was easy to slip from pathology to pathos, from the clinic to the gothic, as Jacyna notes (pp. 197, 193). Alibert's

gaze, which did not exclude the patient's own, was heavily influenced by bourgeois morality that identified disease and physical debilitation with moral failing. He invested his observations and reflections with a decided religiosity and an appeal to the mysteries of the soul as the ultimate source of physical sickness or well being.

For W. R. Albury, the significance of the "gaze" may well be found in seeing how, in Broussais's and Jean-Nicolas Corvisart's hands, it advanced a medical conception of human individuality that differed from classical Hippocratic-Galenic theory. Although they agreed that human beings exist along a continuum from the least to the most defective constitutions, while also taking into account varieties of human temperament, Broussais did not, like Corvisart, think that therapeutic intervention was futile. As an activist, Broussais urged, contrary to those eighteenth-century medical experts who sought to advise their bourgeois clients on the management of the non-naturals, a vigorous counter-therapy to negate or lessen the destructive tendencies of inflammation and irritation. This could be best achieved in the hospital, not excluding the military hospital, which, for Broussais, was an enormously important source of vital knowledge of the body's malfunctions. For both Corvisart and Broussais, Albury argues, it is in the clinic that the subject becomes the focal point of the "gaze." The rivalry, or the "sympathetic" duel, as Jacalyn Duffin terms it, between Broussais and René-Théophile Laennec centered on other issues. Laennec accused Broussais of unjustifiably promoting erroneous ideas in pathological anatomy. Broussais criticized him in turn for producing flawed observations, pursuing dubious therapies, and for relying too heavily on auscultation. By juxtaposing these two formidable men, Duffin had the happy insight that, lying beneath their disagreements, a more fundamental agreement united them: namely, their conclusion that there were inherent limitations in the study of pathological anatomy. One must, however, notice that Duffin and Albury, when assessing Broussais' study, take slightly different positions on the scientific value of dissection. Broussais was, in fact, no mean inspector of cadavers, carrying out autopsies in different parts of Europe for more than a decade. We may also see that Broussais's terms, such as "irritation" and "sympathy," may have covered the same conditions described by Laennec as the *principe vital*, and that there was no way, given the state of medical inquiry, that sheer observation of lesions could yield answers about their causes.

Just as stethoscopy was not universally accepted at first, microscopy was regarded with deep reservations. La Berge relates why some in the profession (the integrationists) wanted to include, and why others (the dichotomists) thought it best to exclude, the stethoscope as a diagnostic tool. Before 1830, they were hard to use (many who tried did not know what they were looking for), expensive, and unreliable. A decade or so later, microscopic and chemical analysis were in use

for blood and urine examination. Even so, resistance was not muted, as Paul Broca, an integrationist, wrote in the 1860s, blaming researchers in pathological anatomy who saw it as a threat to their power. The dispute was exacerbated by others, like Alfred-Armand Velpeau, chief surgeon at the Charité hospital, who inveighed against what they saw as a foreign subversion of the empirical foundations of clinical medicine. (Hermann Lebert, who used the microscope in his cancer cell research and was Broca's teacher, was its chief spokesman.) In his zeal to make the demarcation of clinical medicine from laboratory medicine the defining character of the Paris School, Ackerknecht was blind to the fact that the two were not facing each other on the medical barricades.

In her study of how hospitals functioned from 1848 to 1872, Joy Harvey calls on a variety of hospital gazettes, Broca's correspondence with his parents, and the letters and publications of Mary Putnam (later Jacobi) to tell us how students gained or failed to gain first-hand experience at the bedside. That access to the patient was severely limited by crowds of fiercely competitive students and harried professors and helped to expose the realities of the relationship between doctor and patient is, in Harvey's view, more important than Foucault's contention that the introduction of medical instruments was responsible for the rupture between the matrimonial pair. Still, the reduction of the patient to his disease—Foucault's major worry—remains consequential, as Harvey is quick to say. It is not so clear that the true state of Paris's clinical medicine during the Second Empire was obscured by republican physicians who wanted to distance themselves from Napoleon III's regime. She rightly clothes this conclusion in hesitant language (p. 327). To end the volume, we have John Harley Warner's essay on how American physicians, failing in their efforts to observe patients and their diseases in the Paris hospitals, sought out the hospitals in Vienna and Berlin where opportunities for such practical experience were greater, particularly after 1855, when the teaching of private clinical courses by interns was forbidden by the Faculty of Medicine. It was precisely this passion for experience, unrequited in Paris, that led Americans to Central Europe. Still Americans were somewhat uneasy, torn as they were between their admiration for the diagnostic skills of the German physicians and their dismay at the contempt shown for, and disregard of, patient welfare and treatment.

Neither Ackerknecht nor Foucault can be said to have been totally superseded, but it seems to me that time has not been as kind to the former as to the latter. Ackerknecht championed Paris medicine as the pre-eminent locus for what unmediated observation could reveal. (Ironically, the practical medicine that was sought in Germany and Austria, but which was no longer available to the same degree in Paris after 1855, vindicated the state of clinical medicine in Paris when it was in full flower.) In contrast, by endowing the gaze

"with a plurisensorial structure," Foucault intended to give a wider meaning to clinical medicine and thus did not cut it off from future developments in medical technology. Another reason for Foucault's robust survival is his refusal to separate epistemology and ontology. For him, the normal and the pathological were not merely manifestations of a disease continuum but matters of life and death.

It is hard to resist one more comment. The power of contemporary communities of experts, whatever their respective fields, to gain and diffuse knowledge, both practical and theoretical, may be phenomenologically different from the expertise of nineteenth-century medical men who contested each other's credentials every inch of the way. Not different, except in massiveness of scale and in the expenditure of money, are the conjunctions of theater and rhetoric in the service of medical power.

HARVEY MITCHELL
Emeritus,
University of British Columbia

ROBIN WALZ. *Pulp Surrealism: Insolent Popular Culture in Early Twentieth-Century Paris*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California. 2000. Pp. xii, 206. \$35.00.

Surrealist works have an unsettling mood arising from disconnected images in a binder of over-smooth deco style. But what were the cultural sources for these products of an avant-garde movement launched in Paris in 1924? And how were these sources related to wider changes in French society identified with modernism? Robin Walz takes seriously Surrealist writers' enthusiasm for popular culture. He proposes that mass-produced books and newspapers hold the answers to these questions and to that of how modernist sensibilities were formed at the popular level. His book is more a series of interpretive essays than a sustained historical argument based on new evidence. The result is sometimes exasperating but also provocative.

Walz posits that the Surrealists "drew inspiration from currents of psychological anxiety and social rebellion that ran through certain expressions of mass culture" (p. 3). Surrealist literature, pulp fiction, and sensationalist journalism shared an overlapping cultural terrain whose origins preceded World War I and lay in emerging consumer capitalism with its mass production of goods and new technologies of transportation and communication. The author concludes that "pulp" surrealism was the more effective of the two in creating a popular modernist sensibility, despite the Surrealists' manifesto that claimed this radical objective for itself. This approach is not new. Other historians, including Charles Rearick, have studied popular and high culture from this point of view. It does, however, add to our knowledge of the Surrealists' sources and helps demonstrate how important these works are as objects of study in their own right.

The introductory chapter offers a brief definition of

Surrealism, along with a gloss on the historical origins and character of modernity and current cultural theories regarding identity formation. Four central chapters establish the major themes and analyze the points at which Surrealism and mass print culture intersect. Short quotations from the Surrealists' own texts guide the reader into discussions of guide books, novels, and newspaper accounts. Chapter one focuses on the significance of the old Opera Passage's demolition in 1924. This event is viewed in light of François Aragon's interest in guide books as an antidote to the inexorable rationalism of the city now opened to the reality of "*la circulation*." Chapter two proceeds from the 1933 radio broadcast of Robert Desnos's poem "*La Complainte de Fantômas*" to analyze the wildly popular Fantômas crime novels first published in 1912 and 1913. The protagonists are a fashionable criminal with a chameleon-like identity the appeals to surrealist sensibilities, and the methodical and scientific Sûreté inspector who can never pin him down. In chapter three, discussion of a Surrealist hero—a serial murderer whose female victims vanished—segues into an analysis of the way newspaper accounts of his capture, trial, and execution take on a reality of their own. In chapter four, the Surrealists' fascination with suicide as a solution to the paradoxes of modern life opens up discussion of the "*fait divers*" columns in the popular press. The conclusion sketches the expansion of popular print culture in the first decades of the twentieth century.

This book offers much fascinating information on the social geography of the Parisian arcades. It analyzes newspaper coverage in which the historical actors recede behind a disturbing, word-generated mood where motivation is a mystery and moral judgment suspended. The framing of the interpretation is problematic, however. First, like Surrealist works, the argument is self-referential. The definition of Surrealism is used to analyze both Surrealism and the popular culture examples; at the same time, it is a definition taken from the Surrealists. This circularity creates the impression that avant-garde and "pulp" surrealism were pretty much the same thing, when there were also significant differences between them that need to be addressed. For example, an analysis that compared treatment of imagery and size of publishing houses would help clarify why Surrealist works were incapable of reaching as wide a public. Second, the question of reception is raised but not answered. While no one would argue that the public was taken with the protagonists and subject matter found in pulp literature, there is no evidence presented that it was the "surrealistic" characteristics of that culture or even the paradoxes of modern existence the public imbibed. Third, and most important, the intermediate chapters seem disconnected from the introduction and conclusion so far as explaining how the mystery and paradox identified with modernity in pulp surrealism mediated the experiential "shift from industrial production to consumer capitalism" (p. 2). Mention is made of

innovations in communication technologies, but this shift goes unexplored.

An antidote rests in the text itself, where frequent tantalizing references to "circulation" occur. If fleshed out, the subject of "circulation" opens fruitful ways of reconceptualizing the experience of modernity to which surrealism (both small and capital "s") gave expression. Limited space allows only a sketch of this line of argument. Instead of defining modernity in terms of discontinuities, paradoxes, and inexplicable ambiguities of modern existence arising from certain technological circumstances, we should consider these material conditions as part of that existence and of people's experience of it. Circulation was integral to a condition addressed by Surrealists and popular writers alike. Opening the last dike of the city to Hausmanization was symbolic of the introduction of systematic industrial organization to almost all socioeconomic activities and services: production, distribution, consumption, transportation, and communication. Since the late nineteenth century, such organization—characterized by consolidation, the rise of international networks, mechanization, and electrical power—emerged along with an increasing sense of inexorable motion and a need for control (see Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins of Modernity* [1990]; M. R. Levin, ed., *Cultures of Control* [2000]). At the same time, industrial organization of the means of production and consumption was promoted as an imperative for national survival. It simultaneously speeded the flow of the masses' daily activities, mystified the persona of people who controlled and profited from the system, and side-lined moral imperatives and individual idiosyncrasies.

Modernity combined the experience of this flow and these discontinuities. After all, circumstances are perceived as paradoxical and perverse only if we are conscious of them as unexpected consequences of some existing reality against which they play. Pulp surrealist writers understood this circumstance at first hand, and Walz alludes to this fact. They wrote about criminals and police who traveled easily and rapidly in trains, taxis, and automobiles yet inexplicably ended up in a situation much like their point of departure. They sent their work to be reproduced through electrically driven linotypes and distributed systematically to mass audiences; yet publishers always required more inventive material from them. By providing a fuller discussion of the social and material conditions in which this popular culture was produced, Waltz could have given his fine literary studies an explanatory fabric that demonstrates and fleshes out the claim he makes for their historical significance.

MIRIAM R. LEVIN

Case Western Reserve University

MARJORIE A. BEALE. *The Modernist Enterprise: French Elites and the Threat of Modernity, 1900–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 231. \$49.50.

Marjorie A. Beale's book is a compact intellectual history of French elites, their projects, ideologies, and dreams in advertising, the arts, social engineering, and Catholic activism in the first half of the twentieth century. The core of this highly readable book is clearly ideas, whether the clinical psychology of Hippolyte Bernheim, Eugène "Lysis" Letailleur's critical analyses of French capital and media, Henri Moysset's social Catholicism, Le Corbusier's mechanistic architecture, or the idiosyncratic industrial aesthetics of Jean Coutrot. As a survey of trends, Beale usefully pursues a lean, solid organization and gives careful attention to contexts and consequences.

Beale structures her narratives to show how ideas worked themselves out in government, the daily news, and on the factory floor. The chapters are formulated dialectically as multiple arguments seeking resolution. The first chapter, on "Advertising as Modernism," is part business history, part French philosophical critique of capitalism, and part overview of dynamic psychiatry. Concerns about German domination of French consumers are paired with medical models of emotional and imaginative experience as journalists, artists, clinicians, and businessmen debate everything from suggestibility to surrealism in fashioning commercial advertising for the French market. Beale extends this discussion to the role of advertising strategies employed during World War I, where her original view focuses less on the efficacy of propaganda than on the new culture of media suspicion it unwittingly produced. This allows for some refined thinking about the business culture roots of postwar "disillusion."

Much of the work is organized around the "threat" of modernity encoded in Beale's title, and she makes an agreeable case for the ways in which French socioeconomic practices and traditions are particular to that nation. "The Culture of Business" takes a bit of time reviewing familiar arguments about France's "late" modernization and misgivings about Taylorism but delivers a solid reading of organizational theorist Henri Fayol and his "Gallic alternative" to the American system of scientific management—a discussion that, like many issues in the book, underscores French anxieties about reckless American capitalism.

Beale then clarifies the links between economic issues and moral conundrums. One of the more interesting chapters on this issue concerns social Catholicism, perhaps because—as the author rightly points out—reductive technocratic modernism is harder to square with the projects of thinkers like Albert Mun and René de La Tour du Pin with their emphases on class cohesion and moral cooperatives. Most engrossing are the complex cases, such as those of Eugène Duthoit and many members of the sociotheological group *Semaines Sociales* who debated the Catholic dimensions of supply and demand consumerism, believed in professional organizations, and were less opposed to than ambivalent about economic rationalism—even down to Taylorism.

A concluding chapter on engineer and industrialist

Jean Coutrot provides a nice frame for the preceding chapters, insofar as Coutrot seems to manifest all of the passions, peculiarities, and contradictions that marked the "modernist enterprise." In his politics he was of a type we now recognize as "neither left nor right," and as such contemptuous of liberalism, a believer in "selecting human wills" (p. 155), and an advocate of big projects, particularly those that used technology and psychology to unite collectives and artistic inspirations. His example seems to set the stage for some of the grave turns of the 1930s.

Throughout, the reader will pick up references to many familiar names. The introduction begins with Karl Marx and the Frankfurt School, and the conclusion ties together Walter Benjamin, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michel Foucault. Some of these are throwaway citations, although Beale revisits Paul Rabinow, Anson Rabinbach, and Richard Kuisel to good effect. The narrative ends in 1940, but some cogent connections to legacies might be developed: for example, where Beale articulates a large thesis, "Modernists and modernizers alike shared a taste for totalizing enterprises . . . that involved the mobilization of vast numbers of people and resources to achieve a carefully orchestrated effect, whether it was a economic, social, political, or aesthetic" (p. 103). Coutrot is handled well here, slight allusions are made to some of the technocrats' later involvement with Vichy, and Hubert Lyautey's colonial franchise is touched upon, but these themes are sketchy. Still, as an incisive survey of trends, Beale's book is quite effective. The first half of the twentieth century is a confusing period, and instructors of French history or technocratic modernity in search of lucid texts might do well to peruse this one.

MATT MATSUDA
Rutgers University

BUD BURKHARD. *French Marxism between the Wars: Henri Lefebvre and the "Philosophies."* Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus, for Humanity Books. 2000. Pp. 278. \$55.00.

In tackling the "Philosophies" group, Bud Burkhard has undertaken a daunting task, for its members were productive both collectively and severally in interwar France, and their interests were diversely expressed: Pierre Morhange's above all in poetry, Paul-Yves Nizan's in fiction and journalism, Georges Friedmann's in historical sociology, Georges Politzer's in psychology and political economy, Henri Lefebvre's and Norbert Guterman's in philosophy. Noting some of the group's linkages—to David Riazanov's Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, the Frankfurt School, and the postwar *Annales* school in France—and a few of its opponents and targets, including Henri Bergson, Emmanuel Mounier, Louis Aragon, André Breton, Gabriel Marcel, André Gide, Hendrik de Man, Victor Serge (and occasionally one another), further suggests the complexity of the task.

Named for *Philosophies*, the first (1924–1925) of a

series of short-lived periodicals they founded, the group's intellectual roots made them unlikely candidates to generate an independent, if belated, Gallic contribution to the international process of reconceptualizing Marxism, represented by such examples as Italy's Antonio Gramsci, Hungary's György Lukács, or Germany's Karl Korsch. They originally endorsed a neomystical solution to the *inquiétude* accompanying the cultural crisis of postwar France. The spiritually driven Morhange was originally the prime mover, but the inchoate mysticism of *Philosophies* found its more characteristic expression in Lefebvre's efforts to link the individual and the universal, and yet overcome the limitations of traditional mysticism, by positing the individual's self-definition through action in the world. Blaise Pascal, Benedict Spinoza, and Friedrich Nietzsche were among the group's diverse intellectual influences, but their preoccupation with mysticism and *l'esprit* made them particularly receptive to German idealism, notably that of F. W. von Schelling and G. F. W. Hegel. Impatient critics on the left—Burkhard is assiduous in situating the periodical and monographic literature he surveys by invoking throughout the reviews and exchanges among different journals and groups—played on the title of the "Philosophies" group's 1926–1927 journal *Esprit* by dismissing them as "pawnbrosers of the spirit" (p. 72). But other commentators who saw them as moving toward Marxism were more perceptive.

Beginning in 1928, the "Philosophies" group members aligned themselves with the French Communist Party (PCF). Simultaneously they joined with veteran Marxist Charles Rappoport in a new publishing venture, which included the *Revue marxiste* (1929–1930), exceptional for its content and attitude and the most important Marxist journal to appear in interwar France. Via Riazanov in Moscow, the *Revue* was able to publish rare or unknown communist works, notably some of Karl Marx's 1844 manuscripts, whose humanist and Hegelian elements spoke powerfully to the "Philosophies," who had themselves recently passed though German idealism and who had known only Marx's later, more "scientific" works. Rappoport, whose influence on the *Revue* Burkhard insufficiently notes, was receptive as well. The first issue declared Marxism to be not a calcified doctrine but an evolving method of inquiry and criticism.

But this remarkable journal came to a scandal-ridden end, involving divisions within the group, a foolhardy effort to increase operating funds at the roulette table, intrigue on the left, fisticuffs, a PCF inquiry (although the *Revue* was not a party publication), and the party's repudiation of Morhange and Guterman. Some of the "Philosophies," and many later commentators, concluded that the *Revue* had been the target of an international campaign orchestrated by the Comintern, perhaps Joseph Stalin himself, to undermine a potentially autonomous French Marxism, but Burkhard argues convincingly that the affair was rather the local working out of the relation-

ship between the PCF and its militants. Burkhard's claim that "the memoirs of anyone even remotely connected to *Revue marxiste* . . . all mention the review as an important stage of their intellectual and political lives" (p. 124) overlooks the conspicuous silence on the experience of Rappoport's *Une vie révolutionnaire, 1883-1940* (1991). The influence on the *Revue* experiment lived on, as Burkhard makes clear in useful later chapters devoted to the publications of Friedmann and especially Guterman and Lefebvre, whose *La conscience mystifiée* (1936) dismissed "onanistic mysticism" (p. 214) but, in offering a diagnosis of mystification and alienation, also dismissed any effort to treat consciousness as a simple epiphenomenon of matter. But the cohesiveness of the "Philosophies" of the 1920s was never regained. Guterman left for the United States. Nizan and Politzer died in the war. The PCF in 1958 expelled Lefebvre, France's most important contributor to a humanist Marxism.

While some members, especially Nizan and Lefebvre, have been the subjects of full-length studies, no one has told the story of the collective efforts and dynamics of the "Philosophies" as Burkhard does in this highly accessible and illuminating addition to the literature on intellectual life in interwar France.

WAYNE THORPE
McMaster University

SARAH FARMER. *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 300. \$24.95.

CAROLINE WIEDMER. *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 244. \$39.95.

NANCY WOOD. *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*. New York: Berg. 1999. Pp. vii, 204. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.50.

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw the ascent of "memory" as an object of investigation by historians. The stream of "memory studies" was clearly related to the pervasive cultural sense of an end of an era, both as a chronological fact and as a reflection of rapid socioeconomic transformation. The "rediscovery" of Maurice Halbwachs's theories on collective memory; the publication of Pierre Nora's massive edited tomes on *lieux de mémoire*; the growing scholarly interest in the links between history and memory, documentation and testimony; the popularity of works of fiction and films on memory; debates among psychologists over "deep" and repressed memory; and, not least, the public controversies on forms and implications of official commemoration. All seemed to indicate that "memory" had firmly established itself as a central historical category.

As we move farther into the new millennium, there are signs that this preoccupation with memory will

gradually diminish. This may be most evident in an area where "memory studies" have hitherto produced a particularly large, albeit qualitatively uneven, body of scholarship: the destruction associated with the Nazi occupation of Europe and the material reconstruction and identity reformation of the postwar period. As we move beyond the fifty-year mark, the number of living eyewitnesses rapidly diminishes, and the meaning of memory is thereby transformed from a personal and immediate recollection into a vicarious and mediated perception.

The books under review reflect both the concern with memory characteristic of the late twentieth century and the growing critical distance from this category that may be expected to expand in the near future. In this sense, these studies are on the threshold between two eras, just as their subject matter is the contemplation of a traumatic past by societies bent on normalizing their present existence.

Sarah Farmer's book is the most narrowly conceived and focused of the three. While she makes a case for the relevance of her study to our understanding of postwar France's coming to terms with the past, Farmer concentrates almost exclusively on one specific World War II massacre and the manner in which it came to be commemorated. Nevertheless, this study provides a fascinating glimpse into the politics of memory in a nation that has gradually shifted from a glorification of the Resistance and a denial of massive collaboration and accommodation to what some see as an unhealthy obsession with the sins of the past.

The massacre of 642 men, women, and children in the town of Oradour on June 10, 1944, by a Waffen-SS unit came to symbolize the martyrdom of innocent French civilians by the German occupiers. Explaining first why this specific event was chosen to represent the horrors of the war, Farmer then demonstrates how the postwar narrative of the event was scripted by the state and represented in the organization of the site. Consequently, both the memory of the massacre and its material remnants were expropriated from the survivors and made into national property. Thus personal and communal trauma was sacrificed in favor of creating a symbol of the nation's fate. Obstacles to this appropriation were swiftly removed, the most disturbing of which was the discovery that while Oradour came to represent German bestiality, a number of the soldiers were in fact Alsatian recruits, a finding that caused a major scandal during the trial of the perpetrators in 1953.

Although Farmer comments on the national scene and includes some comparative observations, it is her interviews with individual survivors that lend this study a unique quality, enabling us to recognize the deep divide between local and national memory, the lingering (and generally ignored) resentment among those who were deprived of their town and their memories for a second time by the very state that claimed to represent them. For by sealing off the old town as a site of commemoration and building a new town right

next to it, the authorities have severed the survivors from the streets and houses of their youth, yet have condemned them to live within daily sight of the scene of their greatest loss and trauma.

This meticulously researched, well-written, and moving study would have benefited from a closer examination of the manner in which the two major shifts in French politics of memory have influenced the perception and reality of Oradour. Thus, one wonders how Oradour fit into the move from the original glorification of the Resistance to the growing preoccupation with collaboration since the 1970s, not least in view of the fact that while Oradour was located in an area of active resistance, no direct link between partisan activity and the massacre has ever been found. Second, Farmer unfortunately has little to say on the effect, if any, of the emergence of the fate of the Jews in occupied and Vichy France as a major focus of research and controversy on the national representation and local understanding of what had always been seen as a representative "French" trauma.

Unlike Farmer, Caroline Wiedmer and Nancy Wood take a much wider perspective, raising a variety of issues concerning French and German politics of memory and commemoration. Less focused and coherent, these studies nevertheless make for instructive, interesting, and at times quite fascinating reading. Despite their wide range, however, neither Wiedmer nor Wood offers a truly comparative dimension, preferring to discuss the French and German cases side by side rather than engage in a deeper analysis of differences and similarities.

Wiedmer devotes only about a quarter of her book to a discussion of French representations of the Holocaust, focusing primarily on the monuments at the Vélodrome d'Hiver, site of the great roundup of Jews by the French authorities in July 1942, and at Drancy, where most of the 76,000 Jews eventually deported to their deaths were first interned by the French authorities. Wiedmer argues that despite the progress in historical research, the Parisian "memorial landscape" is still largely defined by Charles de Gaulle's version of the occupation as "neatly divided into a mass of résistants and a mere handful of collaborationists and traitors" (pp. 33–34). This situation began changing in the last couple of decades, notably with the debate over the commemoration of the Vélodrome d'Hiver, which culminated in French President Jacques Chirac's statement in 1995 (following years of refusal to do so by his predecessor, François Mitterrand), that France had "delivered its wards to their executioners" (p. 53). The price of the official nationalization of the monument at the Vélodrome d'Hiver has been, however, that the specific fate of the Jews was integrated into the general picture of France's martyrdom. Conversely, Shelomo Selinger's very different monument at Drancy, argues Wiedmer, indicates the path out of the dilemma, for, while it blames only the Nazis for the crime, it stresses the singularity of Jewish culture and suffering. Whether this might perpetuate the view of

Jews as eternal outsiders and victims is a question that Wiedmer does not raise in this context.

The quandary of French commemoration of the Holocaust is rooted both in France's equivocal role in that episode and in the French Jewish community's perceived predicament of having to choose between an integration that would deny difference and an insistence on difference that might threaten integration. The quandary of German commemoration of the Holocaust is the fundamental difficulty of commemorating one's own victims and yet retaining a positive sense of national history and identity, all the while under the critical eye of the international community and Jewish observers. In this latter context, Wiedmer provides an especially useful account of the controversies surrounding the construction of the Jewish Museum and the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. To be sure, since both projects are still far from complete, these essays' main purpose is to offer a general background. Yet Wiedmer's informed and balanced discussion underlines the crucial role of debates over plastic representations of the past in exposing and molding current political attitudes. Wiedmer thereby makes a convincing case for the argument that analyzing the relationship between representations of past events and present perceptions is just as important as reconstructing the past from its own archival records.

Wiedmer's book is unfortunately marred by several structural, methodological, and textual flaws. Structurally, it is not at all clear why she chose to open a book devoted to French and German representations of the Holocaust with a chapter on Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1986). Methodologically, Wiedmer misses an opportunity to compare French and German perceptions of their respective but overlapping past catastrophes. Finally, some factual errors should have been corrected before the book went to print. To cite just a few, Pierre Laval appears as the president of France (p. 41); "night and fog" (*Nacht und Nebel*) refers to a specific order by Adolf Hitler to shoot enemy commandos, not to "disappearing" prisoners (p. 55); the first month of the Jewish year is *Tishrei*, not *Tishri* (p. 62); the term *Kedoshim* (Hebrew) or *kdoyschim* (Yiddish) that appears on monuments alludes specifically to the act of *kiddush hashem*, that is, sanctifying God through death, and not merely to blessing (p. 66); neither the "conventional" nor the "new" Israeli historians would agree with the generalization that "the victims of the Holocaust are regarded in Israel as heroes who fell in the first line of defense" (p. 142); nor would historians of any nationality agree that "by convention 'Holocaust' refers to all the victims of the National Socialist policy of murder and not exclusively to the Jewish victims" (p. 208); in fact, the opposite is the case.

The role of memory in the identity and self-perception of postwar Europe is treated most ambitiously in Nancy Wood's book. This eclectic collection of essays ranges from discussions of historiography, political philosophy, and judicial process, to memoirs, autobi-

ography, and film. If Wiedmer seems more comfortable in the German context, Wood is obviously more familiar with France. Thus the essays on Jürgen Habermas and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen are somewhat derivative, while her discussions of the film *Hiroshima, mon amour* (1960), or of the complexities of Jewish Algerian memory, are more original and poignant. Possibly the most striking and powerful essay in this collection, however, ventures beyond a specific national context. In analyzing Jean Améry's *At the Mind's Limits: Contemplations by a Survivor of Auschwitz and Its Realities* (1980), Wood convincingly argues that Améry had chosen a path between the desire for revenge and the temptation of reconciliation by insisting to his German readers that "the resentments of Nazism's victims be permitted to 'remain alive,' so that they can arouse in all Germans a 'self-mistrust,' a refusal to allow German history 'to be neutralized by time' but instead to be claimed as a 'negative possession'" (p. 64). Moreover, Wood's critical reading of Primo Levi, who rejected Améry's notion of resentment, and her accurate identification of Levi's own powerful sense of resentment in his correspondence with German readers, offers a significant insight into the dilemmas and contradictions of coming to terms with an unbearable past.

Conversely, Wood's essay on *The First Man*, published 34 years after its author, Albert Camus, was killed in a car crash in 1960, fails, to my mind, to do justice to this extraordinary work, by arguing that it is "the *pièdes-noirs* who are, undoubtedly, the main subjects of the novel" (p. 149). To argue this is to miss the central motif of a book whose core is the loss of childhood innocence and of the memory of childhood. This is especially lamentable considering the title of Wood's own collection of essays and the innumerable "vectors of memory" that run through Camus's novel.

Reading these books in succession, one recognizes both the richness of this field of inquiry and its limitations. If the authors all refer to the same obligatory authorities on memory and representation, they eventually come up with very different perspectives; if some might accuse them of straying too far from the historian's obligation to documentation and reconstruction, the range of their sources and the variety of their interpretations more than compensate for this perceived lack. That they do not end up with a comprehensive and entirely coherent representation of French and German confrontations with past traumas is hardly surprising; but they provide plenty of food for thought and rumination, much of which is relevant to our own concerns as scholars and as members of the human race. And this, after all, is more than what most books published these days seem to accomplish.

OMER BARTOV
Brown University

FRANCISCA DE HAAN, *Gender and the Politics of Office Work, the Netherlands, 1860-1940*. Amsterdam: Am-

sterdam University Press; distributed by University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor. 1998. Pp. 243. \$47.50.

For some time now, scholars of women and gender have expanded, reassessed, and revitalized the interdisciplinary literature on white-collar work. Studies have established the importance of women's participation, internationally, in the white-collar sector; introduced the topics of power and sexuality at the workplace; and detailed the links between white-collar women and "first wave" feminism. Francisca de Haan builds on this scholarship but goes beyond it in ways influenced by poststructuralism.

De Haan's book draws in particular on the work of feminist sociologist Rosemary Pringle and seeks to explain the ways in which the low-level Dutch office worker, particularly the secretary, came to be defined as female in the century before World War II. Although the book's title refers to politics, the author is less interested in the political than the discursive. The "political," for de Haan, lies in struggle over the definition, and thus the reality, of white-collar positions. This is both the book's strength and its weakness.

The volume proceeds chronologically, with different issues addressed in each chapter. The work opens with an analysis of early views by Dutch feminists on the importance of office work in providing women with suitable professional employment. De Haan shows that their views met with mixed responses by men; employers were keen to hire at lower pay levels and therefore accepted that clerical work suited women's temperament, while male clerks' associations were hostile to women, fearing competition and the deskilling of the field.

As lower-level office work expanded at the turn of the century and after World War I, de Haan analyzes the new voices that also took up the issue: directors of secretarial and business schools, professional women, and politicians and labor leaders, who worried about male employment after the war. She presents evidence from business-course catalogues, novels, advertisements, and film, as well as more traditional sources such as organizational records. She argues that with the field's expansion came both an acceptance of women in lower-tier positions and also an image of those female employees as flighty, non-career-minded, and temporary.

Within her framework of contested meanings, de Haan shows that the new position of secretary became defined as feminine owing largely to its nurturant dimensions, its association with youthful beauty, and its lack of a career ladder. Male clerks anxious to uphold the masculinity of white-collar work simply could not prevail against this construct, although they succeeded in preventing any new gendered definition of executive work.

In her concluding chapter, de Haan listens to the voices of white-collar women themselves, analyzing the results of a questionnaire she designed and sent out.

She finds in the results yet more struggle, between supervisors intent on harassing women employees and women intent on avoiding it; between employers determined to pay little and demand much and women intent on improving their salaries, their job skills, and the respect they received for their contributions. Yet for de Haan, within this framework of struggle, white-collar women created spaces in which they enjoyed work, friendship, and even romance.

De Haan's study offers valuable new insights into the gendering of white-collar work, but the weaknesses of her approach make for frustrating reading. Because her emphasis lies in the construction of meaning, the author does not set out the socioeconomic framework within which office work developed. The reader never learns the nature of the Dutch economy over the past hundred years, nor the extent of the labor market in white-collar work, the gender division of that labor market, or its class composition.

This omission is particularly glaring given that de Haan insists that her study reveals the limits of the concept of *verzuiling* in Dutch politics. Here de Haan moves from her own limited definition of politics as discourse to the traditional definition linking politics to government and to political and economic interests. *Verzuiling* or "pillarization" is central to our current understanding of Dutch politics as resting on four corporatist "pillars." De Haan asserts that those pillars are gendered, but her argument is undercut by her failure to present any context for this claim, since she eschews economic data and mentions political groups, such as labor and feminist organizations, only briefly. It would appear that language only takes us so far in a study of work and politics; it has in this volume illuminated aspects of female white-collar work but left many larger questions in the shadows.

CAROLE ELIZABETH ADAMS
University of Central Florida

ALDO STELLA. *Il "Bauernführer": Michael Gaismair e l'utopia di un repubblicanesimo popolare*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico Italo-germanico in Trento: Monografie, number 33.) Bologna: Mulino. 1999. Pp. 340. L. 44,000.

Aldo Stella, a well-known scholar of early modern Italian heterodox movements and ideas, here summarizes and expands on his previous work on the charismatic "Bauernführer" Michael Gaismair and argues for his importance both as a key figure in the peasant rebellions of the early Reformation period and as a political thinker. The book is an attempt to understand the reasons for the 1525 conflict of peasants with Tyrolean ecclesiastical and secular authorities and Gaismair's role in it.

Beginning with the complex historiography of peasant rebellions, Stella makes it clear that he does not share Marxist interpretations, especially those that were current in the former German Democratic Republic. Although he is indebted to the Czech historian

Josef Macek, whose work he generously acknowledges throughout, Stella considers Macek's 1960 book on Gaismair too doctrinaire, as he does Giorgio Pillini's (1995). There follows a masterful sketch of the world of Tyrolean peasants, heavily taxed by landlords, and of miners laboring under oppressive conditions, especially after the Habsburg brothers Charles V and Ferdinand pawned the silver mines to wealthy financiers like the Fuggers.

Gaismair grew up in this alpine region and knew its social and economic conditions well. Although of peasant extraction, he became a member of the regional administration and later joined the secretariat of the prince-bishop of Brixen, from which position he observed the coming of the German Peasants' War with growing sympathy. One of Stella's main points is that Gaismair, unlike his contemporary Thomas Müntzer, formulated a plan to unite peasants, miners, and burghers in a common effort to free themselves from economic and political oppression. Soon he was elected field commander by peasants and some burghers in the Brixen area, but he was unable or unwilling to control looting and burning once the peasants rose against their lords. According to Stella, Gaismair played a key part in drawing up a list of thirty articles presented to Archduke Ferdinand. The insurrectionists demanded an end to ecclesiastical lordship and the replacement of the prince-bishop by a secular prince. They wanted a return of customary law instead of Roman law, the people's right to elect their own parish priests, the prohibition of property ownership by ecclesiastics, poor relief, and an end to high taxes. However, they also affirmed their loyalty to Archduke Ferdinand. Confronted by similar articles drawn up by an assembly of peasant delegates at Meran, Ferdinand called a general Tyrolean diet in Innsbruck and reluctantly accepted the articles, which, however, he soon disavowed.

Gaismair hoped for an anti-Habsburg league with Swiss Protestant cantons and southern German cities and princes. In April 1526, he wrote his most important work, the *Tiroler Landesordnung*. Unlike some other scholars, Stella accepts Gaismair as its sole author. This document offered a plan for a new government for south Tyrol, which would be a popular republic of peasants, miners, and burghers with elected representatives from each group. Feudal lordship would be abolished, and castles and monasteries would be destroyed, as would city walls. All forms of servitude would be ended. Stella argues against interpreting the *Landesordnung* as testimony of growing class-consciousness on the part of poorer sectors of society. Instead, he suggests that Gaismair envisioned a free, democratic republic adapted to the actual society of south Tyrol. He rejects Marxist "urbanocentrism" and strongly supports Peter Blickle's concept of "*Gemeinderreform*" as illustrated in Gaismair's ideal of a common cause that would unite the constituent parts of society.

Stella's most controversial idea is that Gaismair's

egalitarianism was inspired by Christian humanism, possibly mediated by Huldrych Zwingli whose ideas he seemed to have shared and whom he repeatedly visited in Zurich. The author considers Gaismair's plan for restructuring society to be a utopia on a par with that of Thomas More and quotes with approval Macek's opinion that "the *Tiroler Landesordnung* is one of the most important and interesting Christian utopias in the history of the world."

The concluding section shows the impossibility of Gaismair's dream: no ruler at the time contemplated such a radical diminution of his power. The "Bauernführer" had to flee Habsburg territory and sought refuge in the Venetian state. There the government first treated him as a convenient threat to Ferdinand during the wars of the late 1520s but lost interest in him after the peace of 1530. He was assassinated in his own house near Padua in 1532. Stella raises the suspicion that at least some pro-imperial members of the government colluded with the murderers.

In this book, Gaismair emerges as a luminous figure, an upright man fighting for a Christian, just, and equitable society. Stella makes a strong case for giving him a more important place in early modern history than he has received until now.

ELISABETH G. GLEASON
University of San Francisco

WOLFGANG BEHRINGER. *Shaman of Oberstdorf: Chonrad Stoeckhlin and the Phantoms of the Night*. Translated by H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT. (Studies in Early Modern German History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1998. Pp. xii, 203. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.95.

It is, perhaps, the oldest story and the boldest question: the inquiry into what lies beyond the grave, and the pledge between two companions that the first to die will return and reveal all. At Shrovetide in 1578, in the small town of Oberstdorf in the Allgäu, among the picturesque valleys of the Bavarian Alps, this eternal scene was enacted by the horse wrangler, Chonrad Stoeckhlin, and his friend, the oxherd Jacob Walch. Walch died soon after, but, sure enough, returned in spectral form to initiate his friend into the secrets of the afterlife. Stoeckhlin soon found himself regularly plunged into ecstatic trances, in which he seemed to journey in the company of the "phantoms of the night," mysterious, powerful, yet generally benign beings. At the same time, he accrued status within his community as a healer, diviner, and witch-finder. His denunciation of a neighbor for witchcraft sparked a series of trials in Oberstdorf, which eventually led to his own execution and the deaths of over twenty people from his community at the hands of the rigidly Counter-Reforming bishop of Augsburg, and in turn excited a surge of witch-hunting across southeastern Germany. In this English translation of *Chonrad Stoeckhlin und die Nachtschar: Eine Geschichte aus der frühen Neuzeit* (1994), Wolfgang Behringer, the lead-

ing modern historian of the Bavarian witchcraze, reconstructs these events and painstakingly places them in their historical and ethnological contexts. In twenty crisp chapters, he demonstrates the importance of the Stoeckhlin case for the development of witchcraft prosecution in the region and deftly unpacks the nuances of Alpine legend-motifs from the often careless and naïve, if not designing, assumptions of nineteenth and twentieth-century nationalist folklorists. His patient dissection of their sleights of hand is one of the many delights of the book, but another is his vivid and moving evocation of the social, economic, and political realities of the early modern Alpine world and his tone of solidarity with the victims and their class (for example, automatically supplying the birth and death dates of even the humblest bit-players in his story).

Inevitably, Behringer's book invites comparison with the modern classics of Carlo Ginzburg, particularly *The Night Battles* (1983) and *Ecstasies* (1990). There is material overlap: the legends of the Vorarlberg and the Allgäu have much in common with those of the Friuli, and Stoeckhlin's ecstatic flight and witch-hunting persona echo the claims of the *benandanti* as recorded by their inquisitors and immortalized by Ginzburg. In their broader conclusions, too, the historians share a charge to rehabilitate the notion of a dynamic popular cultural contribution to the development of the "great tradition," specifically in the claim that the witches "sabbat" was no inquisitorial invention *ex nihilo* but rather an appropriation and distortion of a cluster of popular myths of spectral nocturnal journeys and gatherings. (The potentially problematic preference for binary elite/popular analytical demarcation seems to be a further shared assumption.) Nonetheless, the two employ radically different methodologies. Where Ginzburg sought typologically to prove the continuous existence of a reified shamanistic tradition stretching back into Eurasian prehistory, Behringer's analysis more sensibly foregrounds the contingent and the contextual: no cultic continuity then, but rather survivals of mythic fragments, "vestigial mythologems" (p. 145), subject to constant reconfiguration and hermeneutic and functional shifts.

One recalls the command of detail and of interplay between structure and conjuncture, between social and cultural trends and contingent events and personalities, which so distinguished the author's *Witchcraft Persecutions in Bavaria: Popular Magic, Religious Zealotry, and Reason of State in Early Modern Europe* (1997). The present volume, although much more condensed, is no less replete with arresting detail, such as the description (p. 133) of the painted Dance of Death in the Anna-Kapelle at Füssen, incorporating in one of its scenes an encounter between Death and a witch. This rare depiction surely alluded to the Stoeckhlin trials and their aftermath and well illustrates the claim that the trials, which in part grew out of an elite interpretation of popular cultural *topoi*, helped to

forge images—even iconographies—of witchcraft that were then in turn reassimilated by the people.

It is a tribute to Behringer's fascinating book, which has been subtly translated by H. C. Erik Midelfort, that one yearns to know more. More, for example, about how the social, economic, political, and religious tensions evident in this region, as elsewhere, in the post-Reformation period affected relationships between the living and the dead generally. What of the normative institutional culture of charity to the dead, the background against which Stoecklin's idiosyncratic views were drawn? How did his contemporaries now "place" the dead and their relationships with them? To what extent, indeed, was faith in the continuing possibility of any relationship at all maintained as much through myths of the sort promoted by Stoecklin as it was by official preaching and canonical ritual? Of course, these are questions that should be posed for all regions, not just the Allgäu. Although he burned for it, Stoecklin's confidence in the authenticity of his private revelation was a shining vindication of religious experience confounding that cliché of agnostic pragmatism: "no one has ever come back to tell us!"

TREVOR JOHNSON

University of the West of England,
Bristol

VERA LIND. *Selbstmord in der Frühen Neuzeit: Diskurs, Lebenswelt und kultureller Wandel am Beispiel der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein*. (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 146.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 518. DM 108.

By combining a survey of learned debates on self-destruction in early modern Germany with a detailed study of suicide and attempted suicide in the Schleswig-Holstein region between 1600 and 1820, Vera Lind has produced an ambitious and rewarding book. It would be difficult to think of an aspect of early modern suicide not considered in this study, although its rich detail would benefit from a clearer regional context.

The study places early modern ideas about suicide—in criminal law, medicine, theology, philosophy and literature—alongside cases of suicide and attempted suicide in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, two Lutheran principalities of the Holy Roman Empire bordering on (and often ruled by) the kingdom of Denmark. Lind shows that in the eighteenth century local responses to self-destruction often led rather than followed the trends toward secularization and decriminalization in learned debates. This important conclusion is based on a comprehensive set of three hundred recorded instances of suicide and attempted suicide, which the author has mined for insights on a series of topics radiating outward from the suicidal individual. Lind examines the self-perceptions of suicides, individual motives for the act, statistical patterns, and, finally, contemporaries' sense that suicide

was on the rise in the eighteenth century. She then explores the interactions between the suicidal individual and his or her family and community, including attempts to protect those thought to be in danger of suicide. Death and burial were the final acts of the drama of early modern suicide, and Lind describes an *ars moriendi* of suicide, as well as the complex and conflicting responses to the question of the Christian burial of suicides.

Almost every section of Lind's study contains striking evidence and valuable insights. Lind describes the criminalization of suicide in the Holy Roman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then examines eighteenth-century criticism of the legal and moral condemnation of suicide (pp. 56–111). She shows that by the second half of the eighteenth century, the German Enlightenment's challenge to the condemnation of suicide had led to a new contradiction. Proponents of the Enlightenment in law, theology, and medicine argued that suicides were not morally culpable because the act itself was evidence of mental incapacity. At the same time, however, they defended suicide as the principled decision of a free and rational individual. As Lind astutely notes, this contradiction continues to shape debates on suicide to this day.

What effect did these learned debates have on the actual incidence of suicide and responses to it in eighteenth-century Germany? To answer this question, the author narrows her focus to the Schleswig-Holstein region, combining a topical analysis with microhistories of several specific cases. Lind charts the gradual disappearance of diabolical forces in the accounts of those who attempted suicide. Medical explanations based on "melancholy" grew in importance, but a narrative of passivity remained unchanged across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: suicides understood themselves as victims of diabolical or emotional forces, not as rational individuals responsible for their attempts at self-destruction. Lind's statistical analyses of the three hundred cases (pp. 190–219) break down the incidence of suicide and attempted suicide by gender, estate, region, and age. Most evident is the gender ratio: over twice as many men as women appear in the recorded cases of suicide and attempted suicide. (This is only partially explained, Lind argues, by underreporting.) The author concludes that a secular understanding of suicide in eighteenth-century Germany followed changing responses to the act in Schleswig-Holstein, where a *de facto* decriminalization was well advanced by the end of the eighteenth century, when learned debates began to catch up with local practice.

In its scope, this book can stand alongside Michael MacDonald and Terence R. Murphy's *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (1990) as a comprehensive attempt to bring together the intellectual and social history of suicide in a specific region. Unfortunately, Lind neglects the regional context that connects international learned debates with specific local

cases. To understand how and why suicide was committed, recorded, interpreted, and punished in early modern Schleswig-Holstein, we must consider the region's confessional and administrative basis. Yet the book does not mention the role of the region's Lutheran state church, its complex administration in relation to the Danish crown, or its position between German and Scandinavian cultures. More specifically, Lind does not examine the intellectual world of the pastors, lawyers, and administrators who recorded and shaped her cases. Most of these men studied at the region's only university at Kiel (founded in 1665), and its development from Lutheran orthodoxy to Pietism and to support for the Enlightenment could inform Lind's analysis of the local responses to suicide. The impressive detail with which the cases are reconstructed makes the regional intellectual and administrative context all the more important, especially for readers unfamiliar with early modern Schleswig-Holstein.

CRAIG KOSLOFSKY
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

STEFAN BRAKENSIEK. *Fürstendiener-Staatsbeamte-Bürger: Amtsführung und Lebenswelt der Ortsbeamten in niederhessischen Kleinstädten (1750–1830)*. (Bürger-tum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschafts-geschichte, number 12.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. viii, 538.

This volume is part of a series on modern *Bürgertum* in Germany and elsewhere. Although it is hardly the first monograph to examine government officialdom, it is one of the few to focus on the lower echelons of the bureaucratic hierarchy, both as public officials and as members of provincial elite society. Stefan Brakensiek builds his analysis on three thousand officials based in 234 localities in Lower Hesse during the crucial transition from the old regime through the Napoleonic period into the restoration. Judging from this substantial cohort, roughly ninety percent of officials were born and at least partly educated in Hesse-Cassel, a fact that may have assisted their evolution from private retainers of a nearly "absolute" monarch to a bureaucratic elite with its own clearly defined identity and interests. As such they set and advanced their own, sometimes competing agendas against the central authority's attempts to establish order, which were defined both by their professional concerns and their self-interest as a locally based provincial elite.

Brakensiek argues that their passage was neither linear nor inevitable, since it was largely generated by tactical political and fiscal considerations. He does, however, identify four stages of development: the period prior to the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), during which they comprised a largely undifferentiated cohort that was *Schrißsässig*, but generally performed its tasks with relative autonomy; the reign of Landgrave Frederick II (1760–1785), whose reformist, En-

lightenment agenda they readily adopted, albeit in a more tightly structured, Prussian administrative environment; the turbulent, revolutionary years, during which they easily adjusted to the much-expanded territorial reach and activist agenda of Jerome Bonaparte's kingdom of Westphalia (which also doubled their size); the restoration, during which the returning Elector William I (1785–1821) won few friends within the bureaucracy by reducing the bureaucracy's size (often at the expense of Jerome's appointees), terminating two generations of "enlightened" reform, and steadfastly preserving those remaining vestiges of the patrimonial administrative system.

Whereas the first half of the volume is devoted to the local bureaucracy's "official" side, the second half attempts to reconstruct the *Lebenswelt* within the largely anonymous world of Lower Hesse's towns and villages. Generally speaking, prospects for both professional and social advancement were fairly limited. There were almost no prospects of wealth, ennoblement, or promotion to the central government in Cassel, which was generally reserved for the separate group of noble and ennobled officials. Yet, with the evolution of a merit system based on higher standards of education and professional achievement, local officials were rewarded with escalating salaries and the prospect of advancement to an intermediate position among the *Schrißsässig*, eventually becoming part of a larger, more cosmopolitan territorial elite. Although merit was of overriding importance, family connections through marriage often determined patronage, both for incumbent officials and their children; indeed, nepotism was even a consideration when the prince and his ministers were making (or retaining) local appointments, a consideration that sometimes saved Bonapartist appointees from William I's ax.

If anything, family connections became even more of a factor with the gradual movement away from arranged marriages. By contrast, mere friendship was of little importance in determining status. Although local officials hardly comprised a closed caste (especially when compared with their counterparts in Cassel), their children did enjoy ready access to careers in government, as well as the opportunity to enter business and, with it, ultimate entry into the ranks of local *Bürgertum*. Integrating the *Schrißsässig* and *Bürger* was, however, not an easy transition. Local civil officials were distinguished by education, distinctive dress, and adherence to different customs and rites associated with high culture. Moreover, they were tainted by the Bonaparte regime's affinity for higher taxes, secret police, and foreign wars. The long-anticipated decision to detach their judicial functions in 1821 sharpened the cleavage by pitting "liberal" judges fighting for local autonomy against the obedient servants of an impersonal central government. Yet social integration into a composite middle class was assisted by the elimination of statutory distinctions in 1831. Although the text sometimes assumes an encyclopedic tone, the size of the author's prosopographical cohort and collateral

research (as evidenced by a gargantuan bibliography) attest to the enormous erudition of his study.

CHARLES INGRAO
Purdue University

HERMANN BUTZER, *Diäten und Freifahrt im Deutschen Reichstag: Der Weg zum Entschädigungsgesetz von 1906 und die Nachwirkung dieser Regelung bis in die Zeit des Grundgesetzes*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 116.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1999. Pp. 515. DM 110.28.

In this unique contribution to the history of German parliamentarism, Hermann Butzer primarily explores the problem of achieving compensation for members of the Reichstag during the Second Empire. Prior to unification, German state governments regularly reimbursed deputies for their service in the legislature. Even Prussia, upon the establishment of a Landtag, paid parliamentary deputies just as it had compensated members of provincial assemblies.

When Germany unified in 1867–1871, a new situation confronted Otto von Bismarck and his fellow conservatives: universal, equal manhood suffrage and the secret ballot. The uncertain political situation created by the democratic franchise led the old order's protectors to oppose compensation for members of the newly formed Reichstag, and the North German Confederation's constitution forbade such payment. Conservatives argued that a parliamentary mandate was an honorary office exercised in the public interest. Payment would create professional politicians ensnared by political ideologies, special interest groups, or personal greed.

Although they recognized these arguments as spurious, the National Liberal and Progressive champions of compensation assigned higher priority to other liberal rights in their constitutional battles with Bismarck: the chancellor's accountability to the Reichstag, its control of the budget, the right to ratify treaties, parliamentary immunity. This "fateful" decision of 1867 then denied deputies their right to compensation for over three decades. The only exceptions made to the ideal of the honorary office were the introduction of travel privileges on German railways and the occasional reimbursement of Reichstag committee members who met during a recess to prepare important legislation for the succeeding session.

Only in 1906 did Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow decide to compensate parliamentary deputies. He realized that the *Honoratioren* ideal, if it had ever existed, had not only died but was highly inconvenient. The Reichstag frequently could not pass crucial legislation because it lacked a quorum. Deputies were hardly independent servants of the state. They received payment from a host of private sources: political parties, economic organizations, newspapers for whom they wrote political commentary. To counter the lack of compensation at the imperial level, individuals refused to run for the Reichstag unless they received

simultaneous election to the Landtag. Once elected, they concentrated their energies on the Reichstag.

Most instructive is Butzer's analysis of the reasons for the delay in achieving the right to compensation. Apart from the initial hesitation to endanger other rights, the parties of the Reichstag lacked the *savoir faire* necessary to force constitutional change. Initially, leftist parties backed away from the issue of payment when Bismarck outmaneuvered them politically; once Bismarck left the political scene, they had lost the capacity for constructive, cooperative action. In Butzer's view, the parties of the Reichstag could only unite to combat a governmental measure, never to compel adoption of a plan developed by themselves.

Thus, when compensation occurred, it came as a gift from the government. In the 1870s, imperial authorities introduced free rail travel to and from the Reichstag and the compensation of committee members because South German states wanted influence over that decade's unifying legislation. Bismarck wanted to cultivate the good will of liberal parties whose votes supported unity against regional and sectarian forces. In 1906, the government's dependence on the Center Party's vote for direct imperial taxation led it to offer compensation as an incentive, once again to southern deputies, for supporting the government. Nevertheless, the *Honoratioren* ideal persisted; the legal concept employed in the constitutional change was reimbursement for costs incurred while serving in the Reichstag.

Having traced the progress toward compensation during the Second Reich, Butzer demonstrates that the Weimar Republic and the National Socialist regime adhered to principles established earlier. Although the republic expanded travel privileges, it never forsook the idea that deputies were reimbursed, not salaried. In 1949, only the German Democratic Republic initially subscribed to the idea of a salary for parliamentary deputies. Although the Federal Republic's approach changed gradually in the 1950s and 1960s, only the Federal Supreme Court's decision in 1975 introduced the legal principle that members of parliament are entitled to make a living from their work as politicians.

In this book, Butzer has treated us to several different works. He attacks the problem of compensation as a legal historian, yet he never forgets that legal systems develop in political contexts. After his extensive foray into the Second Reich's history, he has added the shorter treatise on the ensuing constitutional evolution. Scholars from various fields will find much useful information in Butzer's history.

BEVERLY HECKART
Central Washington University

YOUNG-SUN HONG, *Welfare, Modernity, and the Weimar State, 1919–1933*. (Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 289. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$24.95.

Although the German welfare state has paradigmatic status, its complex components are often lamentably misunderstood. This trenchant analysis by Young-Sun Hong integrates a number of elements, notably the state, the municipalities, and the churches. A particular focus of attention is the conflict over the remit of the state and voluntary organizations deriving legitimacy from the Kaiserreich. Welfare is seen as an amalgam of social democracy, progressivism, and Christian conservatism. This reflects the emergence of new categories of the impoverished as a result of the impact of inflation: for example, middle-class groups dependent on pensions.

Hong pays particular attention to social work. In many ways, this study can be read as a critical analysis of contentions of the late Detlef Peukert concerning the continuities of the Weimar and Nazi welfare systems. There are excellent chapters on poor law reform, the well-trodden paths of youth welfare (was old age never thematized?), welfare expenditure, and the dimension of gender and the social work profession—deriving from the notion that welfare was the woman's sphere. Hong considers these displacements in the light of the new notion of women as citizens. At the same time, the social work profession emerged. All this was subsumed in a distinctive corporatism as ideas of organic unity replaced parliamentary democracy.

The book may be read as a drawn-out duel between a Weberian interpretation of administration and the rationalized power structures of Michel Foucault. Attention to the late entry of eugenics illustrates that this is more a piece of Weberian revisionism than a fundamental recasting in terms of authoritarian institutions. Consequently, eugenics makes only a late entry. The book concludes with reflections on the transition from a welfare state to a racial state, in which eugenics takes a leading role. Hong points to the reinterpretation of the Christian theological rationales to facilitate sterilization, associating this with a shift neatly characterized as from *Fürsorge* to *Vorsorge*. Medicine is similarly read in terms of an increasingly radical, right-wing discourse on social behavior. The whole emphasis is on discontinuity rather than the bringing out of an inherently latent authoritarianism in Weimar structures. Although Hong observes that the Nazi welfare organization, NSV, did develop certain tenets of Weimar social hygiene, she does not consider the possibility that different forms of eugenics exercised a formative influence on earlier phases of Weimar welfare. Reserving eugenics as the deliverer of a *Dolchstoß* to Weimar welfare does not do full justice to the complexity of the Weimar eugenics movement. That said, this is a meticulously researched and thoughtful analysis that brings Weimar welfare into the mainstream of German history.

PAUL WEINDLING
Oxford Brookes University

ANSON RABINBACH. *In the Shadow of Catastrophe: German Intellectuals between Apocalypse and Enlight-*

enment. (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 14.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 263. \$35.00.

This book is untimely in a productive and genuinely interesting way. At a historical moment when Germans may seem to be moving beyond their catastrophic twentieth-century history to more mundane, if arduous, tasks, this book reminds us of the sometimes surprising ways in which German intellectual culture continues to live "in the shadow of catastrophe." Anson Rabinbach's aim is partly historical: he proposes that we map twentieth-century German intellectual history as responses to the catastrophes that have punctuated it, and therefore around the conjunctures of 1917–1919 and 1946–1947. But he also wants to intervene in contemporary debates, above all concerning the viability of reason and humanism which these apocalyptic thinkers have been seen as rejecting root and branch, with more or sometimes less justice. As he challenges and nuances prevalent readings of his figures, Rabinbach makes his own eloquent plea for continued engagement with the admittedly "burdened traditions of modernity" (pp. 4, 207).

The book's five essays are set up in a carefully balanced architecture. A first pair of chapters explores the impulse to messianic thinking at its crest, counterposing the German-Jewish messianisms of Walter Benjamin and Ernst Bloch to the anarcho-Catholicism and "inverted nationalism" of Hugo Ball. All three articulated a "mood of messianic expectation and world repudiation" (p. 2) and fervently hoped that the calamity of wartime destruction would usher in an era of purification and redemption. They are contrasted with a second trio in a set of chapters devoted to Martin Heidegger's "Letter on Humanism" (1947), Karl Jaspers's *The Question of German Guilt* (1946), and Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno's *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), all published in the wake of a further, even more extreme round of barbarism. These apocalyptic thinkers responded to the historical rupture without reiterating their forerunners' redemptive hopes. Faced with a "nonredemptive apocalypse" (p. 11), all were deeply wary of schemes for general regeneration and, instead, set about examining the complicity of intellectual traditions in the catastrophe. While one of Rabinbach's story lines charts this awful twentieth-century learning process, a second tracks crucial differences among the figures in each constellation, not the least of which were differences over just what the catastrophe had been. He brings strong evaluative criteria to these judgments: for him, the most compelling responses were those that kept faith with the real victims and maintained enough nerve not to level all distinctions among the traditions of humanism and modernity. Benjamin, Jaspers, Horkheimer, and Adorno come off best, if not unscathed.

Rabinbach brings a fresh approach to each of his figures. His treatment of Benjamin, originally pub-

lished in 1985, has already helped stimulate productive reflection on "the tensions in the messianic tradition" (p. 62), although he may underplay the extent to which Benjamin himself became aware of these dangers and later even looked to certain Enlightenment traditions in response. He recasts our view of *Dialectic of Enlightenment* by persuasively suggesting that Horkheimer and Adorno's attempt to explain the radicalization of anti-Semitism formed the "hidden center" of the work (p. 184). And his chapters on Ball and Jaspers rescue them from undeserved obscurity to inform some trenchant comments on recent episodes in German politics.

Rabinbach's study makes important contributions on three larger issues. The first is the rich literature on cultural representations of catastrophe (including work by Saul Friedlander, Steven Aschheim, and many others). The second is the seemingly never-ending controversy over postmodernism. Here he argues forcefully, and convincingly, that antihumanists themselves have sometimes been guilty of just the sort of totalizing thinking they wish to reject. The third issue is the political and intellectual culture of the postwar Federal Republic. Surprisingly, the book's freshest chapter concerns Jaspers, who contrasts with the other figures because his reflections on catastrophe led him to embrace humanism, not reject it. By 1946, Jaspers had already produced "the founding text of the new narrative of the 'European German, of a neutral, antimilitarist, and above all ethical Germany'" (p. 132). Rabinbach incisively analyzes both the considerable virtues and the symptomatic weaknesses of Jaspers's formulation of this "consensus" (pp. 133, 164). Yet as he also notes, Jaspers's stance met with scorn at the time. Just what, then, was his role in creating this postwar consensus? (It is intriguing that this book intersects so suggestively in its concerns, and so seldom in its detail, with Jeffrey Herf's *Divided Memory* [1997], a very different study of how postwar narratives of responsibility for the past were established.) As the consensus continues to change, we would do well to remember Rabinbach's pointers to the surprising persistence of moral ambiguities from the past.

JOHN MCCOLE
University of Oregon

RAINER BEHRING. *Demokratische Außenpolitik für Deutschland: Die außenpolitischen Vorstellungen deutscher Sozialdemokraten im Exil 1933–1945*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 117) Düsseldorf: Droste 1999. Pp. 674. DM 138.32.

Rainer Behring succeeds admirably in exploring the evolution of German Social Democratic (SPD) thinking on German foreign policy during the years of exile from Nazi Germany. Basing his analysis on a mountain of archival source material and printed documentation, he fills an important gap in the research on the SPD in exile. While he can build on the early pioneer-

ing works of Erich Matthias and Werner Röder, as well as on the more recent writings of Peter Brandt, his book is unrivalled in its systematic and coherent analysis of SPD conceptions of foreign policy during the years from 1933 to 1945. It is to his credit that he does not only take into account the official Social Democratic Party in Exile (SOPADE) but also the smaller, left-socialist groups such as ISK, Neu Beginnen, and SAP, many of whose members came to play an important role in the postwar West German SPD.

Behring starts off by briefly reviewing SPD ideas about foreign policy during the Weimar Republic. The first major part of the book then proceeds to evaluate the SPD assessment of National Socialist foreign policies until the outbreak of World War II. All Social Democrats were convinced of the aggressive intentions of Hitler, and their attempts to warn the great powers of National Socialist Germany as well as their plans to limit National Socialist expansionism make highly interesting reading. The second part of the book describes the varied perception of World War II among exiled Social Democrats and analyzes their contribution to the international fight against the Third Reich as well as their largely futile attempts to influence Allied war aims. The final part of the volume discusses in great detail SPD ideas about the postwar order and Germany's place in it. It provides the reader with a very nuanced picture of the diverse concepts and ideas developed in exile in Britain, the United States, Sweden, Switzerland, and other countries of Social Democratic exile during World War II.

Finally, the two concluding chapters evaluate the similarities and differences of these diverse conceptions and compare them favorably to national-conservative ideas about German foreign policy. The latter exercise in particular underpins Behring's main argument that SPD foreign policy conceptions formed the only coherent democratic alternative to the traditions of authoritarian nationalism and traditional power politics. According to Behring, it marks the tragedy of the SPD that, after 1949, the bourgeois center parties managed to steal the SPD's clothes and make the running with them, while the SPD under Kurt Schumacher and Erich Ollenhauer remained stuck in a fanatical negativity to each and every foreign policy move of Konrad Adenauer's governments.

The latter point is well argued, but it nevertheless begs the question of whether liberal bourgeois politicians did not have foreign policy conceptions of their own that were separate from the SPD and the national conservatives. Only a systematic comparison between SPD ideas and those prominent among bourgeois politicians would be able to answer that question comprehensively.

The attempt to highlight the positive contribution of the SPD toward the emergence of a democratic foreign policy in West Germany after 1945 also tends to downplay the significance of left-socialist alternatives before 1945 and in the immediate postwar era. Behring's dismissal of their ideas as blind,

naïve, and unrealistic reveals the teleological framework of his own book. Like many West German scholars, he tends to read SPD history backward from the perspective of Bad Godesberg, insisting that the Weimar and exile SPD already adhered to the liberal parliamentary democracy and had eschewed all revolutionary perspectives of overcoming capitalism in favor of evolutionary reforms within a domesticated capitalist order.

Behring can only do that by homogenizing SPD foreign policy conceptions, a trend that is especially obvious in the concluding chapters of his volume. Here he claims that a broad consensus emerged among Social Democrats in exile, a consensus grounded in the assumption of a sovereign and united postwar Germany based on some form of modified Weimar-style parliamentary democracy, the rejection of the collective guilt thesis, the championing of Germany's international rights, and the denunciation of traditional German power politics in favor of peaceful cooperation and the thorough Westernization of Germany's foreign policy and its domestic political system. Yet Behring can only present this as a kind of consensus by treating the left-socialist position separately. As he admits, the left wing of the SPD did not subscribe to such a consensus. Instead, its supporters combined ideas of the revolutionary domestic restructuring of Germany with notions of a socialist foreign policy. The roads that Social Democrats foresaw for any post-Hitler Germany were many, and the battles of SOPADE over which to choose were bitter. In Britain, for example, German Social Democrats joined forces with British Labourites and other continental socialists in the Fight for Freedom group, which denounced the allegedly nationalist policies of SOPADE. This highlights the international dimension of these debates about foreign policy and the future of Germany; it is difficult to restrict them to one country. Equally, hopes of a socialist Europe, which would be independent from the capitalist United States and the communist Soviet Union were, of course, widespread among socialists across wartime Western Europe. The international dimension of this whole debate raises the interesting question of cultural transfer: were German Social Democrats influenced by the debates they encountered in their respective host countries? Behring's account of the development of SPD foreign policy in exile at times reads too much as though these debates had taken place in complete isolation. Yet their ideas did not develop in a vacuum, and it clearly mattered from where geographically SPD members were speaking. However, one can only do so much in a single volume, and Behring's book already achieves a great deal. It certainly also opens up intriguing perspectives and possibilities for comparative history and the history of cultural transfer.

STEFAN BERGER
University of Glamorgan

GAVRIEL ROSENFELD. *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich.* (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 22.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 433. \$45.00.

Munich, Bavaria's capital and, during the Third Reich, the "capital of the movement," is much loved by natives, newcomers, and tourists. The physical character of this alluring, seductive city is what challenged Gavriel Rosenfeld in his very interesting book. Although heavily bombed in the war, Munich has managed to erase most, although not all, remnants of both the Third Reich and the vast wartime destruction. Rosenfeld explains how this came about, but he also makes it clear, over and over again, that he objects to this process of erasure. Rosenfeld argues that, until 1975, virtually no one made a serious effort to confront the terrible legacy of Nazi Germany in a way that would force active, critical engagement with its crimes and, presumably, shape a collective memory that would simultaneously atone for those crimes and prevent any recurrence. He criticizes the city for repairing or recreating damaged buildings or erecting new ones rather than reconstructing buildings with "liberal quotation of, or allusive formal reference to, ruins" (p. 312), which would be an example of what Rosenfeld calls "critical preservation." Instead, bombed-out Munich was rebuilt either following traditional, conservative, pre-1933 models or, more rarely, employing modernist idioms. Both traditionalists and modernists denied the centrality of Nazism in Munich's history, even while blaming each other for helping produce Nazism in the first place, and thus both displayed, according to Rosenfeld, Germany's "inability to mourn," a phrase coined by Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich in their 1967 book bearing that title.

Rosenfeld's approach is straightforward. He examines what happened after 1945 to pre-1933 architecture, paying most attention to major structures, not the thousands of individual homes and apartment buildings; the fate of structures constructed by the Nazis, such as the House of German Art, and older buildings used by organizations most central to the Nazi program, such as the Wittelsbacher Palais, taken over by the Gestapo; the style of many entirely new postwar buildings; and, finally, the character and fate of Nazi-era and postwar monuments erected to commemorate one or another type of victim. This approach is applied to three periods. The first, 1945–1958, was devoted primarily to conservative, tradition-oriented reconstruction. The second, 1958–1975, Rosenfeld sees as the heyday of innovative modernist architecture, although traditionalism still remained dominant. The third, 1975–2000, is a postmodern period, where one sees some examples of postmodern architecture and significant new memorials that seek active confrontation with the past through critical preservation of the memory of Nazi crimes and the city's destruction.

Readers will find Rosenfeld's account of Munich's Nazi-constructed buildings intriguing and convincing. In a process Rosenfeld calls "normalization," first American occupation authorities and subsequently Munich and Bavarian authorities stripped some of these buildings of their most overt Nazi emblems and converted them to new uses. Others were demolished. The Nazi "Temples of Honor" on the Königsplatz, for example, were torn down, Adolf Hitler's huge paving slabs eventually removed, and the square returned to some semblance of its pre-1933 condition. But in the postmodern period, the foundations of the Temples of Honor were saved as a countermonument recalling the Third Reich.

Rosenfeld has also made an important contribution through his pioneering inventory and analysis of post-war monuments. He shows, for example, that a great many of the 111 monuments and 33 commemorative site names established in the postwar period were devoted to Munich's resistance figures, helping the city comfortably forget its complicity in the regime. He also rightly notes that many monuments are ineffective because they are hidden away, badly sited, or include ambiguous texts. Hence they do not serve the purpose of creating or shaping critical collective memory.

Rosenfeld's insistence on the centrality of critical memory is overdone. Like most Germans everywhere, *Münchners* focused narrowly on rebuilding their homes and businesses, their churches and palaces. Horrible things had been done in their names, and many had surely helped perpetrate those horrors. They had witnessed the lost war and the destruction, occupation, and division of their country. It is hardly surprising that they did not want to dwell on the Reich, on Hitler's career in Munich in the 1920s, or on their own treatment of their city's Jews, nor did they feel a need to encounter ubiquitous architectural reminders of that period. It was much easier to consider oneself a victim of the war and the bombing and get on with rebuilding. Hence a great many decisions about reconstruction and new construction were made in response to urgent needs for housing and economic recovery, without much moral or philosophical introspection. Rosenfeld's repeated assertions that such decisions reflected an "inability to mourn" becomes tiresome and not very convincing. What he demands of the city—that it present itself physically as a "place of memory," dedicated to the "jarring of memory" (p. 313) so that the legacy of the Third Reich remains vividly fresh and present—is unrealistic. The Third Reich should be studied and remembered, but I am not sure that architecture can or should serve to make the crimes of the Nazi era the primary collective memory of what Rosenfeld acknowledges is "one of Germany's most beautiful and architecturally harmonious cities" (p. 306).

JEFFREY M. DIEFENDORF
University of New Hampshire

BARBARA FAIT. *Demokratische Erneuerung unter dem Sternenbanner: Amerikanische Kontrolle und Verfassungsgebung in Bayern 1946*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 114.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1998. Pp. 618. DM 138.32.

This book by Barbara Fait has all the advantages of a meticulously researched, in-depth study of an important topic that historians, political scientists and constitutional experts have been waiting for. It highlights the important contributions of the American Military Government to political reconstruction in West Germany after World War II. But the author rightly emphasizes that the American proconsul, General Lucius D. Clay, took a very careful approach and left it basically to Bavarian representatives to determine the writing of their new constitution. Thus this study belongs to an increasing number of investigations into early occupation history showing that postwar Germany was not the creation of American cultural imperialism alone. Developments were far more complicated and complex. Federalism had strong roots in German history. Although differences between the political parties existed, a majority of political representatives, constitutional experts, and the relevant interest groups in society were strongly in favor of a highly federalized state after the experience of centralized National Socialist rule.

The study is based upon broad research in the party archives of the major parties, the archives of the trade unions, the Chambers of Commerce, the National Archives in Washington, and the microfilm collections of military government records. Fait uses numerous personal papers as well as the protocols of the constitutional committee and the *Landtagsprotokolle*. Before dealing with the constitutional developments, Fait discusses the beginning of political life at length and presents a critical survey of the development of the political parties in Bavaria. Her scholarly analysis is not limited to Bavaria alone, however, although she concentrates on it. She places the Bavarian development in the context of the general German framework of American occupation policy and long-term goals. The democratization of political structure and the attitude of reluctant politicians toward the reconstruction of political life are included as well as economic and demographic changes.

Fait's analysis of constitutional developments starts with the friendly orders of Military Government to the Bavarian minister president to begin deliberations with the political parties in Spring 1946. In contrast to other studies, she stresses that General Clay had not only American economic interest in mind when he decided upon early German participation in the democratization process but was deeply convinced that "learning by doing" was the correct approach. American intervention in the writing of the constitution was thus remarkably rare. In the following chapters, the author deals in detail with the controversial discussions

among the parties about such topics as the electoral system and the advantages and disadvantages of majority or representative voting, proposals for a Ständestaat, the position of a Bavarian state president, the struggle over the school system, and reconstruction of economic life and social and political organizations for business, farmers, and trade unions. The experience of the failure of the Weimar Republic loomed large over the negotiations.

This is a thorough scholarly study, drawing on a wealth of information bringing out the goals of the different Bavarian actors in the Constitutional Committee as well as the goals of the interest groups in society. It is also a highly specialized study. Fait's book is a major contribution to democratic thinking and German political culture after World War II. It shows that the Parliamentary Council could rely on highly developed constitutional concepts when deliberations on the Basic Law started. However, a shorter version might find more readers.

HERMANN J. RUIEPER
Vanderbilt University

ALAN L. NOTHNAGLE. *Building the East German Myth: Historical Mythology and Youth Propaganda in the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1989*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. 208. \$44.50.

Students of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) have long been fascinated with the sources of the East German regime's apparent stability. After all, until the unexpected crumbling of the Berlin Wall in 1989, East Germany had not seen a mass uprising against communist dictatorship since June 1953; no elite grouping had challenged the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party (SED), the ruling communist party, since the 1950s; and the dissident movement remained small, poorly organized, and without mass support even in the late 1980s. How, then, to explain the stability of this communist regime? And why did it suddenly erode in 1989? In his intriguing new study, Alan L. Nothnagle writes that the SED regime produced a specific mythology that initially secured the East German population's loyalty to, and later its compliance with, the party's socialist project. Nothnagle thus argues that political myth played an important role in sustaining the stability of the East German regime.

With a wealth of archival research, absorbing detail, and insightful anecdote, Nothnagle explores what he identifies as the SED's four foundational myths: the myth of *Kultur*, of antifascism, of the Great Socialist Soviet Union, and of the Socialist Fatherland. In the first years of communist power, the SED attempted to win over bourgeois East Germans by claiming that the new East Germany embodied the spirit and best attributes of Germany's classical tradition (Goethe, Schiller, Beethoven, etc.). One may quibble over whether this constituted a myth; it is perhaps more

accurate to write of a dubious appropriation of Germany's cultural heritage. Nothnagle is, however, on very solid ground when he discusses the myth of antifascism. This myth claimed that the German Communist Party had led a popular antifascist resistance movement against the Nazis that had ultimately resulted in the creation of the GDR. Moreover, this struggle had demanded great heroism and tragic losses, the stuff of a triumphant communist pathos in East Germany. Although this myth has received considerable scholarly attention, Nothnagle does a fine job of illustrating its centrality to the SED's political legitimacy.

According to Nothnagle, the party also hoped to inspire a passion for communism by pointing to a (mythic) "Great Socialist Soviet Union." It thus sanctified German-Soviet friendship, glorified Soviet revolutionary values, participated in the cult of Stalin (until 1956), and circulated the notion that Soviet victory in World War II represented a victory for East Germany. Finally, the SED tried to harness nationalist aspirations for the socialist cause by creating the myth of the Socialist Fatherland. With this myth, the party reinterpreted national historical figures (such as Frederick the Great) and events (such as the nineteenth-century Wars of Liberation) to claim that these made up a progressive German heritage that had culminated in socialist East Germany.

This study, however, goes well beyond an exegesis of these foundational myths. Nothnagle also describes just how the SED produced and transmitted these myths to the East German population, and especially to GDR youth. There is thus considerable discussion of particular posters, festivals, children's books, youth political schooling, organized rituals of remembrance, and mass meetings (climaxed by torchlight parades reminiscent of Nazi political ceremony).

How convincing is Nothnagle's argument that these foundational myths helped to secure the stability of the SED regime? The reception of political myths is notoriously difficult to gauge; in the case of the GDR, this problem is exacerbated by the near absence of public opinion polls. It is nonetheless clear that while these myths enjoyed a certain resonance among some East Germans (notably longtime communists and a generation of functionaries that had experienced enormous social mobility in the GDR), they failed to inspire younger East Germans. As SED functionaries lamented, GDR youth all too often failed to attend or to participate actively in political meetings and cultural or other events held to transmit these myths. Moreover, large-scale political spectacles often became social rather than political events: younger East Germans enjoyed the milling crowds but tuned out the ongoing political ritual. By the 1980s, Nothnagle notes, the SED's mythology at best convinced younger East Germans to comply with the regime.

It was not foundational myths that allowed the GDR a certain stability. Instead, this stability was due to guns and butter: the presence of hundreds of thou-

sands of Soviet troops and a relatively high GDR standard of living. Similarly, the 1989 collapse of the GDR was not the result of crumbling myths (although these may have played a secondary role) but rather of Mikhail Gorbachev's reluctance to use force to uphold the GDR. Although the book does not convincingly explain the sources of East German stability, it is a highly illuminating exploration of failed myth-building, of the failure of intensive propaganda efforts to instill hollow myths in a population living under dictatorship.

CATHERINE EPSTEIN
Amherst College

GÜNTER BISCHOF. *Austria in the First Cold War, 1945–55: The Leverage of the Weak*. (Cold War History Series.) New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. xvii, 237. \$72.00.

The author of this slender but admirable volume recognizes that to understand Austria's role in the Cold War from 1945 until 1955, one must begin by examining Austria's role in World War II and the Allies' judgment of Austria's conduct from March 1938 until April 1945. In the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, the Allies deemed Austria the first victim of Adolf Hitler's Germany but also stated that Austria bore responsibility for having fought on the side of Germany. The ambiguity in the declaration was reflected in Allied policy toward Austria at the conclusion of the war: Austria was proclaimed liberated but was occupied and required to pay costs of the occupation and heavy reparations to the Soviet Union. It was the task of Austrian statesmen to find a way to turn the ambiguity to Austria's advantage, remove the occupation, and regain sovereignty.

A pivotal issue was whether Austria had been annexed to Germany in 1938–1945 or had been occupied by Germany during that period. Karl Renner at first used the term "annexation," but keen wits devised a different interpretation and held that Austria had been occupied by Germany during the *Anschluss*. Günter Bischof depicts the proposers of that notion as a nefarious conspiracy attempting to escape responsibility for the evils committed by the Third Reich. *Annexation* meant that Austria had been part of Germany and equally responsible, while *occupation* meant that Austria was no more responsible than any other country overrun by the German juggernaut. However, if one remembers, the overriding concern of the time was to recover the polity of a devastated country. The enterprise would have been vastly more difficult and dangerous if one had to begin all over again (necessary if Austria had ceased to exist while annexed to Germany) rather than simply to declare that the constitution of 1920, as amended in 1929, was still valid once the German occupation was ended. Propounding the "occupation theory" forestalled any demands for writing a new constitution, an undertaking that would have invited meddling by the Soviet Union and mischief

from the Austrian Communists, who would have required a constitution amenable to their manipulation.

Bischof's thesis is that Austrian leaders adroitly and guilefully used their weakness to play the West against the Soviet Union in order to garner economic and political support from the West and to win the State Treaty from the Soviet Union. He is skillful in reviewing the ten years, with all of its vicissitudes of fortunes and circumstances, and in recounting the deeds of Austrian statesmen, giving credit where due and recognizing shortcomings where necessary. On balance, the accomplishments were remarkable, for they enabled Austrians to prosper during the Allied occupation and to be well prepared to exercise sovereignty when it was restored.

The implication of the book's subtitle is that Austrians moved the occupiers to act in ways that they otherwise would not have. The author's telling of the story of 1945–1955 draws the teeth from his thesis, however, as he shows that both the Western Allies and the Soviets acted always in their own interests. The United States sustained the Austrian economy because it suited it to do so; the Soviet Union did not allow a State Treaty until it had drained eastern Austria of its wealth. A neutral Austria, piercing the body of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was more useful than keeping a few troops in the Soviet zone of occupation. Neither of these policies required exertions of Austrian leverage.

Commendably, Bischof seeks to enliven his prose, but he goes astray. There are heavy lacings of colloquialisms that are not appropriate to a serious work. Bischof describes May 15, 1955, the day the State Treaty was signed, as "a radiant spring day" (p. 149); it had rained the night before, and that Sunday morning was still damp and overcast. The only radiance was in the hearts of the throng gathered in the Belvedere Garden to witness the long-awaited event. Those who knew him would not recognize Stephan Verosta as "the crafty lawyer [who] masterminded" the formulation of the "occupation theory" (p. 64). And one is quite surprised to find confusion regarding Austria's National Day and the occasion for setting it (p. 149): it is October 26 (not October 27), and it was intended to celebrate the adoption of the constitutional law declaring Austria's neutrality, not the departure of the last occupying troops.

Bischof has thoroughly mined the archives of Austria, Germany, and the Allied Powers (Russian material is still rather lean) and has compiled an extensive bibliography of the scholarship on the subject. Of the 237 pages of his book, fifty-nine are devoted to notes and seventeen to bibliography, reflecting years of his study of the subject. His readers will reap rich benefits.

WILLIAM E. WRIGHT
University of Minnesota

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. *Creating the Florentine State: Peasants and Rebellion, 1348–1434*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 308. \$49.95.

The last decades of the fourteenth and first decades of the fifteenth century are often seen as a period when the Florentine Republic consolidated control over its territorial state, the *contado* (the countryside close to Florence) and the *distretto* (the more distant, earlier independent towns). This well-researched book by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., focuses very closely on the state-building process.

The book is organized around the different levels of archival sources employed. It begins with a realistic characterization of the rural population through close analysis of tax surveys (the *Estimi* and *Capi di Famiglia*) for sample villages in a region stretching from Prato up through the highlands around the Mugello valley, north of Florence, and beyond. Facile characterizations of rural and highland people, such as that of Fernand Braudel, as being poor, self-sufficient, and egalitarian give way to Cohn's picture of a complex and varied rural society, somewhat conservative culturally but not backward, and dominated, especially in the highlands, by occasionally large, patriarchal, and moderately well-to-do families. This was a society in motion, in the process of losing its allegiances to feudal lords (the Ubaldini in the Mugello; the Ubertini in the Casentino valley toward Arezzo) through the Florentine campaign against them. But it was also a society fleeing the shifting, but generally rising, tax rate imposed by Florence through the *Estimo*. The flight from taxation led to a progressive depopulation through out-migration. The out-migrants do not seem to have moved toward the plains or toward Florence, but instead beyond the area of Florentine taxation altogether.

Florence seems to have viewed this outlying region initially chiefly as a buffer zone toward Bologna to the north and as a source of tax revenue. Its concerns were chiefly military and defensive, although some villages in the Mugello gained concessions in exchange for abandoning allegiance to the Ubaldini. But the tax rate soon rose, and particularly during Florence's three wars with Milan under Giangaleazzo Visconti (1391–1402). The assessed wealth of peasant households fell. The result was a series of peasant disturbances, mostly tax revolts or efforts to wrest control of castles or other territory from feudal lords or from Florence. Some were of obscure origin involving the Cancellieri clan of Pistoia, the Ubaldini, or military action of the Milanese, but peasants were those chiefly involved.

These disturbances have been largely unknown to historians and were even ignored by contemporary Florentine chroniclers intent on depicting a triumphal Florentine victory over Milan. Cohn argues, on the basis of much evidence from criminal records and *Provvisioni*, that they were quite important, and that as the war concluded there was a change in Florentine policy toward its outlying territory. The earlier policy gave way to a more responsible clemency. In their return to obedience, peasant rebels were able to negotiate immunity, reductions in the *Estimo*, and other concessions. Indeed, through a long-range anal-

ysis of rural petitions to the Signoria, from both the *contado* and *distretto*, Cohn shows that Florentine policy did change after about 1402 to admit a much greater variety of claims for tax relief. Charitable relief was even offered to villages struck by the plague of 1400. This more responsible policy culminated in a more equitable distribution of tax burden through the territorial state in the Catasto of 1427. As a result, peasant protest quieted in the *contado*, rural population recovered, and the assessed wealth of rural households rose.

Cohn gives much less attention to the *distretto* (by 1407 Arezzo, Pisa, Pistoia, Prato, Cortona, Volterra) than to this zone in the *contado*. However, it is clear that resistance to Florentine rule was very significant here as well. He argues that the tendency to redistribute tax burden from the over-taxed *contado* to the *distretto* in the early fifteenth century was met by a rash of protests there, which also elicited a more conciliatory response. Thus, out of frontier villages still dominated by feudal magnates, and hostile, recently conquered subcapitals, the Florentine Republic was gradually molding a state.

Readers of this book will be impressed by the archivistic detail that emerges from Cohn's presentation. They may conclude that it does not contain the whole story of the creation of the Florentine state, which was a long process. However, they will see that something of interest happened at the conclusion and in the period following the Visconti wars.

R. BURR LITCHFIELD
Brown University

CRAIG KALLENDORF. *Virgil and the Myth of Venice: Books and Readers in the Italian Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. vi, 251. \$65.00.

Craig Kallendorf has examined 251 copies of Virgil's poetry (including commentaries and translations) published in the Veneto between 1469 and 1600 and purchased and annotated by local residents, to assess how Virgilian themes were received by a specifically Venetian community of readers. Pointing out that Virgil was the most-studied classical author in the Veneto, and that Venice was responsible for one-third to one-half of all books published in Italy during this period (and thus for a sizable proportion of those published anywhere), he makes a good case for the centrality of the Virgilian text to Venetian culture. Kallendorf argues that Venetian readers (and viewers) found that Virgilian themes reinforced Venetian moral and religious values, and they thus welcomed Virgil as an additional prop for the ideology widely known as "the myth of Venice," centered on the notion of the unique social and political stability of that city.

The moral values epitomized by Virgil's creature Aeneas, Kallendorf shows, were of special interest to Venetians whose city inhabited the same Mediterranean world through which the Roman hero voyaged;

who shared his zeal for creating, in Rome, a just social order; and who considered themselves, indeed, his descendants. Many Renaissance commentaries on Virgil stressed the *Aeneid*'s embedded moral statements (notably that of the Flemish humanist Jodocus Badius Ascensius), and these were the commentaries most often reprinted in Venice. This dimension of Virgil's message apparently also appealed to readers, especially schoolmasters and their students, who (when they were not doodling or making facetious comments on the text) might inscribe in the margins such phrases as "o greed, o cruelty!" or "take note, you sinner!" (pp. 59, 60).

Venice also embraced Virgil as a Christian precursor, almost a Christian himself, in the humanist traditions of *theologia poetica* and *prisca theologia*, which found modern religious sentiments in classical literature and thought (this despite a certain local skepticism, given the exceptionally conservative humanism of this city, about the propriety of pagan authors). The popular commentaries by Ascensius and the platonizing Cristoforo Landino read the *Aeneid* as a proto-Christian work, while Juan Luis Vives's interpretation of the famous Fourth Eclogue (published in Venice in 1544) unambiguously hailed the work as a celebration of Christ's advent: "*omnia sunt de Christo*," he declared; "everything [in the poem] refers to Christ" (p. 113).

But which Venetians, besides crusty schoolmasters and tight-lipped humanists, read the poetry of Virgil? A great number of people, Kallendorf argues, of varied social backgrounds, pointing to the bottom line: a large number of published editions, including folio productions in tooled leather bindings, octavo editions in paper covers, and Italian translations (of which seventy were published in Venice, including the famous one of Ludovico Dolce's) for businessmen who had lacked time or opportunity to acquire Latin literacy. Particularly in the sixteenth century, as Italian developed as a national literary language, any gap between a manuscript culture of those learned in Latin and a mass or popular circle of readers of the vernacular vanished, and the significant proportion, in Venice, of the literature shared in values supportive of the local ideology.

That community of readers sadly, however, included no women. Kallendorf has labored mightily, reviewing the evidence for female participation in humanist and poetic circles in the Veneto, but has located not one woman owner, among the 251 volumes he examined, of an edition or translation of Virgil. Thus, he laments, "most of the voices we hear today [from the Virgil marginalia] are male voices—male correspondents who urge educated women to abandon their studies, male translators who move to suppress potentially subversive interpretations, and male dramatists whose Virgilian plays celebrate a traditional hierarchy that closes off options for women" (p. 203).

This last comment reveals Kallendorf's concern to situate his study of the Venetian reception of Virgil within the framework of current theoretical discus-

sions. Noting that traditional scholarship (of which he has shown himself an expert in earlier works on the editions and translations of Virgil) is now illumined by modern and postmodern critiques of textual study, he is careful to note that the meaning of Virgil is "socially constructed," affected by the perceptions of the text formed by members of the "interpretive community," and construed as much by the "consumption of the text" as by its production in an analysis depending on "reader-response" theory. In an afterword, he humbly confesses his sins as a former practitioner of traditional philological methods, while modestly asserting that "the history I have constructed both confirms and challenges the perspective from which I write" (p. 212). Although there may be no "trans-historical values and essential truths," it is still heartening to find voices, five hundred years ago, reading the same Virgil, who wrote two thousand years ago, as we at the end of the second millennium (measured by a calendar anchored by the presumed birthday of the figure some thought proclaimed in that author's Fourth Eclogue). It sounds to me as though something transhistorical is going on here.

In addition to taking due note of several streams of contemporary scholarly thought, Kallendorf makes excellent use of recent work on Venetian history and culture, especially that of Paul F. Grendler on schooling and censorship; of Martin J. Lowry on Venetian printing; of Margaret L. King on Venetian humanism; of King, Patricia H. Labalme, and Margaret Rosenthal on women humanists and poets; and of Patricia F. Brown, James Grubb, John Martin, Edward Muir, Dennis Romano, and Guido Ruggiero on the Venetian myth and antimyth. His own work adds importantly to the sum, illuminating with new evidence the nature of Venetian intellectual culture, especially in the sixteenth century.

MARGARET L. KING

Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center,
City University of New York

FRANK A. JAMES III. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer*. (Oxford Theological Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University. 1998. Pp. xiii, 290. \$75.00.

Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), apostate Lateran Canon and reformed theologian, has enjoyed a revival of interest in recent years. Besides two biographies devoted to his earlier and later life, he now has a series of his works appearing in translation, a newsletter, and this latest substantial theological monograph. This book presents a revision of Frank A. James III's 1993 dissertation; its main conclusions have been anticipated by several of the author's articles. At its heart is a simple question. Vermigli taught, by the standards of the mid-sixteenth century, an unusually clear-cut and trenchant version of the doctrine of predestination, articulated with scholastic precision. What exactly was

that doctrine, and from which sources did he derive it? James arrives at a very clear answer. After defining Vermigli's developed doctrine of predestination, he argues that he formulated it before his sudden and dramatic escape from Italy in 1542; and that he derived it essentially from the Augustinian theologian Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358). He identifies a number of striking formal similarities between the late medieval and the Reformation theologian on this topic (pp. 142–43). This project appears to have been prompted, at least in part, by a less conclusive speculation by James's Oxford mentor Alister McGrath, that Gregory might have influenced John Calvin (pp. 247–8).

The discovery that Gregory influenced Vermigli is a genuine insight. This monograph also contains a number of other valuable ideas, although the organization of the book does occasionally make these hard to identify. The structure is often perplexing. After historiographical and theological scene-setting, we are treated first to Vermigli's mature reformed doctrine of predestination (chapters three and four), then to his potential sources: Paul, Augustine, Aquinas, and Gregory (chapters five and six). Then follow comparisons with contemporaries. Juan de Valdés (chapter seven) resembled Vermigli but was, according to James, his pupil, not his teacher. James discusses Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Bucer (chapters eight and nine), concluding that neither influenced Vermigli's thought. Within this exposition, the discussion of Vermigli's life and development in Italy is distributed among chapters one, six, seven, and eight. Spread between chapter seven and the two appendixes (which are not really germane to the main argument), there is almost a separate short monograph on the highly controversial topic of Valdés's theological development.

The main argument of the book—that Vermigli formed his predestinarian teaching in Italy through reading Gregory—appears conclusive. Yet a closer examination arouses doubts, partly because of the very rigid, exclusive fashion in which James presents it. First, the claim that Vermigli was a completely formed Protestant theologian by 1542 is not self-evident. Despite admitting that the predestinarianism of his early lectures on Genesis (post-1542) was not fully articulated (chapter three), James protests repeatedly that he was “fully-formed” by 1542 (pp. 39–40, 60–1, 249). Yet elsewhere he claims that Vermigli accepted Reformation ideas only selectively before his apostasy (p. 199). Second, the “double predestination” that James identifies in Vermigli and Gregory is not unproblematic. “Double predestination” means, technically, that God is believed to decree in eternity both the salvation of the “elect,” the chosen, and the non-salvation (“reprobation”) of those who are not elect (e.g. p. 104). Yet Vermigli did not argue as rigidly as Zwingli (say) that God actively and deliberately decreed the reprobation of those excluded from grace. Rather he argued that a “passive will” on the part of God (whatever that means) led to their sinning and thus

being justly condemned (pp. 57–61, 80, 143, 222). He writes with great confidence about “*gemina praedestinatio*” (“twin predestination”), but the clarity evaporates when the details are inspected. Third, the argument that Valdés, the mysterious Spanish religious teacher of the Neapolitan elite in the late 1530s, was Vermigli's pupil rather than his teacher is on the face of it paradoxical (even if convincing). Valdés taught rigid double predestination as early as 1537–1538, while Vermigli's mature teaching is only fully documented in lectures probably delivered in the early 1550s and printed in 1558. Fourthly, James relies heavily on Josiah Simler's biography of Vermigli to justify excluding from consideration various books and reformers who might have influenced his subject. He does not accept that unreported conversations about contested ideas with colleagues might have shaped his thought as much as recorded reading of named books. This lends the work a somewhat rigid, schematic quality.

James's book nevertheless establishes a secure link between an important late medieval Augustinian theologian and “scholastic” reformed Protestant theology in its second generation. We are now better placed to assess the influence of Vermigli, and scholasticism, on reformed thought. Occasional overstatements of the case do not greatly diminish the essential value of this contribution to knowledge.

EUAN CAMERON

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

TOMMASO ASTARITA. *Village Justice: Community, Family, and Popular Culture in Early Modern Italy*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 117th series [1999], number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1999. Pp. xxiv, 305. \$45.00.

Professional modesty and courtesy recommend that reviewers keep their own work in the background. Nevertheless, here, I should declare myself. Like Tommaso Astarita, I work on premodern rural Italy. Furthermore, like him, I have studied a village, its culture and habits illumined by the spotlight of a criminal investigation. Although my investigation is earlier and more northerly, shared interests and problems have led me to read his book with eager, critical attention. Thus, it is as a fellow voyager to the remoter countryside of old peasant Italy that I report that this is a handsome piece of work, a thoughtful and persuasive picture of the habits, moralities, and political tactics of that world.

Astarita's village, Pentidattilo, perched high above the widening Messina Strait, belonged, as its name shows, to the zone marked by Greek language and liturgy. There, early in the eighteenth century, an adulterous couple called in a village abortionist to help poison the inconvenient husband. Their grisly success provoked a trial at the hands of the local feudal court. The story of that trial, which in the end condemned the

socially marginal abortionist, supplier of arsenic, but let off the other two manifestly guilty culprits, gives Astarita's study a narrative line. Nevertheless, his book is only partly microhistory, for the trial's story is woven among discussions of larger matters: the shape of the community, its relations with church and state and courts, and larger patterns of rural culture in Italy and beyond. Pentidattilo's papers are fairly rich: land-tax surveys, parochial records, episcopal visitations, and notarial acts permit a solid social history of the place. As a result, one can calibrate the pyramid of wealth and trace the stability of families and clans over several generations. Family trees locate the trial's protagonists. The fiscal documentation illustrates the evolution of the village from early autarky toward an economy linked ever more tightly—first by the silk trade and then by citrus crops—to more distant markets. The author tracks a gradual movement of population, wealth, and economic activity from mountain-side to sea. He observes the movement toward greater inequality, by 1800, as markets penetrate and transform an older social order.

Nevertheless, more salient in the book is the dialogue between authorities of church and judicial state and the community. Like almost any trial, the prosecution of the poisoner trio brought to the fore the delicate exchange between two machineries for social control, one central and formal, the other local and informal, the former foisted on the latter by the center's ever more zealous wish to bring the periphery to heel. This story of state-building and religious reformation was both Calabrian and pan-European; from Lisbon to Moscow, early modern authorities waged such campaigns. It is a great virtue of Astarita's book that, under the magnifying glass of microhistory, he finds neither simple oppression nor stark resistance. Rather, he detects dialogue and cooptation too. Any judicial record, a joint creation of witnesses and court notary, is a double translation. First, the witnesses framed their words to fit their strategies and image of what a court could hear. Then, the scribe refashioned what he heard to create a smooth transcript free of dialect and of the false starts and sudden swerves of real speech. Nevertheless, Astarita can see enough, through this double veil, to probe village speech and action. He argues that the nature of the judicial process, under the inquisitorial rules of proof then current, put the court into the hands of the host community. That contention needs some explaining.

In early modern Italy, the law had a canon of proof. To convict, in the absence of a confession, magistrates needed conclusive evidence from two good witnesses. Or, to arrive at a lesser sentence, they could gather corroborating evidence. Astarita lays these matters out with handsome clarity and useful references to the treatises. Corroborating evidence, in Italian practice, often turned on reputation, *bona* or *mala fama*. Thus, as in the poison case in Pentidattilo, without communal cooperation, courts could make scant headway.

If courts and common folk sometimes collaborated,

willingly or reluctantly, their values seldom jibed. Astarita argues strenuously for divergent standards. His abortionist and adulterers, quite clearly, had been tolerated for years, until they crossed a line and killed. Only then did witnesses, under judicial pressure, blame them. The great campaign of church and state to inculcate ideals of introspection, conscience, moderation, and chastity, he claims, made little progress. Love, death, and local rivalries remained a zone of strong impulses and unmasked feelings. Peasant culture had its codes, of course, but these were far from high culture's proprieties.

It is in this last zone that I would suggest improvement to an already admirable book. The peasant culture Astarita posits needs closer reading. It does not, I think, suffice to call it blunt and bodily, or to note its respect for honor. If he keeps mining such materials, in the spirit of Carlo Ginzburg, I would like to see the author move closer to his texts, the better to tease out the moods, rhetorical habits, and tacit logics of his subjects.

THOMAS V. COHEN
York University

DIANELLA GAGLIANI. *Brigate nere: Mussolini e la militarizzazione del Partito fascista repubblicano*. Foreword by CLAUDIO PAVONE. (Nuova Cultura, number 72.) Torino: Bollati Boringhieri. 1999. Pp. xiv, 305. L. 48,000.

The decision, taken in June 1944, to militarize the Fascist Republican Party by reshaping it into the *Brigate nere*, or Black Brigades, is the starting point for Dianella Gagliani's study. This decision to transform the party into a military force has usually been attributed to the unfortunate Alessandro Pavolini, the widely disliked party secretary, but Gagliani makes a very convincing case that Benito Mussolini himself was responsible and that the militarization of the party reveals much about the Duce's ambitions for the Italian Social Republic. Her book, in the great tradition of antifascist scholarship on the Resistance and the Social Republic, sets her against revisionists like the late Renzo De Felice and places her squarely in the camp of antirevisionists like Claudio Pavone. Pavone's study of the struggle between the Resistance and the Fascist Republican regime, *Una guerra civile* (1991), has provided the broad interpretive framework for much recent scholarship—including Gagliani's, to which he contributed a preface.

Gagliani firmly rejects the contention of De Felice that Mussolini formed a regime under German auspices in the north in order to shield the Italian population from the full rigors of the Nazi occupation. She argues that Mussolini looked exclusively to German power to place him back on top as co-leader of the fascist camp. Far from sacrificing himself on behalf of the Italians, the Duce sought desperately to regain the confidence of the Germans by waging a brutal and savage war against the internal enemy. Given the fact

that the Social Republic was barely functioning as a government and depended on a narrow margin of freedom granted by the Germans, Mussolini's decision to militarize the party and to wage war on the partisan Resistance was a desperate effort to placate radical elements in the party, to beat back those who sought to push him aside as an obstacle to renewal, and to make himself useful to the Germans.

The decisions to transform the party were taken at a very low point in the fortunes of the Italian Social Republic, when it seemed as though the whole enterprise was about to collapse. Discontent was rife among the many factions in the Fascist Republican regime. Bureaucratic traditionalists who occupied positions in the administration of German-occupied territory and the military-patriotic wing of the regime that joined the Social Republic out of a sense of misplaced patriotism after the surrender to the Allies in September 1943 both viewed Mussolini and the Fascist Party as obstacles to the reconciliation of Italians. Even the syndicalist-revolutionaries and the violent fascist intransigents of the old and new generations, who hoped finally to launch the much delayed fascist "revolution," resented the failure of the new regime to purge profiteers and conservatives. By June 1944, fascist extremists, who had tied their fate to a German victory, feared that the Fascist Party had lost any purpose and that the entire regime would be abandoned by the Nazi ally. Admiration for Nazism led the extremists to call for a war to the death against the partisans in the Resistance. The younger generation of dedicated fascists sought a convergence with the Nazi model outside of the old national framework on a European basis of racism and anti-Semitism.

With the militarization of the party, Mussolini hoped to fend off the extremist discontent, but, as Gagliani shows, the decision failed to resolve any of the profound contradictions within the Fascist Republican state. The creation of the *Brigate nere* did not even bring all militias operating within republican territory under one authority. The *Brigate nere* simply became one of the many competing police forces that operated under limits imposed by the Germans. Without a real military role, their activities were directed almost exclusively against the Resistance and the civilian population. However, the stalled Allied offensive in September and October 1944 and a successful campaign against the Resistance by the Germans and the forces of the Social Republic gave the regime a momentary respite, prolonged the agony until April 1945, and set the stage for Mussolini's execution at the hands of the partisans.

Gagliani clearly shows that the Italian surrender to the Allies in September 1943 was not the collapse of Italian national sentiment that so many neoconservatives in Italy believe it was. The real collapse came about as the result of twenty years of fascist misrule that was perpetuated for almost two more years under the sham Italian Social Republic, which sold its soul to

the Germans for the right to wage war against other Italians.

ALEXANDER DE GRAND

North Carolina State University

HANS FREDRIK DAHL. *Quisling: A Study in Treachery*. Translated by ANNE-MARIE STANTON-IFE. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. ix, 452. \$54.95.

This biography of Vidkun Quisling is a condensed version, updated by Hans Fredrik Dahl, of his two-volume Norwegian work, *Quisling: En fører blir til* and *Quisling: En fører for fall* (1991–1992). Except for its title, Dahl's account of Quisling's life differs considerably in content and emphasis from my earlier biography, *Quisling: A Study in Treason* (1989; Norwegian ed., 1988). Not only is Dahl's study shorter by half, but in many instances we have different views concerning interpretation of motives and actions as well as what should be considered relevant information to be included in a biography of Norway's most notorious political figure of the twentieth century.

Dahl begins and ends with Quisling's execution, having raised the question of whether he deserved the death sentence for having collaborated with the Germans before and during the occupation of Norway. The biography next examines Quisling's situation in 1929, upon his permanent return to his native land after having spent most of the previous twelve years abroad. Thereafter Quisling's life is covered in chronological sequence, starting with his boyhood and education; early career as an army officer; and his years outside Norway, mainly in the Soviet Union. The bulk of the book deals with Quisling's involvement in Norwegian politics. He was a controversial anti-Marxist in the early 1930s and the leader of a new party, National Union (NS), founded in 1933. His election defeat in 1936 was followed by the establishment of strong ties with Germany between 1937 and 1939, and he attempted a pro-German coup in April 1940. Quisling was leader of the only permitted political party from 1940 to 1942, and minister president of a collaborationist government that lasted from 1942 to 1945. After the war, he was arrested and tried for treason.

Dahl's main theme is that Quisling was no ordinary political figure but rather a visionary who saw himself destined to play a leading role in historical development according to the precepts of "Universism," a philosophical system he created in which he sought to reconcile religion and science. Quisling believed he was preordained to be Norway's natural leader. When he could not come to power through the parliamentary process, he repudiated this in favor of the *fører* system, allegedly a continuation of the country's traditional form of leadership from the Viking age.

The majority of authors who have written on Quisling have tended to agree, as does Dahl, that Quisling's belief in his own importance amounted to "megalomania." Dahl, however, gives the impression that Quis-

ling's followers were attracted to him because of his "outstanding spiritual strength" (p. 2). Such a view is misleading. The limited amount of popular support that he gained occurred because of a variety of other motives.

Although at times critical in his comments about Quisling, Dahl seeks to interpret the NS leader in the most favorable light, with events depicted to a considerable extent from Quisling's point of view. Dahl is Norway's best known revisionist on the history of World War II. He has recently been at the center of controversy over two widely debated issues: the significance of David Irving's research, which Dahl defended; and the number of informers liquidated by the Norwegian Resistance.

The Norwegian historian Odd-Bjørn Fure, in *Kampen om glemselen: Kunnskapsvakum i mediesammfunnet* (1997), criticized Dahl's tendency to minimize the Nazi state's criminal actions and to idealize the German occupation of Norway (p. 29). The same criticism applies to his Quisling biography. Dahl frequently tends either to omit or to downplay important details that would place Quisling in a worse light, or to rationalize Quisling's behavior. Instances of such distortion are far too numerous to detail inclusively in a restricted review. Among the most noteworthy, however, are the degree to which Quisling imitated National Socialist practices in prewar political campaigns, in particular in the election of 1936; the virulence of his antisocialist invective against the Labor Party in the 1930s; the extent of his encouragement of the German occupation of Norway in talks with German leaders, including Adolf Hitler; the widespread manner in which Quisling was defeated in his various attempts to nazify Norwegian society during the war; the degree to which National Union's administrators, from Quisling on down, were dominated by the German Reichskommissariat during all phases of the occupation, but in particular from the fall of 1942 onward; and the breadth and seriousness of the case against Quisling during his treason trial.

The book contains a limited number of factual errors. Informers liquidated by the Resistance movement totaled eighty-two, not 100–200; the fall of France occurred on June 25, 1940, not June 17; and Hitler committed suicide on April 30, 1945, not on the night of May 1. Misspellings include Dybbøl, not Dybdøl; Gunnar and Ferdinand Schjelderup, not Schelderup; and Svolvær, not Solvær. The book as a whole, however, is well translated and written in an interesting style. It includes a limited number of illustrations, an index, and a thorough bibliography. Dahl is well acquainted with the source material. His use of Quisling family documents serves as a valuable addition to the biography. However, his documentation is sometimes questionable; he seems especially uncritical in accepting information from former NS members. While Dahl's study is an addition to the literature on Quisling, for readers not familiar with

Norwegian, it is recommended that use of this most recent biography be combined with earlier works.

ODDVAR K. HOIDAL

San Diego State University

MARJA KOKKO. *Sisaret, toverit. Naisten järjestäytyminen, ryhmätietoisuus ja kansalaistuminen Jyväskylässä 1800-luvun lopulta 1930-luvulle*. [Sisters, Comrades. The Organization of Women, Group Consciousness and the Culture of Citizenship in Jyväskylä from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the 1930s]. (*Studia historica jyvaskyläensia*, number 57.) Jyväskylä, Finland: University of Jyväskylä. 1998. Pp. 248.

Marja Kokko's dissertation deals with the rise of women to citizenship in Finland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The geographical focus of the study is Jyväskylä, a small town of 5,000 inhabitants in central Finland. Kokko looks at three women's societies that were active there: the Women's Society in Jyväskylä (founded in 1899), the Women's Social Democratic Association (founded in 1906), and the Jyväskylä branch of the Finnish Women's Federation (founded in 1907). A local point of view enables the author to examine the problem of women and citizenship in a systematic and exhaustive way and to shed light on the relationships between local branches and central headquarters of women's societies. Contrary to many studies that emphasize the key role of the "women's movement" in the formation of Finnish civil society, the author's main argument is that women's societies were closely connected to political party organizations and dependent on these.

The main research question is: were the conceptions of citizenship held by different groups of women formed primarily through gender or social group (class)? Did gender, as the common denominator of citizenship, overshadow class, or was it the other way around? By organization, the author understands both party political and independent activities as well as participation in public administration, which in practice meant in municipal government. By delimiting the subject in terms of local community, organizational life, and gender, Kokko seeks to examine for the first time Finnish women's associations of different political types. Of the societies she examines, only the Women's Social Democratic Association was a political organization. For the Social Democrats, party political activities were restricted to the electoral district and included political agitation. Although the Jyväskylä branch of the Finnish Women's Federation was formally an independent cultural organization, it was ideologically close to the Young Finns, a liberal party that promoted Finnish language and culture. The Women's Society in Jyväskylä was also independent in theory but close to the conservative Finnish Party in practice.

According to Kokko, the organization of women from different social classes took place in different times and ways. Bourgeois women were influenced by

the corporate model of society and its conception of a natural hierarchy that placed the bourgeoisie at the top and the other parts of the population at the bottom. They were closely connected to the Finnish-speaking fennoman intelligentsia. Represented in this study by the Women's Society of Jyväskylä and the Jyväskylä branch of the Finnish Women's Federation, these women did not demand the right to become candidates in elections or to take part in municipal government. Through civil activities of public utility that endorsed the social values of the bourgeoisie, they already commanded respect in the local community. The hegemonic status of the bourgeoisie guaranteed them social respectability, and equality with men was less important. In contrast to bourgeois women, working-class women strove to enhance the status of the working class in Finnish society. For them, political rights meant participating in the activities of workers' associations and their struggle against the bourgeoisie. Capitalist dominance was a graver risk than male dominance.

Kokko's examination of the formation of Finnish civil society and the role of women's associations in this process sheds new light on the political functions of women's activism. Kokko demonstrates in her study that for nonpolitical and political women's societies, gender was connected above all to the *Weltanschauung* of the social groups they represented. This political mission influenced the modes of organization of women and the rise of women to citizenship in Finland. The Finnish "women's movement" was thus not homogeneous but rather was split into conflicting associations that struggled over the legitimate definition and proper place of gender. The English-speaking reader should be warned that the merits of this excellent book do not come out in the English abstract.

NIILU KAUPPI
Academy of Finland

MIKAEL KORHONEN. *Finlands ryska fordringar: Ekonomisk uppgörelse med Ryssland efter 1917; Privata ersättningsfrågor i ett jämförande internationellt sammanhang*. [Finland's Russian Demand: Economic Relations with Russia after 1917; Private Substitution in an International Context]. Åbo: Åbo Akademis Förlag. 1998. Pp. vi, 332.

Mikael Korhonen has written a model scholarly monograph. He has identified a subject area that has not been systematically examined by previous historians and discovered that there are extensive archive materials relevant to it that also have not been used hitherto. And he has produced a neat, concise, well-written presentation. The subject is the economic aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 as it affected Finland.

Finland had close economic connections with Russia, being an autonomous grand duchy within the empire, and had traded extensively with Russia; individual Finns could pursue careers or establish business

enterprises inside Russia. These relationships intensified after 1914, when Finland was offered extensive and very lucrative contracts for supplying the Russian war effort. The whole complex economic interaction between the two countries was severed at a stroke, in October 1917. The Bolshevik regime repudiated the contracts; nationalized landed property, the banks, and all assets held in them, together with most of the larger business enterprises, without compensation; and repudiated the financial debts and state securities of the previous regime. Finnish subjects living in Russia could leave and move to Finland, but there were very severe restrictions on what assets they could take with them, and those in state employment in Russia lost their salaries and pension rights. This study is concerned with what happened to these people economically; it is not concerned with the claims of the Finnish state on Russia, nor with the legal implications involved.

Korhonen has worked through the extensive archives of the Finnish government committees set up to verify the thousands of private claims for compensation, the surviving commercial records of Finnish businesses involved, and the records of various unofficial associations established by the claimants to secure their rights. He has established a database from which to reconstruct the number of claimants, the extent of their claims, and their social status and to estimate the overall economic impact of their losses on the community. For established businesses, with their inflated wartime profits, the loss was bearable. Private claimants could be left penniless.

Korhonen recounts what was done by the Finnish state to collect and verify the private claims with a view to pursuing them with the Russian government, and by the claimants themselves in forming associations to mobilize government support and sway public opinion in Finland for their cause. The climax came in the summer of 1920, when Finland and the Soviet Union negotiated the peace treaty, signed at Dorpat in October. The two sides presented economic claims for compensation and division of debts and assets, which were obviously wholly incompatible. The Soviet side was adamant that there could be no compensation for nationalization of assets under Soviet law, nor would they accept any responsibility for the debts and obligations of the tsarist regime. The deadlock was broken by a pragmatic deal; the two countries would accept the economic status quo created by their separation, each retaining the assets claimed by the other that were located on their side of the new frontier. In reality this meant the Finnish government surrendered the claims of its private citizens against Russia in order to purchase an acceptable territorial and political settlement. But they covered this ugly reality with a clause stating that if such private claims were recognized in any other settlement between the Soviet Union and third powers, Finnish citizens could utilize the concession on the "most favored nation" principle. This offered the private creditors a faint hope that the

big claimants, France and Britain, who had not yet settled their future relations with Russia, might be able to extort some concessions, but they too failed. It gave the Finnish government a pretext for refusing to consider compensating the victims themselves, since it was still possible that the Soviet Union might pay up.

The book ends with a summary of the vain efforts of the private creditors to get compensation from their own government and a look at how the Finnish experience compares with that of the Scandinavian countries and the Baltic republics. This book will surely become the standard authority on this aspect of Russian-Finnish relations after the recognition of Finnish independence in 1917. As such, it will constitute an economic appendix to the current standard history: T. Polvinen's *Venäjän vallankumous ja Suomi, 2: Toukokuu 1918-joulukuu 1920* (1971). The book includes a serviceable English-language summary of the main points.

A. F. UPTON
University of St. Andrews

MARK BASSIN. *Imperial Visions: Nationalist Imagination and Geographical Expansion in the Russian Far East, 1840–1865*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 29.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 329. \$69.95.

Great rivers, like oceans, have stories to tell of the territorial ambitions of modern states. The storytellers often had little or no idea of the real physical and human conditions of these places. They found their audience, like themselves, interested primarily in projecting onto geographical locations glorious (or at times dismal) visions of their own past, present, and future achievements. Mark Bassin, a cultural geographer of Russia with a deep knowledge of the nineteenth-century intellectual history of that country, has captured in vivid detail one such tale of the Russian Empire.

His account focuses on a river in the vast area vaguely referred to as “the Russian Far East” or “eastern Siberia.” The Amur River and its tributaries occupy a territory nearly as large as that of the basin of the Mississippi River (with which some Russian admirers liked to compare it), but in a terrain and climate more closely resembling those of the Columbia River (or even in places the Yukon). Bassin is not, however, concerned with the picturesque aspects of the Amur. His purpose is to capture the fanciful images of the region that Russian writers and tsarist officials created in a mid-nineteenth-century moment of great euphoria. He seeks to uncover the inspiration for this enthusiasm, to identify its complex ideological and cultural components, and to understand its role in the emergence of Russian nationalism. In other words, this is a work in Russian cultural history.

Bassin's approach relies on a subtle reading of the literary and publicist works generated by the promoters of Russia's Amur “project.” His basic premise is

that “geographical regions are perceived and signified ideologically” (p. 6). They are the inspiration for what he identifies somewhat poetically as “imperial visions”; on a more technical note, he terms his objective to be the “cultural constructs” inspired by the Amur River. With this set of guidelines, he is able to trace the fascinating process by which the mid-century interest in a remote, mysterious region on the fringes of the empire became “essentially a psychological exercise in cultural perception, interpretation, and construction” (p. 186). The conquest of the Amur region, completed in treaties with China in 1860, is an integral part of his story, for words and (expansionist) deeds are closely linked in this case. His account of a great Asian river's place in Russian cultural imagination reproduces, and in its own way illuminates, the tumultuous, contentious efforts of Russians to understand and affirm their own place in the nineteenth-century world of expansionist Western nations. Among the contending voices, Bassin gives pride of place to the nascent nationalist movement of the period. The first half of his book is primarily devoted to a study of how domestic and foreign conditions inspired writers, and officials, to unite around the Amur region in their pursuit of Russian national glory and achievement. Their own perception of Russia as a nation, as the author convincingly argues, incorporated its imperial, multinational character in ways both familiar and strange to Western empires. The Russian Imperial Geographical Society provided a home (and in Nicholas I's Russia, a refuge) for reform-minded, nationally inclined intellectuals and officials. For them, the nation encompassed, both conceptually and geographically, Europe and Asia. The Amur basin in this light acquired a set of ideological messages that proclaimed Russia's uniqueness as a Eurasian country. Its claim was irrefutable to this contiguous region apt for colonization, commerce, civilization, and imperial rule. The message, though, was directed primarily toward St. Petersburg. As long as Nicholas I remained in power, conservatism blocked all new national projects. One of the most significant findings of this book; in this reviewer's opinion, is Bassin's well-substantiated argument that in the world view constructed by these nationalist reformers, “the acquisition of the Amur represented an excellent, indeed necessary basis for a reformed and renovated Russia” (p. 127).

But it could acquire this remarkable role only in the hyperbolic language of exalted intellectuals (and a few ambitious high administrators). The young Peter Kropotkin explained his decision to perform his military service, upon finishing the Cadet Corps in 1862, by describing his remote destination as the “Russian Mississippi.” The United States, in this grandiose vision, became a sort of model for the Russian reformed empire/nation, where the conquest of territory (especially certain choice places) was transformed into an instrument of national progress. The “geohistorical” vision of the “remarkable movement of the Slavic tribes” to the Pacific (p. 269), promoted by the geog-

rapher Peter Semenev, gave an ethnonational justification for expansion. That cultural construction encompassed an area far greater than the Amur basin. His tribal approach enjoyed enduring popularity. Most flights of spatial fancy, however, sank into oblivion as quickly as they rose when their devotees encountered the region's grim reality (Kropotkin) or as their hopes for tsarist reform waned (notably the case of Alexander Herzen).

Bassin admits that the Amur's moment of glory was brief. Still, he makes a convincing (and elegantly written) case that its story has an important place in Russian cultural history. And, in broad historical perspective, his study points, in the manner of other innovative histories of modern Western empires, to the power of imperial visions to inspire and legitimate global expansion.

DANIEL BROWER
University of California,
Davis

YANNI KOTSONIS. *Making Peasants Backward: Agricultural Cooperatives and the Agrarian Question in Russia, 1861–1914*. New York: St. Martin's. 1999. Pp. x, 245. \$65.00.

Anyone who has read accounts by intelligentsia professionals or reforming state officials about their encounters with Russian peasants at the turn of the century is, of course, familiar with a discourse emphasizing peasant "otherness": *temnota* (benightedness), lack of "consciousness," low level of culture and literacy—in short, the qualities that made them profoundly backward and thus in need of educated society's ministrations. Focusing on elite thinking about rural cooperatives and their potential to transform peasant society, Yanni Kotsonis offers a detailed and nuanced analysis of this discourse. In the voluminous writings of academically trained agronomists, statements by cooperators (non-peasant cooperative activists), and debates among state officials and zemstvo landowners, he finds much evidence for its pervasiveness, even among the liberal and socialist professionals who had dedicated themselves to breaking down the isolation of the peasant community, protecting peasants from capitalist forces, and bringing progress and enlightenment to the masses. In a well-written book he provides a trenchant analysis of the intellectual encounter between elite Russians and the rural community as these elites constructed it. Kotsonis situates his discussion within the framework of recent studies of Europeans' colonial encounters with non-European "others" and the ways in which language was employed to delegitimize colonial peoples and to deny them both agency and their own history.

In doing so, Kotsonis challenges an older, liberal view of cooperatives that emphasized their potential to integrate peasants into broader social and national structures (citizenship) and to foster peasant creativity and independence. The claims by agronomists and

other cooperative enthusiasts that peasant integration and empowerment were, indeed, their aims are dismissed by Kotsonis as mere rhetoric. Instead, he argues, cooperatives in the vision of the experts could not, *ever*, be entrusted to peasants to manage on their own. Without close and continual supervision by experts like themselves, cooperatives would fall prey to peasant helplessness before various exploiting elements in the village (by intelligentsia definition "non-peasant" or "non-laboring")—one finds some eerie parallels here between their constructions of "traders" and "kulaks" and the Bolsheviks' highly politicized usages of such terms later on—or to peasant corruption and lack of culture generally. What cooperatives in this scheme were meant to do was to build a bridge for outsiders into the closed peasant community, which was otherwise difficult to penetrate, allowing professionals to bypass corrupt gatekeepers like rural officials and village economic elites. Having done so, cooperatives would give agronomists and other cooperators real power and leverage in the village through their power to approve cooperative charters and disburse funding from state and zemstvos. Finally, cooperatives would serve to ensure and justify elite intervention, supervision, and "reconstruction" of a childlike peasantry. While A. V. Chaianov and other prominent agronomists may not have been furnishing an antechamber to Stalinist collectivization and anti-peasant terror, their vision, as reconstructed by Kotsonis, is one that Michel Foucault would surely recognize.

Kotsonis examines cooperatives from the perspective of state agencies (finance, agriculture), zemstvo landowners, and the agronomists whose numbers increased at the same time (particularly from 1910) that cooperatives proliferated. He finds remarkable consensus among these disparate interests on the question of rural transformation: what was in dispute was whether the old elites or the new experts possessed of "science" and "knowledge" should oversee this project. The kind of cooperatives (e.g. credit) they all endorsed and created—grounded not on Western principles of collateral for loans, individual responsibility, and risk—were designed to perpetuate peasant particularism and caste. Kotsonis makes the interesting point that their victory seriously undermined Peter Stolypin's famous land reform and his vision of new class of individual peasant proprietors. Kotsonis argues that these new "all-estate" institutions had little to do with fostering peasant individualism, citizenship, or agency. Rather, they offered the "conscious" elements of Russian society a vehicle through which they could impose their own visions on the "unconscious" mass.

The result, Kotsonis concludes, was that peasants viewed cooperatives as, at best, a form of state charity dispensed by outsiders. Cooperatives never became *peasant* in any sense of the word, and for this reason the cooperators could easily be swept aside after 1917 by those arch-interventionists, the Bolsheviks. How-

ever, his contention that peasants never participated meaningfully in the movement is weakly supported by evidence. Indeed, Kotsonis makes passing references to successful, peasant-initiated cooperatives (e.g. in the Black Sea area). Further, his comment that regional infrastructure and access to markets often determined the success or failure of cooperatives may well point to a factor more important than his central thesis.

On one level, Kotsonis's analysis succeeds brilliantly. Essentially this is an intellectual history, a study in the sociology of knowledge that academic agronomists and state officials constructed about peasants. The analysis is strongest when confined to texts (the writings of agronomists, statements at cooperative congresses, and the like) but becomes more problematic when it comes to actual interactions between experts and peasants. One learns very little in this book about cooperatives or what they meant to those peasants (more than one-quarter of peasant households in 1914) involved in the movement. And despite the author's promise to analyze the "interaction" between agronomists and cooperatives, there is little discussion of relations on the ground, and what there is seems unsatisfactory, selective, and contradictory.

Concretely, what did elite intervention look like in terms of the actual functioning of rural cooperatives? Cooperative inspectors had the right to approve or reject petitions to charter new cooperatives. Kotsonis gives several examples of high-handed decisions rendered by inspectors who rejected these appeals because the organizers did not fit their template of "peasant" or because they were too uncultured (or, conversely, too cultured and hence a threat to exploit gullible neighbors) but then concedes that the vast majority of such appeals were approved (p. 155). He also notes that elite cooperators strongly preferred that cooperatives be led by non-peasant *intelligently*, viewing "peasants," as the experts defined them, as congenitally incapable of managing this business alone. But the fact is that there were never enough rural intelligentsia in Russia to manage all of these cooperatives, and yet they spread rapidly during the prewar years. According to press accounts during World War I, when there were even fewer professionals in the countryside, peasant consumers' cooperatives proliferated. Who initiated and ran these associations? Many cooperative boards were in fact dominated by peasants, many of them relatively educated, sophisticated members of a younger village generation (S. T. Semenov, the peasant writer from Moscow province comes to mind). Kotsonis's scheme—"conscious" cooperators and "unconscious" mass—does not easily accommodate such types, but agronomists must have worked with these people on the ground, and it would be important to know how the experience shaped their views.

Kotsonis concludes that Russian cooperatives perpetuated the very caste and autocratic political culture that their proponents claimed to abhor and suggests that the cooperative movement offers little evidence

"that Imperial Russia could accommodate change, mobilize people and resources across the boundaries of estate, and allow distinct groups to make common cause and register concrete economic improvement" (pp. 2, 166). Kotsonis has provided a powerful picture of the assumptions about peasants that elite cooperators brought to the movement. Future historians will need to examine the movement at the grass-roots to determine how these assumptions shaped the movement itself or whether they were in turn shaped by encounters with real peasants.

SCOTT J. SEREGNY
Indiana University,
Indianapolis

DAVID WARTENWEILER. *Civil Society and Academic Debate in Russia 1905–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. x, 252. \$75.00.

The last fifteen years have seen a welcome upsurge in scholarship on Russian liberalism, the history of the Russian universities, and the problems of Russian civil society. David Wartenweiler's new book brings added insight to our understanding of Russian liberalism and the role of the Russian professoriate in its development. The basic theme of Wartenweiler's book is civil society: what it meant in the context of imperial Russia, how professors saw the connection between universities and civic education, and how academics tried to implement their ideas in practice.

Wartenweiler opens his study with a short but useful discussion of civil society in late imperial Russia. He properly reminds us that the development of civil society in Russia did not depend on the victory of liberal democracy, although it did require "at least a rudimentary rule of law" (a point where civil society and liberal democracy shared some common ground). Wartenweiler surveys published work on the subject and then offers his own definition, which stresses a fundamental dualism in the concept of civil society. This dualism reflects the tension between a structural, somewhat negative definition advanced by G. F. W. Hegel (the space between the private and the political, a realm of self-regarding economic activity) and a particular kind of social ethic that focuses on service to society. Throughout his study, Wartenweiler stresses the ethical dimension. "Civil society," according to Wartenweiler, "allows the mediation of personal interests and social needs, individual freedom and social responsibility" (p. 6). In the Russian context, according to the author, the Orthodox faith of many leading liberal proponents of civil society made this ethical dimension all the more salient.

Wartenweiler's fundamental thesis emphasizes the idea of civil society in Russia as a "device for individual emancipation" (p. 6). How could one create the conditions for individuals to develop their potential to pursue both private ends and the common good? The era of the Great Reforms saw the appearance of new

public figures who embodied an ethos of "independent action, moral independence and responsibility" (p. 7). The problem that proponents of civil society faced was how to disseminate these virtues and values among the wider population. The key was education, especially higher education, and the quest to develop civil society through education occupies the major part of the book. Higher education should not only promote the development of science but also develop enlightened individuals who could shoulder the burdens of public responsibility. Therefore Wartenweiler focuses on academics. This is a legitimate choice, but it would have been helpful had he cast a wider net and considered such groups as the Riabushinskii Circle, an example of a business elite that was reaching for many of the same goals.

In some places—such as the description of the political travails of the universities between 1905 and 1914—the book retraces familiar ground. But such a quibble should not detract from the fact that Wartenweiler's book offers much that is original and thought provoking. This reviewer was especially impressed with chapter three ("Russian Liberal Thought and the Idea of Civil Society") as well as with the final chapter ("Civil Society in Practice: Academics and Educational Work after 1905"). In chapter three, Wartenweiler shows, in new ways, the importance of B. N. Chicherin and V. I. Solov'ev for the development of a new generation of Russian liberals like L. I. Petrazhetskii and P. I. Novgorodtsev. "Their combined contribution—Chicherin with his emphatic defence of law and the individual, and Solov'ev with his idiosyncratic combination of liberal principles and Christian ideals—created a space of law, morality and social organization, where a new generation of Russian academic liberals found important impulses for reviewing the options available to the country" (p. 95). The common denominator of this contribution was insistence on the legal process and respect for the individual.

The final chapter of the book contains an excellent discussion of the movement to develop people's universities and the establishment of such nonstate institutions as the Lesgaft Higher Courses for Women, the Saint Petersburg Psychoneurological Institute, and the A. L. Shaniavskii Moscow City People's University. The discussion of the Shaniavskii University is particularly informative and insightful. In the end, however, the author concludes that these promising initiatives along with other efforts to develop a civil society could not overcome the double burden of a hostile state and a population that had received just enough education to read simple propaganda but not enough to become critically thinking citizens. Thus Wartenweiler's conclusions complement those reached by many of the authors in a parallel study, *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for a Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia*, edited by Edith Clowes, James West, and myself (1991).

This is an important book. Clearly written and well argued, it is essential reading for anyone interested in

the history of Russian liberalism. For obvious reasons, a Russian translation would be quite desirable.

SAMUEL D. KASSOW
Trinity College

CHRISTOPHER ANDREW and VASILI MITROKHIN. *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*. New York: Basic Books. 1999. Pp. xiv, 700. \$32.50.

Vasili Mitrokhin worked as a KGB officer from 1948 until his retirement in 1984. Disillusioned by Soviet repression of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and influenced by the dissident movement in Moscow, Mitrokhin spent the last twelve years of his career secretly transcribing materials from the KGB's foreign intelligence archives, where he worked. In 1992, he emigrated to Britain with his secret archive documenting KGB overseas espionage around the world over several decades. Christopher Andrew, a prolific writer on Soviet intelligence, collaborated with Mitrokhin to produce this massive 700-page volume.

The book is a fascinating read. Separate chapters deal with Soviet espionage in individual countries, and the book provides both new detail on known events as well as a few sensational revelations. In correcting old stories, Mitrokhin's research shows, for example, that it was Arnold Deutsch who recruited the famous "Cambridge Five" in the 1930s, rather than Alexander Orlov. The "Odessa Partisans," heroes in the Soviet pantheon of World War II, were supposed to have heroically fought the Nazi occupiers to the last man but turn out to have quarreled with one another in their caves and executed each other as often as the Nazis did.

Much of the Mitrokhin material introduces operations and dashing personalities heretofore unknown in the West. Joseph Grigulevich took part in the attempts to murder Leon Trotsky in 1940 and went on to run a Soviet sabotage operation in Argentina during World War II that mounted more than 150 attacks on German shipping cargoes from Latin America. Later, under a false identity, this amazing spy somehow became the Costa Rican chargé d'affaires in Rome in the 1950s, rubbing shoulders with the pope and Italian Prime Minister Alcide de Gasperi. Joseph Stalin then dispatched him to kill Josip Broz Tito, and it is likely that the report of his failure was one of the last documents on Stalin's desk the evening of the dictator's stroke in early 1953. His cover wearing thin, Grigulevich vanished into the Soviet Union, mystifying the Costa Rican government and the diplomatic community, who never suspected that "Teodoro Castro" had another identity. Grigulevich later earned a doctorate in Moscow and became an ethnographic researcher at the USSR Academy of Sciences and vice-president of the Soviet-Cuban and Soviet-Venezuelan Friendship Societies. Western intelligence apparently never connected Castro and Grigulevich as the same person.

The Grigulevich saga brings up important points to remember about such spy accounts. First is a lack of symmetry between East and West. The Andrew/Mitrokhin account provides evidence of the near-complete KGB penetration of Western government and business. Aside from well-known agents like Kim Philby and Aldrich Ames, the KGB was apparently able to infiltrate sensitive Western institutions and businesses, including the Manhattan Project, IBM, TRW, McDonnell Douglas, and the Argonne National Laboratories. Sometimes one gets the impression that a bumbling West was helpless before a skilled and ruthless KGB. But the trouble is, we do not have the other side of the story. We do not have an encyclopedic account from an "American Mitrokhin" detailing American penetration of the USSR or Soviet countermeasures, and without such a comparison or benchmark, we cannot really judge the efficiency of the KGB or the failures of its opponents.

The genre of spy-defector accounts raises other problems for historians. Maybe Mitrokhin really had "unprecedented and unrestricted access" (p. 1) to KGB files, but we do not, nor do we have any way to judge how he used them, what he wrote down, and what he did not. Even in today's more open, post-Soviet climate, the foreign intelligence archive in Yasenevo is one of the most secretive and tightly controlled institutions in Russia. Mitrokhin was a self-described loner with increasingly anti-Soviet views who probably did not enjoy the confidence of his bosses. He was, after all, demoted from foreign KGB assignments to checking and sealing boxes of papers in Moscow. Maybe such a potentially dubious type (in KGB terms) really was able freely to transcribe thousands of documents, smuggle them out of KGB premises, hide them under his bed, transfer them to his country house, bury them in milk cans, make multiple visits to British embassies abroad, escape to Britain, and then return to Russia and carry the voluminous work to the West, all without detection by the KGB. Stranger tales are told in the conspiratorial intelligence world, but they do not much reassure professional historians worried about verifying sources. It may all be true. But how do we know?

J. ARCH GETTY
University of California,
Los Angeles

ANDRES KASEKAMP. *The Radical Right in Interwar Estonia*. (Studies in Russia and East Europe.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. 2000. Pp. ix, 218. \$65.00.

The vagaries of linguistic, political, and cultural barriers have blighted the comprehensiveness and accuracy of comparative studies in the human sciences to an extent that is far more serious than heirs of Enlightenment rationalism would care to admit. Nowhere is this more true than of studies of the radical right,

where the rarity of the prerequisite language skills has meant that, in contrast to France and Spain, countries such as Finland and Greece have been sorely neglected in the Anglophone world. In cases where the lack of language competence combined with the inaccessibility of archival sources to Western academics for as long as the Soviet Empire survived, some topics practically became no-go areas: our understanding of the nature and fate of fascism and "para-fascism" in Hungary, the Baltic States, Central Europe, and the Balkans, for example, is still largely rudimentary. Andres Kasekamp's book on interwar Estonia's putative fascist veterans movement is thus extremely welcome for providing a missing piece of the jigsaw. So little is known outside Estonia about the Eesti Vabadussõjalaste Liit (Estonian War of Independence Veterans' League, or EVL) that it has sometimes been erroneously referred to as VAPS, the colloquialism for an EVL member. Certainly its name does not exactly roll off the tongue, but this study shows that the EVL represents an important case study in the highly nuanced configurations of the authoritarian and revolutionary right in interwar Europe that make generalization so hazardous.

Kasekamp was admirably qualified for the task, for he is of Estonian extraction and earned his Ph.D. from the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the University of London. This book reads very much like a good dissertation: succinct, soundly researched, sparse in style, modest, and self-restrained in scope. We discover all the basic information that a comparative historian without a command of Estonian might need to know about the League itself: its historical background, its evolution, its major personalities, its ideology—though perhaps not enough about the War of Independence of 1919–1920 from which it emerged. We learn how in the early 1930s, against a background of the Depression and the deepening crises of European democracies, the EVL rapidly transformed itself from a pressure group for protecting the economic and social interests of its members to an increasingly powerful extraparlimentary political movement. By the spring of 1934, its candidate for the presidency, Andres Larka, had gained sufficient popular support to precipitate the preemptive coup that Konstantin Päts carried out in March, thus inaugurating a decade of authoritarian rule and driving the League underground.

We also learn how erroneous it would be to categorize either the League or Päts's regime as fascist. Like so many conservative dictators of the time, Päts ruled in a style that was widely seen, in the age of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, as modern, efficient, and dynamic. What lay behind the League's rise to the position of power brokers was not the paramilitary style of politics associated with the *squadristi* or the SA but an idiosyncrasy of Estonia's ultrademocratic constitution, which committed its government to hold a referendum on constitutional change if 25,000 signatures could be collected in its favor. The crisis in the

economy, the proximity of Soviet Russia, the threat to national sovereignty posed by the Communist Party, the rise of right-wing authoritarianism elsewhere, the excessive proliferation of parties under the system of proportional representation, the lack of effective leadership, and the popularity of the League's members as the mythic heroes of the War of Independence all contributed to a widespread longing for a strong president directly elected by a popular vote to end the country's malaise, but not for a postliberal and anti-democratic "new order": indeed, when it became known that a prominent Nazi saw a kindred spirit in the League, this diminished rather than augmented its popularity.

The book would have made an even more important contribution to fascist studies had Kasekamp been more adventurous and scrupulous about exploring its comparative dimension. Not all interwar fascist movements were irredentist, expansionist (e.g. the Iron Guard, the British Union of Fascists), or violent (e.g. Le Faisceau), for their goals and tactics were shaped by the specific historical context in which they operated. In addition, several putative movements existed on the cusp between radical reform and revolution with which the League might fruitfully have been compared, notably the electoral Belgian Rex and the overtly paramilitary Freikorps, Heimwehren, Stahlhelm, Irish Blueshirts, and Croix de Feu. Moreover, a lurking confusion about generic fascism is hinted at in Kasekamp's vague reference to "countries where fascism was successful" (p. 58), a phrase requiring considerable expansion to be meaningful, since few serious scholars would nowadays count more than two fascist regimes all told unless we include puppet or collaborationist governments installed by the Third Reich. Similarly, had the author been more aware of the emergent consensus about the centrality of the vision of national rebirth to fascism's ideological dynamics, he might also have made more of the League's claims that victory in the referendum represented "the rebirth of the Estonian nation" (p. 49) and of its newspaper's recognition that fascism was about "the rejuvenation of the nation" (p. 70).

But the achievements of this book outweigh its weaknesses. It not only succeeds in filling in one of several embarrassing stretches of *terra incognita* left on the historical maps of the radical right used by Anglo-American historians, but it also, if only indirectly, underlines just how important demobilized soldiers were as a political force in Europe in the aftermath of World War I. I hope that scholars will build on Kasekamp's work to fill yet another lacuna in our understanding of the interwar radical right: namely, a thorough comparative investigation of the numerous veterans movements that sprang up in Europe after World War I, and of the highly individual—and sometimes dramatic—impact they had on the societies and political systems in which they briefly flourished.

ROGER GRIFFIN
Oxford Brookes University

MARTIN DEAN. *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941–44*. New York: St. Martin's, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. 2000. Pp. xx, 241. \$40.00.

Martin Dean oscillates between the two bookends of Holocaust studies: Raul Hilberg and Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. On the one hand, he documents the origins and activities of the Belorussian and Ukrainian police; on the other, he leaps to conclusions. The accusations in the subtitle of the book seem to go beyond the data presented. While the exposition is Hilbergian, his conclusion is very Goldhagenian: "In Belorussia and Ukraine it was not only Germans who became 'willing executioners.'"

Dean broaches important questions and ambiguities about the activities of the local police, but he fails to prove that in the main the policemen were "willing" or "executioners." Even if the author does not, the courts since 1945 have recognized a difference between a man who pulls the trigger as a volunteer and one who is under a duress of orders to serve as a guard.

The book consists of eight chapters and a conclusion. The first two chapters cover the "background," the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland in 1939 and the German occupation of 1941. Chapters three and five cover the killing of Jews in 1941 and 1942. Chapter four discusses the origins and activities of local police, which the Germans called *Schutzmannschaften*. Chapter six discusses local administration and chapter seven covers partisan warfare and the role that local police and Jews played in it. The final chapter follows the postwar fate of the police and surviving Jews in Germany and exile.

I want to analyze three questions raised by the book. First, did the Belorussian and Ukrainian police consist of volunteers; second were they murderers; and third, what did it mean under conditions of occupation to be collaborationists?

Dean's concept of collaborationism begins to break down with his assertion that the *Schutzmannschaft* was a voluntary force. Here, he buys into the Nazi vocabulary of euphemistic evasion. The Hague Conventions of 1907 prohibited an occupying force from coercion of the conquered people to carry arms; thus the Nazis resorted to obfuscation. The Germans organized a variety of *Schutzmannschaften* formations, but the main ones with which the author is concerned were the local stationery units that for practical purposes performed police duties. This was a paid not a volunteer job.

It seems that Belorussians and Ukrainians joined the *Schutzmannschaften* for the same reason that people join any police force. For the Belorussians and Ukrainians there were, however, also some specific coercive factors, as the author shows in the analytical pages of his book. The choice of jobs during the occupation was very limited, because the Soviet style economy was in a shambles. If these men did not enter the *Schutz-*

mannschaften, the alternative for most would have been to face a labor draft, which meant that they as *Ostarbeiters* would have been deported to Germany to work in German munitions factories. To escape being a slave laborer, joining the *Schutzmannschaften*, at least to the men at the time, might have seemed as a lesser evil. Under the conditions of the Nazi occupation, however, the job turned out to be different from that of peacetime police in democratic countries. The evidence presented is too contradictory and ambiguous to argue that the men joined the *Schutzmannschaften* to kill Jews or to advance the Nazi cause in the East. There is no indication that they could have known that they would be ordered to participate in the killing of local Jews. One can agree with the author that the *Schutzmannschaften* made it much easier for the Germans to liquidate the region's Jews, but did the locals commit murder? Unless I missed something, the author proves that the *Schutzmannschaften* were at the most auxiliaries in the process. The Germans did not trust them enough to carry out the killings. To carry out the ultimate act, the author repeatedly shows, the Germans called in their own "professional" forces, usually some SD unit. In the killing action, the Nazis did not want everybody to do everything; a certain conveyor belt principle prevailed. Only those who were tested and trusted were ordered to perform the killings, and as a rule volunteers were called for. In guard duties volunteers were not asked for, and everybody in the force was under the duress of orders. Disobedience of an order to stand guard was punishable by the German authorities.

Despite these reservations, the book, at least the Hilbergian parts, is a plus in the historiography of the topic. While not fully free of folklore that has accumulated about the killing of East European Jews, the author places the topic on the plane where it can be rationally analyzed and understood.

ANDREW EZERGAILIS
Ithaca College

DAVID M. GLANTZ and JONATHAN H. HOUSE. *The Battle of Kursk*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1999. Pp. xiii, 472. \$34.95.

For more than fifty years, historians have been fascinated by the battle of Kursk, its scope and ferocity, and its importance as one of the decisive struggles of World War II. Yet many details of the largest tank battle in history have remained obscure because of the paucity of the reliable Soviet sources. Until recently, our perception of the battle was dominated by the German historiography. Several leading German generals who participated in this gigantic struggle tried to assess Kursk from their point of view; they mainly blamed Adolf Hitler, either for his stubbornness or for his hesitations and his belated, mistaken decisions. The Soviet participants, for their part, attempted to promote the legend of invincibility of the Red Army irresistibly

marching toward allegedly preordained victory. Thus, our view of the battle of Kursk was shrouded in a double mythological veil.

In order to present a more balanced evaluation of "Operation Citadel," two American historians, David M. Glantz and Jonathan M. House, taking advantage of the opening of the Soviet archives, have produced a monograph entirely devoted to the battle, its origin, its course, and its consequences. The results are most impressive. The treatment of the subject is thorough and comprehensive: the 472-page book assigns no less than 190 pages of notes, mainly based on primary Soviet sources, while not neglecting the German archives. The military operations on both sides are examined meticulously and in great detail, often down to the regimental level, occasionally even describing the activities of smaller units.

The monograph confirms the opinion that Kursk marked a turning point in the war. For the German side, it spelled the death of the "Blitzkrieg" and the beginning of defensive operations. For the Red Army, despite staggering losses far exceeding those of the enemy, the victory at Kursk meant the opening of the offensive phase of what was then called "the great Patriotic War." The newly created Soviet mechanized corps, supported by the massive concentration of artillery and infantry, began its march that ended only in Berlin.

The conclusion of this magisterial study ends with the aptly formulated evaluation: "The battles of July and August 1943 associated with the German operation Citadel and the Soviet Kursk Strategic Offensive Operation not only ended the myth of German invincibility but clearly demonstrated that the Red Army was rapidly developing the skills to match its enormous numbers. The resulting combination proved fatal to blitzkrieg and, ultimately, lethal to Germany" (p. 281).

The authors devote the bulk of the narrative to the military aspects of the battle and largely overlook the political consequence of the struggle and treat the role played by the Soviet intelligence only marginally. Yet secret Soviet information sources "Lucy" and "the Red Orchestra" played a much larger role than the book ascribes to them. Moreover, soon after the Kursk disaster, Hitler's grand coalition began to disintegrate: the Italian partner of the Axis defected first, followed by the Finns, Hungarians, and Romanians. Thus, political consequences of the battle were more important than the authors seem to acknowledge.

In spite of these small gaps, the works of Glantz and House is likely to remain a classic example of the professional treatment of a highly complex battle, and an invaluable tool for teachers of military history.

M. K. DZIEWANOWSKI
University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

PNINA LAHAV. *Judgment in Jerusalem: Chief Justice Simon Agranat and the Zionist Century*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press. 1997. Pp. xvii, 331. \$29.95.

Pnina Lahav's well-crafted biography of the late Israeli Chief Justice Simon Agranat has much to recommend it. The author not only introduces us to Agranat the person in his formative years and acquaints us with an important part of his legal decisions. She also places her subject in historical perspective by describing salient events in the history of the *yishuv* (the Jewish community in pre-state Palestine) and the State of Israel. Lahav also succeeds in presenting Agranat's complex view, his ability to see and present the full range of considerations supporting and opposing his positions, and the conceptual principles grounding his decisions. She artistically weaves the strands of Agranat's origins and upbringing into the tapestry of his *Weltanschauung*, successfully portraying his motive of drawing upon the heritage of our past to resolve the problems of the present, with an eye to the future.

However, the audacity of the author's attempt to cover a field so vast as to include even a reexamination of Zionism stands in the way of doing justice to Agranat's personality. The book's central thesis is that there were two Agranats. First, there was the positive Agranat: Agranat until the *Eichmann* appeal in 1962. Then there was the less positive, more institutional Agranat: an Agranat with clipped wings, particularly after his appointment as chief justice in 1965. Such a portrayal does Agranat an injustice and is not convincing. The change that Lahav perceives in Agranat borders on a change of personality, or as she describes it: "He would never be the same again" (p. 162). Such a claim imposes a heavy burden of proof, which Lahav does not meet. The facts refute her claim. It was the allegedly reserved Agranat who, in 1969, played a role in one of the court's most revolutionary decisions. In the *Bergman* case, the court overturned a statute enacted by the Knesset for repugnance to a Basic Law. In 1962, shortly after the *Eichmann* appeal, Agranat had a hand in drafting the report that decided the conflict between Justice Minister Bernard Joseph and Attorney General Gideon Hausner. In essence, the Agranat Commission decided that it is the attorney general—a professional, independent civil servant—and not the minister of justice who is in charge of the state prosecution and who is responsible for providing legal advice to the government. The commission thus established the independence of the attorney general's status and discretion, although it was clear to Agranat that the report would incur the ire both of the minister of justice and of the government.

Particularly odd is Lahav's claim that Agranat was fundamentally opposed to the death penalty. In agreeing to sentence Adolf Eichmann to death, Lahav's Agranat gave in to his brethren and bowed to the public will. This, argues Lahav, broke his spirit and

turned him into another man. If, indeed, opposition to the death penalty was "one of his most cherished principles," one can but wonder why Agranat chose to place himself on the bench of the *Eichmann* appeal. Surely he realized that if the conviction were upheld, it would be impossible not to uphold the penalty imposed by the trial court. Oddly, there is also no evidence that Agranat ever objected to the legislature's decision to establish the death penalty in regard to Nazi war crimes and crimes against humanity. Would it not appear more likely, then, that in those cases Agranat deemed the death penalty to be a justified exception to his principle?

And if opposition to the death penalty were truly an inviolable principle, how are we to understand Agranat's decision in the *Zarka* case? The defendant, Said Hsein Zarka, was acquitted of murder and convicted on the lesser charge of manslaughter by the trial court. Agranat granted the prosecution's appeal, although he knew that a conviction for murder would necessarily result in the death penalty under the law in force at the time. Even if he believed that, in all likelihood, the penalty would be commuted (as he indeed recommended), how dared he risk a legal result that would require that he sentence Zarka to death by hanging?

Another important element of the two-Agranat thesis is Lahav's analysis of the Agranat Commission Report on the Yom Kippur War as a failure. Lahav attributes the commission's reluctance to lay blame upon Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir to an honest, innocent love of society and the state; a love so great that it drove the commission's members from their senses. Such servile conjecture does not negate the accusation that the commission lacked integrity and courage, and that it sacrificed the military echelon in order to save the political leadership. On the contrary, in raising the issue, Lahav would appear to add her voice to those of the accusers.

A more reasonable explanation is that, after examining the conduct of the political leadership, the commission found no negligence (not a groundless conclusion, however much one may disagree) and, therefore, refrained from holding anyone personally accountable. The commission's decision to abstain from ruling on the issue of the parliamentary responsibility of the prime minister and the minister of defense was, in my opinion, entirely justified. As for courage, the commission showed no lack of it in flying in the face of the clear expectations of the press and public opinion. It took courage for the members of the commission to decide the issues in accordance with their judicial and human consciences, knowing full well that they would be maligned and labeled cowards.

The author chose not to treat Agranat's significant contributions to criminal and civil law. An author is, of course, at liberty to decide the scope of her creative endeavor, but the personality and achievements of Agranat are inadequately conveyed by taking such a narrow approach to his biography. While I claim no

expertise in civil law, I believe that a failure to examine his rich output, at least in the field of criminal law, prevents the reader from obtaining a complete picture of Agranat's work in the field of public law, of which criminal law is a branch. It deprives the reader of an understanding of Agranat's liberal-humanist approach, of his view of human nature, and of his monumental contribution to the development of the fundamental principles of criminal law, its basic concepts, and its primary doctrines. This deficiency is of no minor significance. With such a flaw, Lahav's book can hardly be deemed the last word on Agranat as a judge.

MORDECHAI KREMNITZER
Hebrew University

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JOHN L. COMAROFF and JEAN COMAROFF, editors. *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa: Critical Perspectives*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 318. \$19.00.

Some people believe that the presence or absence of "civil society" is a pretty good predictor of the success or failure of a political community's pursuit of happiness. Sandwiched between the state (or government), and the broader aggregation of "society," here we have an arena, or a process, or a cluster of humanity in which or among whom humane, self-regulating, and essentially democratic civic life might emerge. The encouragement of the emergence of civil society has been seen as a worthwhile project for those who wish to see a decent outcome to the ending of totalitarianism in some but by no means all areas of the shrinking globe. The editors of this volume note that if whistlers in the dark can convince themselves that civic society is on the increase, no amount of whistling has dispelled the widespread, disturbing assumption that virtually all of Africa lacks these comforting features. A continent whose inhabitants endure the daily erosion of their quality of life and their standards of living has witnessed the quite literal flight of many of its best and brightest to more propitious economic and social conditions. If a growing, rationally choosing bourgeoisie is one of the preconditions of the emergence of civic society, then Africa is an unlikely candidate. This book sets out to question some of these assumptions.

Editors John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff take forty-three pages to demonstrate that the concept of "civic society" has a long, tortured history. From their account, we might conclude that it is at best protean and at worst vapid. Like other instrumentally vague concepts—and that of "the nation" springs to mind—it can and does mean all things to all people. Its very imprecision does, however, allow the Comaroffs to introduce a series of mostly good essays about African examples, which might suggest that despite the assumptions, maybe Africa does after all furnish some intriguing evidence of what might be called civic society.

The collection of essays individually and separately suggest just how difficult exploring the idea and ideal of civil society in Africa proves to be. While civil society might be one of the mantras of the global village, many of its ingredients have long and tricky histories in Africa. As the model is essentially liberal and Western, Gary Wilder's opening essay on the fate of colonized people in metropolitan France is a useful reminder of just how drastically colonialism modified that model. The extension of rights so actively struggled for in Western Europe was conspicuously denied to those Europe came to rule. Given that decolonization, perversely perhaps, perpetuated not only the institutions of European over rule but also many of its assumptions, the very concept of the "modern state" with all the overtones of representation that this implies has always been problematic in Africa. To complicate matters, in some cases the state itself is today of less importance than the newest allocators of value, the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), as is made clear in the essay by Elizabeth Garland, an account of the Ju/'hoan "bushmen's" negotiations with just such an organization.

Mikael Karlström's essay on the Ganda is, however, the first to worry about the "fit" of even the most generous definition of civil society within Africa. He shows that even if the language of self-preservation and increased democratization is that of the global village, local meanings are steeped in specific histories that preceded colonialism and have outlived it. Not the least important aspect of his essay is the strong suggestion that any neat distinction between state and society simply does not work among the Ganda, a qualification that could be extended to other parts of Africa. To complicate matters further, other essays lead us to think about what civil society might look like in societies whose value systems have emerged out of a melding of precolonial, colonial, and Islamic cultures. More crudely, the horrors of the present loom over the saddest piece in the volume, that of Mariane C. Ferme on Sierra Leone. This deals in part with the 1996 election, a process that led to the more proximate and ghastly circumstances that have robbed so many of their lives and limbs. No less disturbingly, the concluding chapter on Nigeria by Andrew H. Apter is a tragic account of how the erosion of faith in government—civic trust perhaps—has been accompanied by an almost parodic use of the language of public accountability that disguises the gross reality of harsh lives lived by all too many Nigerians today. But there is throughout a pervasive sense that pretty much everything might be proof of the existence of a lively civil society. Amy Stambach's fascinating piece concerns the public debate in Tanzania about whether women could or could not curl their hair with chemicals. While it is intriguing, its inclusion suggests just what an omnium gatherum the organizing principal of civil society can become. Does Africa have civil societies? If civil society can mean clan politics, neighborhood activism, moralism, interest in elections, and populism,

perhaps it has. That, however, leaves us with serious doubts about the value of the concept.

RICHARD RATHBONE

*School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London*

DAVID M. ANDERSON and RICHARD RATHBONE, editors. *Africa's Urban Past*. Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2000. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Over half of Africa's population now lives in towns, and the numbers are fast increasing. David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone's decision to review the state of scholarship through organizing a conference on "Africa's Urban Past"—the first of its kind—at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, in 1996 was thus timely. The 104 rich and varied papers touched on many areas of the continent from prehistoric times to the present, showing African urban history to be innovative, exciting, and at the cutting edge of the discipline. Seventeen papers selected and revised for publication constitute this volume. Together with the editors' useful historical and historiographical introduction, these essays are an important comparative resource for urban historians worldwide.

The book is structured in five sections: "Urban Archaeologies," "Pre-Colonial Towns in Transit," "Urban Economies," "Becoming Urban," and "The Politics of Urban Order." Overall, perhaps the most intriguing question for the early period concerns what constituted a "town" or "city" in an African context and its correlation with received wisdom derived from models elsewhere. The size of the continent, its cultural pluralism, and the early stages of research mean that no uniform typology can be offered. Still, some striking distinctions rooted in the African experience are pointed out. Although many precolonial African urban settlements shared characteristics with the classical cities of the ancient world, others lacked evidence of kings or decision-making elites; farming continued to be a key occupation of those who claimed a prescriptive right to land and homesteads encompassed within urban areas; and neighborhoods might be powerful without highly visible integrating mechanisms (see the essays by Roderick J. McIntosh on the Middle Niger; John K. Thornton on Mbanza Kongo; Robin Law on Ouidah; and Tom Spear on Arusha). Like settlements elsewhere, religion and trade, especially in the slave trade period, gave precolonial African cities and their elites legitimacy and substance (Thornton, Law, Richard Reid and Henri Médard on Buganda, and Ray A. Kea on the Gold Coast). Archaeologists Graham Connah, who offers a fascinating survey of city walls throughout the continent and what might be gleaned from them, and David W. Phillipson (reporting on recent excavation at the famous Aksum site in Ethiopia) point out the desperate lack of resources for research, even as the physical evidence of old cities disappears through neglect and destruction.

Three chapters deal with urban economies in the colonial period and after (Spear, Ayodeji Olukoju on Lagos, and Bill Freund on Durban), while others offer social and cultural perspectives. In struggles over town planning, Europeans and local populations "each needed to realize its particular social and moral vision of the social space in which people would live their lives" (Spear, p. 110). The same was true among indigenous migrants and older town dwellers. In nineteenth-century Tunis, immigration "unleashed a process whereby the city's streets and public places increasingly became contested gender spaces" (Julia Clancy-Smith, p. 191). Gender tensions could also erupt in colonial urban Ghana, where successful young women were contested by young men no longer able to fulfill traditional aspirations of what constituted "big men" (Emmanuel Akyeampong). In a fascinating chapter on colonial Accra, John Parker discusses changing burial practices and demonstrates how "an intricate and shifting ritual topography" gave way in an urban space to control manifested in "a built ritual infrastructure and a hierarchy of religious specialists" (p. 208).

Social space and urban order continued to be at the heart of conflict and innovation in the later twentieth century. While elites tried to control situations to their advantage, ordinary people struggled with displacement and impoverishment. For highland Ethiopia, Seltene Seyoum shows how traditional communal property rights were undermined by individual land ownership in towns. William Bissell provocatively argues that we need to "rethink the relation between colonialism, the city and spatial control." In the case of Zanzibar, he suggests, chaos rather than order was the outcome of different city plans, yet "the inept, inefficient, and cumbersome nature of the colonial regime made its domination paradoxically all the more effective" (p. 254). Finally, two chapters deal with the physical, social, and moral destruction and recreation of urban neighborhoods at century's end. District Six, one of the most heterogeneous and dynamic spaces in Cape Town, torn down under the apartheid regime, is experiencing reconstruction. Rafael Marks and Marco Bezzoli consider how the new built environment might be best accomplished as a "public realm" and a "people-centered" place (p. 262). On a grimmer note, Florence Bernault's chapter considers the reconfiguration of modern Brazzaville. She argues that civil war has shaped new urban identities, which have "anchored themselves into physical territories" (p. 289) where leaders, militias, and civilians imagine and elaborate a bewildering array of symbols and beliefs to legitimize their divisions and loyalties.

This book is an excellent introduction to the best of research on Africa's urban past. As the editors suggest, the essays contain as many questions as answers. Together they are a starting point rather than a summation. If the findings and methodologies are disparate and scattered, they reflect the state of research and the span of the topic over time and space.

There is no overall bibliography, but each chapter has plenty of citations. A few tables containing some current statistics on African cities would have been useful for comparative purposes, as would a map locating the main towns and cities under discussion.

PHYLLIS M. MARTIN
Indiana University

COLLEEN E. KRIGER. *Pride of Men: Ironworking in Nineteenth-Century West Central Africa*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann. 1999. Pp. xix. 261. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

No single occupation was more valuable in precolonial Africa than that of the ironworker, who provided the essential tools and weapons for his society. Given this singular importance, it is surprising that virtually only one case study—Patrick R. McNaughton's classic book, *The Mande Blacksmiths: Knowledge, Power, and Art in West Africa* (1988)—until now has focused on the smiths or smelters of the continent. Colleen E. Kriger's new book is thus a welcome addition to the understanding of African technological contributions in the past. It pioneers the study of West Central African metallurgists from multiple perspectives of economics, material culture, and technique. The skillful weaving of evidence from archival, oral, and material sources (including the examination of about 4,000 iron objects!) allows Kriger to explain many of the social and economic values of identity and production embedded in ironworking. She concludes that ironworkers were key agents of historical change, social actors who negotiated the boundaries and affiliations of local and regional life in the nineteenth century. Much of her work has implications for the understanding of African contributions to the Atlantic world during and after the slave trade, particularly the tracing of interethnic transfers of technology.

Unlike McNaughton's work, which emphasized the conceptual and metaphysical aspects of ironworking, this study avoids the area its author terms the "mystique" of the blacksmith and smelter in favor of material explanations. Kriger claims that the veil of mystique has resulted in a mostly reductionist and often ahistorical treatment of ironworking from other regions. Ironically, while she notes the unwarranted extent to which McNaughton's work on Mande blacksmiths has influenced the understanding of smiths from non-Mande groups, Kriger backs away from the task of identifying the unique cultural sources of empowerment for the West Central African groups whose history she describes. For Kriger, ceremony is an embellishment to labor (p. 80) and cosmology a distraction (pp. 230–31). These are missed opportunities to explore meaning and memory, because without the cultural pieces, especially the ritual and religious contexts to which smiths and smelters belonged and contributed, we still lack the comparative example for reevaluating McNaughton's earlier work, and we miss the fuller understanding of their historical roles as

perceived by the artisans themselves. It can only be hoped that future work will resolve the complex interactions between both the material and spiritual realms in which iron's power was constructed in Africa.

CANDICE L. GOUCHER
Washington State University,
Vancouver

RICHARD B. ALLEN. *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius*. (African Studies Series, number 99.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xvii, 221. \$64.95.

In his meticulous study of labor, capital, and social relations, Richard B. Allen speaks as wisely and almost as fully about colonial plantation historiography as he does about colonial Mauritius. Admirably interdisciplinary in scope, Allen probes into demographic and sociopolitical factors underlying economic choices; he refuses to settle for easy, historiographically conventional explanations of slavery, emancipation, or indenture; and, by concentrating on this undeservedly obscure Indian Ocean place, he restores Mauritius to its eminence as a microcosm of multiethnic plantation systems.

The particularity of the Mauritian experience emerges deftly in a few background pages. These describe the eighteenth-century transformation of an original Dutch possession into the notorious Île de France, scourge of Indian Ocean mercantile operations, and subsequently into a remote, neglected outpost of British imperialism dedicated to the fulfillment of the empire's taste for sugar. This vocation demanded intensification of the European-dominated plantation system begun under the French regime and its dependence on laborers captured in Madagascar, the coasts of east Africa, and other submissive outlets. Here, the Indian Ocean enthusiast yearns for a more patient treatment of early Mauritius, with deference to the genius of Count Bertrand François Mahé de La Bourdonnais, governor of Île de France under the otherwise mismanaged French *Compagnie des Indes*, and to the buccaneering enterprise of Robert Surcouf and his cohorts of corsairs. But Allen has no space for such entertainments; his purpose is to examine Mauritius as a British colonial enterprise and to show how to approach relations between capital and labor in such a place.

The analytical hand is exposed boldly in the book's first chapter, and Allen recapitulates his strategy, endowed with considerable substance, in his conclusion. The inadequacy of conventional accounts is not entirely or inevitably due to paucities of reliable documentation; historians can indulge in sophisticated economic extrapolations from narrative data in notarial records and similar depositories; studies conducted in plantation societies elsewhere can help provide useful comparative hypotheses to be explored in the context under scrutiny; polemical and stereotypical attitudes toward capitalists, slaves, indentured labor,

and other human subjects must be replaced by scrupulous examination of records pertaining to them as people who were participants in social and cultural institutions beyond their market activity. But since legal acts and official communications can readily distort existential structures developed on the ground, Allen insists on posing basic questions concerning how such people actually lived.

These and other principles come to life in five substantive chapters, two on labor relations and three on land and liquid capital. These analyses are sprinkled with enlightening vignettes of real people in the Mauritian world, so that the reader can appreciate, for instance, how slave escapes (maroonage) could have been tolerated, even encouraged, by plantation owners; how the indenture of Indian immigrants, beginning after the abolition of slavery in the late 1830s, proved neither a new form of slavery as one ideology insists, nor an unmixed blessing for otherwise miserable coolies as the system's defenders advocate; how small peasant landholds could become established, first among the emancipated ex-slaves and later, with quite different outcomes, by Indian immigrants following their periods of "industrial service"; and how frequent hard times for the sugar industry could actually provide opportunities for plantation workers to exploit planters' need for capital by acquiring small plots of their own.

Above all, Allen cogently insists on the interaction of labor supply and capital availability in determining the fortunes of Mauritius's sweet monocrop. His narrative/analytical chapters swing smoothly back and forth over the colonial period, anticipating the advent of the Mauritius Labour Party (MLP) in 1936 and eventual independence in 1968 but not treating those milestones with the attention devoted to the evolution of two complex communities: the "colored" or creole population, descended in part from originally free *gens de couleur* but mostly from freed slaves following their required transitional "apprenticeship"; and the larger, more prosperous Indo-Mauritian community, largely formed from indentured labor imported between 1835 and the 1870s. Both communities contained strong drives toward landholding, but the Indo-Mauritians were better able to collaborate among their own and to find sources of capital in India to finance their ventures into trade and farming.

In developing these excellent communal portraits, Allen nonetheless falls a bit short of his own high expectations. While practicing a multidisciplinary concentration on the diversity of Mauritian social life, he does not, for example, pay much attention to the role of certain cultural influences, religion in particular, in articulating economic options among the Roman Catholic creole population and between the Indo-Mauritian Muslims and their more numerous Hindu compatriots. Nor are educational attainments given adequacy of place in determining aspirations. Finally, while Allen's range of sources and informants is impressive, I miss reference to a number of ostensibly

authoritative French-language studies, in particular the massive dissertation of Jean-François Dupon (*Contraintes insulaires et fait colonial aux Mascareignes et aux Seychelles: Étude géographie humaine* (1977)).

Such modest flaws notwithstanding, Allen has established an irrevocable milestone for the study of colonial economies and plantation societies. It will be difficult henceforth to examine Mauritius or any comparable society without heeding his example of an integrated portrayal.

PHILIP M. ALLEN

Frostburg State University

BENEDICT CARTON. *Blood from Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa*. (Reconsiderations in Southern African History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2000. Pp. xiii, 215. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.50.

Benedict Carton's story is one of generational and gender conflict among the Zulus of the lower and middle Thukela River basin (modern South Africa) from approximately 1880 to 1910. Prior to this time, the river basin had constituted a borderland between two patriarchal powers: the Zulu kingdom to the north and the British colony of Natal to the south. With the defeat of the Zulu kingdom in the late nineteenth century, African chiefs were coopted or deposed. Those who opposed the dictates of the new colonial government were stripped of their titles, and more compliant chiefs—even commoners—were appointed in their stead. Disparaging these "women," who knelt before white people, Zulu youths began to challenge the patriarchal authority that had so long constrained them.

While the power of Africans in general declined under colonialism, Carton argues, some new opportunities were presented to youths and women. Having earned their own bridewealth in the colonial economy, young men increasingly refused to adhere to their fathers' wishes. Young women also fought to promote their own interests, taking advantage of the interstices between African and European patriarchies. Rejecting older husbands selected by their fathers, young women married men of their own choosing or ran away to mission stations. Although heavily circumscribed by the opposing patriarchies, some women managed to manipulate one against the other. Ironically, they were forced to enlist the assistance of European patriarchs—whether government or missionary—to promote their own interests above those of their fathers. In the process, they subjected themselves to yet another set of patriarchal constraints.

Devoting a large portion of the book to the poll tax rebellion of 1906–1908, Carton uses the uprising as a lens through which to view Zulu generational conflict. Since 1848, African patriarchs had been responsible for the payment of all taxes imposed on their homesteads. While the taxes were often paid from the wages of young men under their control, patriarchs received

credit for the tax payments. In 1906, for the first time, a poll or head tax was levied on all unmarried men eighteen years and older. The young men themselves were responsible for paying the tax. The new obligation provided the youths with a new set of grievances against the colonial government—and new power vis-à-vis their elders.

The ensuing rebellion was perpetrated not only against the colonial government but against the African household heads who urged compliance with government policies. Angry youths blatantly resisted the authority of their elders and defected from collaborating chiefs. Generational tensions deepened as elders turned rebel sons over to the colonial authorities for prison terms with hard labor, or even death. Many young rebels circumvented their elders' power and escaped arrest by disappearing into the growing migratory labor force. Ironically, wage labor in the colonial economy became their salvation.

Carton's book makes a significant contribution to the historiography of Southern Africa. Previously, scholars judged the poll tax rebellion as an example of African resistance to proletarianization, an anticapitalist reaction to intensifying colonial demands for land, labor, and taxes. They viewed the uprising as an

attempt by Africans to protect past cultural practices and to rehabilitate the Zulu kingdom. Carton has turned these analyses on their heads. Noting that earlier works fail to investigate generational relationships, exploring strains and tensions at the household level, he argues quite convincingly that the young rebels were forward rather than backward looking. Even as they disparaged collaborating chiefs and elders, they sought strategies to promote their own advancement in the new colonial system. This often meant embracing, rather than resisting, the wage labor market.

Carton bases his conclusions on an impressive variety of primary sources: written records, photographs, and African oral testimony. The latter includes volumes of interviews conducted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by university students in 1980s, and by the author in the 1990s.

This book is highly recommended for college and university libraries, and for scholars at both the graduate and professional levels.

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT
Loyola College,
Baltimore

Film Reviews

THE EMPEROR'S ASSASSIN (*Jing ke ci qin wang*). Produced by Sanping Han, Satoru Iseki, and Shirley Kao; directed by Kaige Chen; written by Kaige Chen and Peigong Wang. 1999; 160 minutes; color. Chinese (Chinese, French, and Japanese coproduction); in Mandarin. Distributed by Sony Pictures Classics.

QIN SONG (also known as THE EMPEROR'S SHADOW). Produced by Kunning Chen, Jimmy Tan, and Pimin Zhang; directed by Xiaoen Zhou; written by Wei Lu;. 1996; running time 134 minutes; color. China/Hong Kong; in Mandarin. Distributed by Ocean Films.

Both Kaige Chen's *The Emperor's Assassin* and Zhou Xiaowen's *Qin Song* deal with Chinese history in the third century B.C.E., and with the life of Ying Zheng, the man who, by unifying the warring smaller states of China under Qin authority, became China's first emperor. That two films treating this historical subject would be produced in so short a period is itself of interest to film scholars and historians. Of equal interest is the way in which the cinematic representations of ancient Chinese history are tinged with contemporary color, echoing more current political themes.

Qin Song opens with the aged Ying Zheng, now established as an emperor and growing senile, coming to the site of a sacrificial ritual, where he orders his officials to dump all the musical instruments they have brought with them into the roaring river. His murmuring is scarcely audible over the rushing waters, but the voiceover is clear: "Never allow the musicians to occupy a place of importance. Those who disobey this order should be condemned to death!" With that, the film flashes back to Ying's teen years, when he was kept as a hostage by the State of Yan, developing during his captivity a bond with Gao Jianli, a musical child prodigy.

As the narrative progresses, Ying becomes the king of the state of Qin and obsessed with national unification. Gao is taken prisoner by Ying's soldiers after his country is conquered by Qin. But, because of his friendship with Ying and the usefulness of his musical talent to Ying's cause, his life is spared on the condition that he compose a eulogy to commemorate the unification of China (hence the film's title). Much of the dramatic tension of the film centers on Ying's

attempt to enlist the service of Gao's art to his conquest of men's minds, played against Gao's refusal to surrender to Ying's will. Further complicating the story, Ying's daughter, Princess Yueyang, already bequeathed to General Wang's son, falls in love with Gao, who miraculously cures her paralyzed legs by making love to her. In the end, the general's son kills Princess Yueyang on their wedding night; Gao commits suicide; and Ying is left alone, lighting a fire in a huge urn to mark the commencement of the first imperial dynasty in Chinese history.

The fact that *The Emperor's Assassin* is set in the same period and focuses on the same character *Qin* makes it difficult not to compare the two films. The immediate similarities go far beyond the historical subject matter. Just as Zhou's film focuses on three key characters (Ying, his daughter, and Gao), so Chen's work also centers on three characters. Textual titles at the film's outset introduce Ying as the man who wanted to unify China, Jing Ke as the assassin who made an attempt on Ying's life, and Lady Zhao as the person responsible for bringing Jing Ke to Ying's court.

The neat tripartite structure in both films is undoubtedly necessitated by the melodramatic nature of the cinematic representations, but there are other common themes, images, and interpretative strategies as well. For instance, both film directors give Ying's motivation for national unification a positive spin by suggesting that, aside from his thirst for power, Ying genuinely believes a unified China will bring an end to the region's endemic wars and bloodshed. Zhou and Chen also put Ying's cruelty and tyranny into context by insisting on his humble origin and the injustice his people suffered at the hands of other states. Hence, in Zhou's film, Ying declares: "Justice is written on the face of the victors!"; in Chen's film, Ying retorts to his critics by pointing out that, when he suffered injustice, protecting gods and benevolence were nowhere to be found. This interpretation of Ying mixes suggestions of Freudian theory with the sort of Maoist interpretation the first emperor that characterized Chinese historical discourse during the Cultural Revolution.

As if to anticipate criticism of the accuracy of their films from historians, both Zhou and Chen strike out preemptively at the academic study of history. *Qin*

Song reminds its audience through Ying's mouth that it is victors who write history. In a parallel way, *The Emperor's Assassin* shows Ying eliminating everyone who knows about his past. It seems obvious that both film directors share the postmodern cynicism about the possibility of finding historical truth and authenticity.

But the two films also differ from each other in important ways. First, the overall color tone of Zhou's film is dominated by black, gray, and brown, effectively conveying the tough, uncouth, military spirit of the Qin state. Despite the director's provocative remark that his film is intended to annoy historians, he was almost fastidious in his efforts to recreate the authentic visual feel of the state that unified China, insisting on using real wood and linen for set, props, and costumes. In contrast, the pigment of Chen's film is much more brilliant and pompous, conveying Qin's glory and grandiosity. The different color tones represent more than just aesthetic variations; they suggest contrasting visions of Chinese history in the era leading up to unification.

Second, in terms of characterization, Zhou's Ying may be ruthless, cunning, and determined, but he is never comical. Indeed, there is even a slight sense of tragedy toward the end, when he loses his beloved daughter, fails to win Gao's cooperation, and is left alone, kneeling before the overbearing sacrificial urn, a symbol of state power. The exaggerated contrast between the tiny body of the first emperor and the huge urn suggests the insignificance of the individual, however great he is, in the long run of history. In contrast, Chen's film blends comic and even farcical elements into his historical drama, showing Ying as a neurotic, hysterical, and sometimes childlike individual who often conducted himself in a less than dignified and kingly manner.

Like most historical dramas, both *Emperor's Shadow* and *The Emperor's Assassin* have more to do with China's recent political history than with the country's distant past. Although Chen and Zhou have both rejected the view that their films are political allegories, at least in public statements, it is almost impossible for audiences not to see the explicit and implicit links between the past events and personalities on the screen and those of twentieth-century Chinese experience. Despite their public denials, both film directors have clearly made a deliberate effort to connect the first emperor and Mao Zedong. In one passage in Chen's film, Ying describes to his officials his vision of the future of China under one ruler, when people all over the country would enjoy peace and prosperity. As he speaks, the soundtrack carries an echo of a loudspeaker in the background, an unmistakable reference to the era of the Cultural Revolution, when utopian vision, thought control, and propaganda were commonplace. Similarly, Zhou's characterization of the first emperor as a man who disregards rigid rules and conventions also seems to be informed by the numerous biographical writings about Mao that have surfaced in the last two decades.

Historians have rarely found dramatic or cinematic representations of history satisfactory. But neither have they come up with a convincing and an effective defense against the postmodernists' charge that historians' own reconstruction of the past is no less biased, imaginative, and inaccurate. It is perhaps both "old-fashioned" and pointless to fault these two cinematic representations on the grounds of historical accuracy. After all, their true historical significance lies in the fact that they represent a new understanding of China's past, apparently one widely shared among this generation of Chinese. Besides, for practical purposes, one can always use these films as useful teaching tools in a class devoted to historical theories and methods, even if they are not suited for a course on ancient Chinese history.

ZHIWEI XIAO
California State University,
San Marcos

HANS STADEN. Produced by Luiz Alberto Pereira and Ivan Texeira; written and directed by Luiz Alberto Pereira. 1999; 92 minutes; color. Brazil. Distributor: Riofilme.

HOW TASTY WAS MY LITTLE FRENCHMAN (*Como era gostoso o meu francês*). Produced by Luis Carlos Barreto, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, and César Thedim; directed by Nelson Pereira dos Santos; written by Nelson Pereira dos Santos and Humberto Mauro. 1971 (video released 1995); 80 minutes; color. Brazil. Portuguese with Tupi dialogue. Distributed by New Yorker Films.

The Portuguese colonization of Brazil was slow and uneven. For much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Brazil remained a politically contested region. João de Cabral first landed off the coast in 1500, but a Portuguese policy of settlement did not develop until three decades later, and they only established a general royal government in 1549. In the southeast, the French created short-lived colonies between 1555–1560 and 1612–1615. In the northeast, the Dutch laid claim to Bahia from 1624–1627 and, further north, to the captaincy of Pernambuco from 1630–1654. Different Tupi-speaking indigenous groups scrambled to adjust to the new political reality, often waging wars against certain European invaders while forging alliances with others.

Unfortunately, much of what we know of the South American natives comes from published accounts of Europeans such as Jean de Lery (1600), Andrew Thevet (1568), Anthony Knivet (1591), and the German Hans Staden (1557), who described local customs and practices while documenting European interactions with various Tupi-speaking natives. Staden's account, *Warhaftige Historia und Beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der wilden, nacketen, grimmigen Menschfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* (1557), chronicles his life in captivity among the

Tupinamba, one of the Tupi-speaking indigenous groups who practiced exocannibalism, and inspired the films *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman* (1971; recently released on video) and *Hans Staden* (1999). Both films center on a European protagonist but also provide insights into the political economy of early colonial Brazil and on the customs of the Tupi people, particularly their practice of cannibalism. Yet both films follow contrasting formats, agendas, and aesthetic visions, giving students of history different ways of thinking about the past.

Hans Staden, which was filmed in Brazil and Portugal, has all of the pitfalls and the advantages of a film whose central role is didactic. Much care has been given to remain faithful to the historical documents, including recreating historical scenes, customs, and conversations as they would have occurred in the sixteenth century. The dialogue, for example, is mostly in Tupi, which Staden apparently spoke not only with the natives but also with other non-German-speaking Europeans. All the natives and Staden himself appear nude in the film, lending a sense of verisimilitude (despite the fact that the natives seem a little too European-looking, many obviously played by non-native actors painted with red dye).

The film relates Staden's story with very little drama or suspense. We learn about the life of the Tupinamba village through the eyes of the titular protagonist, but the events are relayed in such a way that the audience witnesses them from a distance. Viewers thus never really feel any empathy for either the captors or their captive.

The film can be divided into three sections: Hans Staden's life among the Portuguese, his capture and toils among the Tupinamba, and his eventual departure. In the first part, Staden, who served as a gunnery instructor at the Forte de Bertioga in the captaincy of São Vicente, prepares to return to Europe. After realizing that the loyal slave who worked with him at the fort had not returned from a fishing trip, he sets out to look for him. In his search, Staden comes to a cross at the edge of the river, a symbol that the Portuguese used to call their allies, the Tupiniquin. Firing his rifle to summon them, he is caught off guard when their rivals, the Tupinamba, appear and make him their captive. He is taken to their village, where they plan to devour him.

Part two chronicles Staden's life among the Tupinamba from his initial resistance and rage to his slow assimilation into the tribe. He shaves and dresses like them, develops relationships, and eventually participates in group activities such as fighting and hunting, although apparently not in the cannibalism. The final section focuses on how Staden avoids being eaten and how he leaves the village, culminating in his eventual escape. Staden's desire to escape is a constant theme throughout the film, as he modifies his strategies from first pretending to be a Frenchman to later posing as a medicine man and fortuneteller with special powers.

The film presents cannibalism as central to the daily

life of the Tupinamba. This was Staden's preoccupation. Despite the many jokes about eating, director Luis Alberto Pereira underscores the ritual nature of cannibalism. One scene recreates a particular ritual that culminates in a "meal" while documenting Staden's apparent disgust and fear.

The film, however, like the memoir, remains silent on many issues and does not use the freedoms of the cinematic genre either to give us insights into Staden's turmoil or to make the story more compelling. To what extent did Staden assimilate? Did Staden partake voluntarily, or was he forced to participate in the tribe's activities? Did he participate in the cannibal rituals? In telling this story, Pereira remains, for the most part, faithful to Staden's text. Yet, because of this, the film begs for the excitement or the passion that a decisive interpretation would engender. What does the director want to say about Brazil? About captivity? Or even about Staden and history? These questions are not explored.

Nelson Perreira dos Santos's *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman*, on the other hand, is saturated with symbolism and political statements at every turn. In the early 1970s, when Pereira dos Santos crafted this film, he was as concerned with the present as he was with history. For dos Santos, working under the military dictatorship of the period, cinema represented an instrument of struggle in the attempt to transform Brazilian consciousness.

Like *Hans Staden*, *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman* chronicles the capture and assimilation of the protagonist, but it ends in his final consumption rather than his escape. While loosely basing his story on the life of the historical figure Hans Staden, dos Santos invents as his central character a French explorer (of the sort Staden pretended to be in his early encounters with the Tupinamba). Because he cannot prove that he is French, he is eventually devoured by the tribe.

Dos Santos adds plausible historical scenarios to this fictional tale to comment on war, violence, and the meaning of group fidelity. The Frenchman receives from his Tupinamba captors a wife, Sebiopepe, with whom he forms a special bond, and he eventually participates in many of the tribe's activities. As in the film *Hans Staden*, he shaves his head and sheds his clothes, eventually integrating himself into the tribe, although the desire for escape again remains a constant. The film comments on the changing relations between Europeans and natives, from the natives' fascination with small tools and trinkets to their desire for gunpowder. The Frenchman becomes important in securing the latter, which allows him eventually to gain respect from Cunhambebe, the leader of the tribe.

Although the Frenchman's desire to escape never fades, when he finally has the opportunity, he loses it by returning to take Sebiopepe with him. It is ironic that she is the person who explains to him how he will be killed and eaten by the tribe. Indeed, the film ends with this ritual, followed by an ambiguous dream-like shot of Sebiopepe devouring her husband's flesh.

As a member of the politically committed *cinema novo* movement, dos Santos utilizes a number of techniques to inform and question the viewer. In addition to employing a documentary-like quality, he interjects narrated voice-overs and quotes from various sixteenth-century texts, including Staden's, underscoring the death and destruction caused by war and inhumane practices. Yet at the center of the film is a native group that practices cannibalism, creating, at the very least, ambiguity. This is not an anthropologic study of Tupi, but Dos Santos contextualizes the cannibalism while exploring the savagery of rival European groups who were competing for souls and riches of Brazil in the sixteenth century.

The director is also interested in perception and how truth about history is revealed. In the very first scene, the narrator promises the "latest news from Terra Firme" (South America). Thus, from the film's opening scene, the director dialogues with the audiences of the 1970s. Moreover, as this scene progresses, the viewer quickly realizes the contradiction between what is said in the official letter being read and the images that supposedly document what is actually is transpiring.

Viewers of this film also experience the events with a certain aloofness, and there is a distinct farce-like quality (as evident in the title). As in *Hans Staden*, this prevents viewers from developing empathy for any of the characters. Many of the actors representing natives are also painted. Despite these complexities, we understand the film's broader message. *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman* constitutes a provocative, however symbolic, recreation of sixteenth-century Brazil, but it is also a powerful document of the *cinema novo* at a time when Brazilian authorities routinely censored films.

Both *Hans Staden* and *How Tasty Was My Little Frenchman* provide rich visual reconstructions of colonial Brazilian history and comment on the multilayered meaning of native practices of cannibalism. The former remains more faithful to the historical texts creating a linear, traditional account. The latter distorts history while challenging viewers to broader discussions.

DARIÉN J. DAVIS
Middlebury College

THE TRENCH. Produced by Steven Clark Hall; written and directed by William Boyd. 1999; 98 minutes; color. Great Britain. Distributed by Somme Productions.

In 1916, a British filmmaker named Geoffrey Mallins made and released a one-hour film of life in the British trenches entitled *The Battle of the Somme*. It captured the imagination of the British public at the time with a host of memorable images, the most enduringly famous of which—the back view of a line of British soldiers advancing through barbed wire and into mist—Mallins famously staged behind the lines.

Of all the filmic interpretations of World War I, it is

Mallins's film which is most closely referenced in William Boyd's account of life in a British trench in the days leading up to that battle. A filmmaker identified as "Geoffrey" actually appears at one point to record the appearance of a colonel in the trench to illustrate the caption: "Senior Officer addresses the men on the eve of battle. Morale is high." More than this, Boyd's black-and-white opening shot of a single soldier advancing into close-up through mist seems like an alternate angle of Mallins's famous Somme shot, as if to say that his film will show the faces and the individuality of the men who are anonymous in earlier film. The intention of "fleshing out" archival images is reinforced by a credit sequence made up of photographs of the daily life in the trenches. The last of these dissolves into live action and color. The final advance in *The Trench* is also consistent with the Mallins's depiction of the event, although we are now privy to both the piercing green of the grass and the whistle of bullets as the line of troops moves forward.

Although making his directoral debut, novelist and screenwriter Boyd is no stranger to the representation of the Great War. His novel *An Ice Cream War* (1982) dramatized that conflict in Africa. Here, Boyd recreates the last days in the life of platoon of British fusiliers as they await slaughter on the first day of the Somme offensive (July 1, 1916). The film is made more poignant by the fact that the sergeant (Daniel Craig) and lieutenant (Julian Rhind-Tutt) have a fair idea of the fate that awaits them. The narrative follows an eighteen-year-old recruit, Billy McFarlane (Paul Nicholls) and freezes at the moment of death. Other characters include a braggart corporal and a tragically devoted batman, the latter of whom insists on following the lieutenant into action so that he can make him a "nice cup of tea" behind the German lines.

Boyd is unflinchingly realistic in imagining the conversation of these soldiers. They neither debate the causes of the war nor the merits or flaws of their superiors; rather, they pass around pornography, discuss the possibility of "love at first sight," and use the word "fuck" a lot. There is a matter-of-fact discussion of a comrade destroyed so thoroughly by a shell that his remains could fit in a sock. Some try to seem tougher than they really are, others to conceal their evident virginity. The banality of this dialogue is strangely moving. These are not war poets—just ordinary conscripts—but their humanity is as real as that expressed in one of Wilfred Owen's sonnets.

Boyd is emphatic that there is no poetry here. As if to define himself against the poet's war, his wan lieutenant opens a slim volume of Tennyson, but then tosses it aside in favor of a hip flask. There is no sweeping heroism here either; one character quotes ironically from Shakespeare's *Henry V*. In this war, the men require first whisky and then a pistol point to encourage them into combat. One abuses a German prisoner; another clearly has sexual designs on young Billy. Boyd builds a picture of a war that is ninety-five

percent boredom punctuated by surreal moments of gut-wrenching violence.

Boyd is ably assisted by the cinematography of Tony Pierce-Roberts. Best known for his sumptuous work on *A Room with a View* (1986), *Howards End* (1992), and *Remains of the Day* (1993), Pierce-Roberts here builds a sense of claustrophobia in the trench to match the interior scenes in Wolfgang Petersen's *Das Boot* (1981). An atmospheric score, composed by the virtuoso percussionist Evelyn Glennie and Greg Malcangi, heightens the air of tension. It is evidence for the significance of the Somme in the British imagination that so talented a team should be drawn to this project and that the concept could muster enough money from the Arts Council of England and the National Lottery to be made.

But, by its nature, there could be nothing in *The Trench* to please the crowd. The modest budget could never stretch to a *Saving Private Ryan*-style recreation of the first day of the Somme. Boyd's characters are not tragic geniuses, like the poets at the heart of *Regeneration* (1998) or the Oscar-nominated Welsh-language drama *Hedd Wyn* (1992). There is no royal connection to sell the story, as with the BBC's *All the King's Men* (1998), a moving account of Queen Alexandra's obsession with the apparent vaporization of a platoon of her gardeners at Gallipoli in 1915.

Above all, there is none of the rousing war (and antiwar) film camaraderie that has made generations of young males secretly long to share the mystic bonds of brothers in arms. Boyd's stark evocation of the life and death of an enlisted man on the Western Front is simply too honest to please. But there is something profound here nonetheless, in details like the handshakes exchanged before the advance, or the tear streaks visible on Billy's face as he grits his teeth and strides as though braced against a wind toward the final shot.

NICHOLAS J. CULL
University of Leicester

MALENA. Produced by Harvey Weinstein and Carlo Bernasconi; written and directed by Giuseppe Tornatore. 2000; 92 minutes; color. US/Italian coproduction, in Italian. Distributed by Miramax.

Best known for his nostalgic look at the influence of movies on the small Sicilian town of his childhood in the Academy Award-winning *Cinema Paradiso* (1990), Giuseppe Tornatore returns to the territory of a coastal town in Sicily in *Malena* for a darker reflection on the past, set during World War II. The story concerns Magdalena (Malena) Scordia, a woman whose husband is away fighting in the Italian Army on the African front. When mistaken news arrives of her husband's death, Malena suffers the fate of being a war widow who becomes the not-so-obscure object of desire of the town's entire male population. Specifically, she is the archetypal "sinner" (Mary Magdalen; "male" = evil in Italian) and the adolescent fantasy of

the young protagonist, Renato Amoroso. In scenes reminiscent of Federico Fellini, Renato and his friends follow Malena around the town on their bicycles, desperate to catch a glimpse of her voluptuous body.

Having no father, husband, or son—in short, no male defender in a fiercely patriarchal world—Malena is soon at the mercy of the townspeople: the men are lecherous, and the women vicious with their whispered malicious lies. The subject of the film is not just an adolescent boy's unrequited love and unbridled lust but rather, and more broadly, the minor foibles and major defects of the provincial petite bourgeoisie. Envy, jealousy, and hypocrisy are the coins of the realm here. The film fails to generate much empathy for Malena herself; she is left virtually speechless. But perhaps that is Tornatore's point: do we read the film as escapist fare and soft-core pornography, as the camera lingers over Malena's lingerie and as we peep into her private realm via Renato, or is it a subtle critique of provincial bourgeois mores?

Reminiscent of the great neo-realist films of the 1940s and 1950s, Tornatore picked the unknown fifteen-year old Giuseppe Sulfaro to play Renato; Malena is portrayed by Monica Bellucci, formerly a law student at the University of Perugia before she embarked on a modeling career. Here her beauty is a force of nature that disrupts the tranquility of the small town. Those who do not speak Italian will appreciate the fact that Tornatore does not consider the subtitling of his films of minor technical problem. Since it appears that Miramax had high hopes for an Oscar for *Malena*, the task of subtitling was given to writer/director Anthony Minghella (*The English Patient*) and Joseph Tropiano (*Big Night*).

In truth, this is not Tornatore's darkly nostalgic vision of the past (Tornatore himself was born in 1956) but that of writer Luciano Vincenzoni, best known for his screenplays for many of the "spaghetti Westerns" of the 1960s and 1970s. Shot on location in Siracusa, Poggioreale, and Noto, the film is a loving portrayal of a place and time (a time that Tornatore can only know second-hand). The sweeping musical score by Ennio Moricone is matched by stunning visuals. The town, seaside, and countryside are beautifully filmed by the Hungarian cinematographer Lajos Koltai. Costume designer Maurizio Millenotti, set designer Francesco Frigeri, and set decorator Bruno Cesari artfully recreate both the look and feel of Italy in the 1940s.

In *Malena*, as in *Cinema Paradiso*, Tornatore pays homage to the American, Italian, and European films that influenced him as a child and as a director. Yet the new film never achieves the charm of *Cinema Paradiso* or the pathos of Tornatore's unjustly neglected *Legend of 1900* (1999). Malena is completely dominated by the male gaze of the town; whenever she must cross the town's piazza she does so with a sure gait, but with eyes modestly lowered to the ground. The men are portrayed as openly wolfish and the women as overtly catty. Real townspeople would be more circumspect in their gazing and gossip. More believable are Renato's two great crises (besides Malena): his epic struggle to

get his shorts replaced by proper men's trousers and the traditional first-time visit to the local brothel, accompanied by his father.

The easy-going nature of the film is broken by its violent climax. Left to fend for herself, Malena must grant her favors to the lawyer who successfully defends her in court and the men who provide her with food and sustenance. During the German occupation of the town, she cohabits with the invading soldiers. On the jubilant day that the Allies arrive, the women of the town take their revenge: they drag Malena from the luxury hotel that served the Germans as a headquarters and proceed to humiliate her in the town's piazza. Renato and the men of the village are the mute eyewitnesses of this devastating event, a harrowing and painful moment in the film. But what could have been a poignant political message is diluted: the women are not taking revenge for the treasonous act of sleeping with the Germans but for Malena's tempting and seducing the men of the town. What neither the men nor the women recognize is that they themselves—their envy and their lust—have created “Malena.”

Although the climax rings true, the conclusion does not. After her public humiliation in the town's piazza, Malena takes the next train out of town; at the end of the war, her husband returns, less one arm but alive. One year later, in a suspiciously happy and prosperous postwar town piazza, Malena and her husband return to the mute astonishment of the local population. The eventual acceptance of the “fallen woman” by the town's women—the same women who ravaged her in the piazza a year before—rings false.

The film's perspective on history is also suspect. Fascism here has been defanged and—except for one bombing scene and a glimpse of refugees—the miseries of wartime and occupation are glossed over. *Malena* fails as a faithful historical reconstruction, but this surely was not Tornatore's intention. *Malena* is successful as a coming-of-age film that seduces the viewer, but it whitewashes the darker aspects of life in a provincial town under fascism.

STANISLAO G. PUGLIESE
Hofstra University

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

LORRAINE DASTON, editor. *Biographies of Scientific Objects*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 307. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.00.

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MARCIA LANDY, editor. *The Historical Film: History and Memory in Media*. (Rutgers Depth of Field Series.) Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 350. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.

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RICHARD HANDLER, editor. *Excluded Ancestors, Inventible Traditions: Essays toward a More Inclusive History of Anthropology*. (History of Anthropology, number 9.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 315. \$29.95.

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to congratulate you on the geographic and intellectual range of the articles in your October 2000 issue. Andrew J. Rotter's "Saidism without Said" is an outstanding summary, with fine bibliographical notes, of the pros and cons of Edward Said's arguments and of the influence of some of these ideas outside his own field—probably partial parallelism more than influence in many cases. The article told me, as someone interested in Said's main area of interest, things I did not know, and should be of interest to people in many specialties.

Also of great interest is Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet's "Hallmarks of Humanism: Hygiene and Love of Homeland in Qajar Iran," from which I learned many things, most of which are applicable to countries besides Iran. I will concentrate here on points I think should be clarified or modified in the author's continuing work on this topic.

One involves the expansive and undefined use of "humanism" in this article. The author never clearly defines "humanism," which is, like many such terms, a term that means different things to different people. There is an implicit assumption, in talking of Qajar official concern to deal with disease and epidemics, that this was closely tied to humanism, while it could have had other, more obvious, motives: a desire not to have disease cause population decline or social disruption, a desire to expand the weak role of government, and danger even to the official classes and their associates.

This is related to the author's tendency to ascribe to "Qajar" elements and also "the Qajar dynasty" motives that were mostly the province of reformist or revolutionary figures strongly critical of the Qajars, and secondarily of another minority of far-sighted men in the government. A very few governmental men worked to institute the rule of law, but other such men, who were also often called reformers, were primarily concerned with strengthening the government and making the country run more efficiently without special concern for the humanity or rights of Iran's subjects. On the first page, there is a reference to "the Qajar dynasty's embrace of humanism and patriotic thinking," surely an exaggeration even for the dynasty's last three monarchs. The text cited above this reference comes from a reformist newspaper that, like other such newspapers, could only publish because of a constitutional revolution that forced the dynasty to grant a constitution and considerable press freedom in 1906–1907. This crucial event is not introduced until late in the article, and the article often does not distinguish between writings produced by reformists and revolutionaries and official writings.

Throughout the article, "Qajar" is used as an adjective when discussing these reformers, referred to, for instance, on page 1172 as "Qajar thinkers," while on the next page we hear of "the Qajar interest in studying the individual," and are told that "Qajar statesmen . . . advocated the pursuit of humanistic learning and culture," including "a scientific literacy aimed at a richer understanding of the physical environment." While this is true of some statesmen, there are many of whom it is not true. If the author intends to have "Qajar" refer only to a period, this should have been made clear from the first, as it is not self-evident. Even with this clarification, it could be misleading: we do not speak of "Bourbon thinkers" or "Hapsburg thinkers" when writing of European reformers and revolutionaries. Some distinction should be made also between those who thought major changes in the state were needed, including the rule of (new types of) law and sometimes a parliamentary system, whom I would call reformers, and those who thought that the benefits of medical and public health techniques could, without major political and social changes, be imported from the West.

This said, the article is a pioneering work on the topic of public health in modern Iranian history that introduces a large number of important facts and thought-provoking arguments. It is a significant addition to the author's already important publications on nationalism and territory, and like them provides much food for thought for both specialists and nonspecialists.

NIKKI KEDDIE
University of California,
Los Angeles

way, "her" students. I am therefore deeply honored and humbled that Nikki Keddie has shown an interest in my work. I am also pleased that my article has generated debate, and I look forward to expounding on these ideas in other forums.

FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET
University of Pennsylvania

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET REPLIES:

I would like to thank Nikki Keddie for reading my article and for taking the time to comment on it. A pioneer in the field of Iranian and Middle Eastern history, Keddie has raised interesting questions about the use of the word "Qajar"—a term that refers to the dynasty in power in Iran from the late eighteenth century until the early twentieth century and that is commonly applied to discuss the history of that period. Indeed, in her now classic work, *Roots of Revolution: An Interpretive History of Modern Iran* (1981), Keddie herself uses the word "Qajar" in various contexts, referring to the "Qajars' interest in these treaties," "Naser ad-Din Shah and the Qajars," "reforming Qajar leaders," who were not necessarily members of the ruling dynasty, while also talking about the "Qajar period" and "Qajar times." This convention thus is not my innovation but one widely used by other scholars, including Keddie herself. Yet her observations provide us with an opportunity to rethink the many applications of the word "Qajar."

Two other points merit a brief response. First, I would simply like to note that I provide a definition and explanation of the terms *insaniyat* and *adamiyat*, connoting humanism, on page 1175 of my article. Second, I have attempted to be mindful of the likelihood that hygiene was pursued because "of its practical significance." As I argued, the "frequent outbreak of disease, which posed an ostensible threat to human life [italics added], spurred discussion of and innovation in modes of public sanitation." Other relevant passages supporting this notion can be found on pages 1183–84 and 1189, where I specifically mention "population decline" and state that medicine "gained prominence . . . because of its ability to offer treatments for prolonging and improving the quality of human life." However, while I stress the practical social need to pursue hygiene, I also contend that "humanism undergirded discussions of medicine and disease management."

These minor cavils aside, I would once again like to express my gratitude to Nikki Keddie for offering her critique. Those of us in the field of Iranian and Middle Eastern history are greatly indebted to Keddie's prodigious and ground-breaking scholarship, and in this sense it is no exaggeration to say that we are all, in a

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of Carl Benn's book *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (*AHR* 105 [April 2000]: 542–43), Cornelius J. Jaenen writes that the British failed to insist on a Iroquois homeland "because they became preoccupied with the threat posed in Europe by Napoleon Bonaparte." During the negotiations in Ghent from August 8 to December 24, 1814, Napoleon was in exile at Elba and no threat. On the other hand, the British were worried by controversies in Vienna during the Congress there, especially friction with Russia.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER
University of Maryland,
European Division

CORNELIUS J. JAENEN REPLIES:

Even if Napoleon were on Elba at the time, unease remained at the peace conference, and I believe Benn is correct when he writes (p. 176): "it was important to end the North American war and get the troops back to Europe, even if it meant giving up on demands for a better [American] border and an aboriginal homeland." The author was more precise than I was: "the government installed in Paris by the allies stood ready to collapse the moment Napoleon returned from exile."

I think that brings more precision to the matter raised in Bernard Sinsheimer's observation.

CORNELIUS J. JAENEN
University of Ottawa

TO THE EDITOR:

I write in response to Gilbert A. Williams's "review" of my book, *Fire in His Heart: Bishop Benjamin Tucker Tanner and the A.M.E. Church*, published in the October 2000 issue [1314]. Should not a responsible reviewer provide readers with an overview of the book's contents? Williams offers very little description of the entire book, choosing instead to pick on a few points that he disagrees with. Readers who would like a more balanced review should look at the reviews published in the *Journal of American History*, *Church History*, *Methodist History*, the *Journal of Southern History*, and other journals. I do not understand how Williams can

accuse me of resorting to a "Zip Coon stereotype" when Tanner called on African Americans to eschew fancy dress and lavish spending in order that they might acquire homes, land, and businesses. That was a common theme emanating from the editorial pages of the nineteenth-century black press. Williams writes that I used this "stereotype" to distinguish between Tanner and Henry M. Turner. Turner is not even mentioned on the page that he has quoted from (82). Clearly, the two men had differences on a host of subjects. So what? Is Williams angry at me for describing Turner's "bluster and threats," which his contemporaries complained about for years? As for Tanner's use of the word "Negro," it was a term he normally applied to Africans in biblical history or to contemporary Africans but not to African Americans, the majority of whom were racially mixed. Williams argued that Tanner could not be a "pioneer figure in black intellectual history" because he "did not write an autobiography and most of his writings are on religious themes." Is Williams suggesting that a biblical scholar cannot be an intellectual? I have never met Williams, yet he chose to characterize me in an unflattering way by concluding, "Finally, Seraile's inadequate and biased selection of secondary sources renders this work almost useless as a historical document. It is clear that Seraile not only shares the accommodationist and gradualist philosophy of Washington but has used Tanner as the vehicle through which to express it." First, Williams did not cite any "inadequate and biased" secondary sources, because he knows that I researched the standard works on African Methodism and nineteenth-century African-American history. Second, my involvement in the anti-apartheid movement in New York City, my activism on behalf of affirmative action on the college level, my efforts to add African-American studies to the public schools curriculum, and my running for Congress as an independent clearly indicate that I am not an accommodationist nor a gradualist. Would Williams call an attorney a murderer or rapist because his client was charged with those crimes? Gilbert Williams owes me an apology for his intemperate remarks.

WILLIAM SERAILE
Herbert H. Lehman College

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS REPLIES:

I write in response to William Seraile's criticism of my review of his book, *Fire in His Heart*. As to Seraile's first point concerning an overview of the book's contents, I should point out that the *American Historical Review's* guidelines required 700 words. That is not enough space to provide a detailed overview of the book's contents. Instead of attempting to provide an overview, I focused on the book's organizing metaphor, which characterizes Tanner as a "stoic, intellectual scholar" and those who disagreed with his approach and views as "emotional, loud and

threatening." Seraile extended this metaphor in an effort to discredit others that may not share his ideology or approach to addressing American society's ills. For example, Seraile referred to W. E. B. Du Bois's work as a "manifesto" and used similar descriptions for the activities of Ida B. Wells and William Monroe Trotter.

Perhaps the most egregious use of this metaphor occurs on page 82, where Seraile chose to refer to African Americans as "dressing like peacocks." There is absolutely no documentation that supports the author's use of this stereotype. Once again, Seraile has used this organizing metaphor to demonstrate how Tanner differed from most other African Americans.

Moreover, I didn't argue that Tanner was not an intellectual because he wrote only on religious topics. Clearly, he was a scholar, but my point was that he could not be sufficiently compared to other black intellectuals, such as Du Bois, whose writings provide an explanation of their ideological and intellectual understandings of the significant issues of their day. I am aware of, for instance, Daniel A. Payne and others, such as C. Eric Lincoln, whose works focus on religious issues and themes. They are intellectuals.

Additionally, it seems that Seraile chose to selectively omit several important works that may have suggested that he modify his ideological orientation. V. P. Franklin's *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of the Fathers* and Nell Irvin Painter's *The Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* would have informed Seraile's views on black self-determination and helped provide some balance to his understandings of Tanner's motives and opposition to the back-to-Africa movement, for example. Edwin S. Redkey's *Respect Black: The Writings and Speeches of Henry McNeal Turner* is an excellent source of material on Bishop Turner and challenges the well-worn notion that he was only full of "bluster and threats." James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* would have provided Seraile with greater insight into Du Bois's opposition to Booker T. Washington's and Tanner's ideas about education, which are somewhat muddled. My own book *The Christian Recorder, Newspaper of the African Methodist Episcopal Church: History of a Forum for Ideas, 1854-1902*, covers some of the same ground as Seraile's book but offers a different ideological orientation. None of these works are referenced in the Seraile text or listed in the bibliography.

Finally, I am unaware of Seraile's work with the anti-apartheid movement, efforts to promote affirmative action in public schools, and other civil rights activities. He is to be commended for his work. This review was not about that aspect of Seraile's life. My role was to review what he has written. If my words hurt, I am sorry. But his words hurt, as well, especially the characterizations of Du Bois, Wells, Trotter, and Turner, which tended to discredit their ideas and work.

He should apologize to the memory of these activists/
intellectuals. I will not apologize for my review.

GILBERT A. WILLIAMS
Michigan State University

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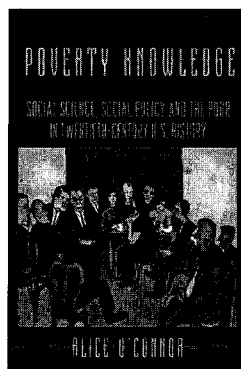
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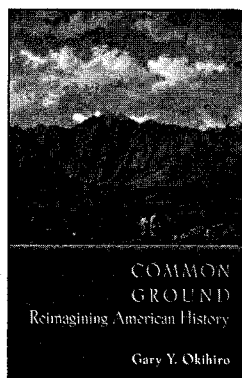
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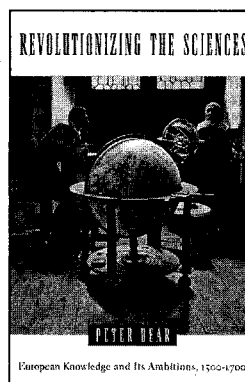
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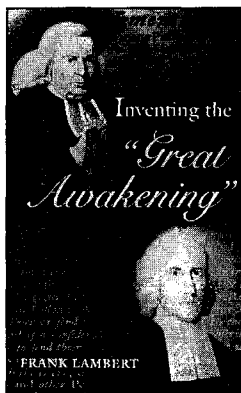
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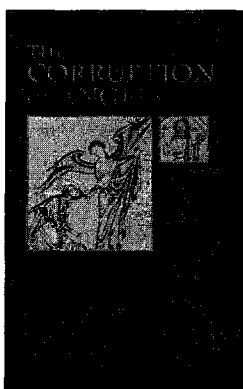
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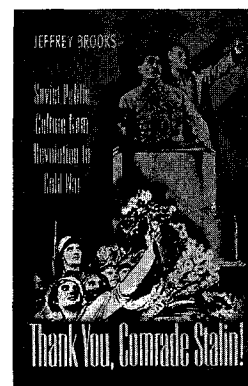
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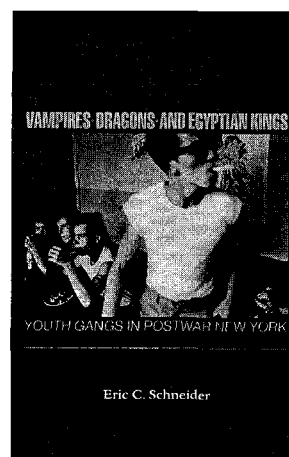
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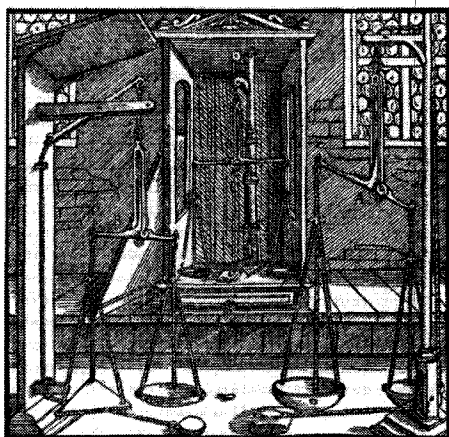
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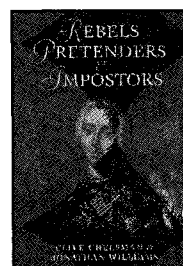
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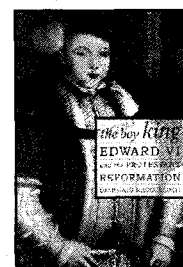
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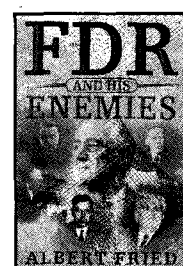
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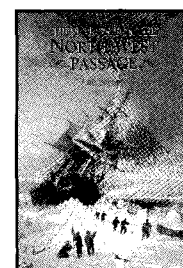
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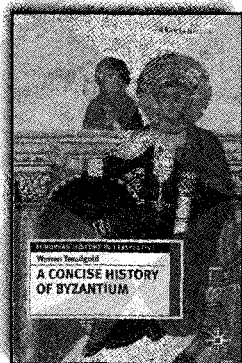
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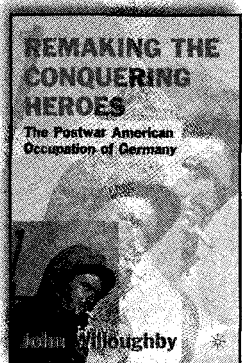
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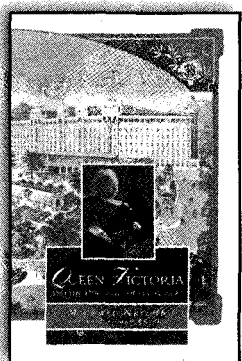
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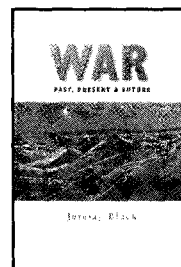
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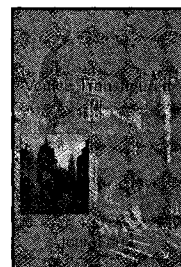
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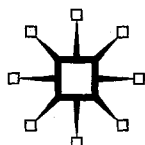
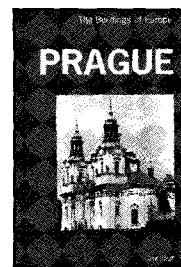
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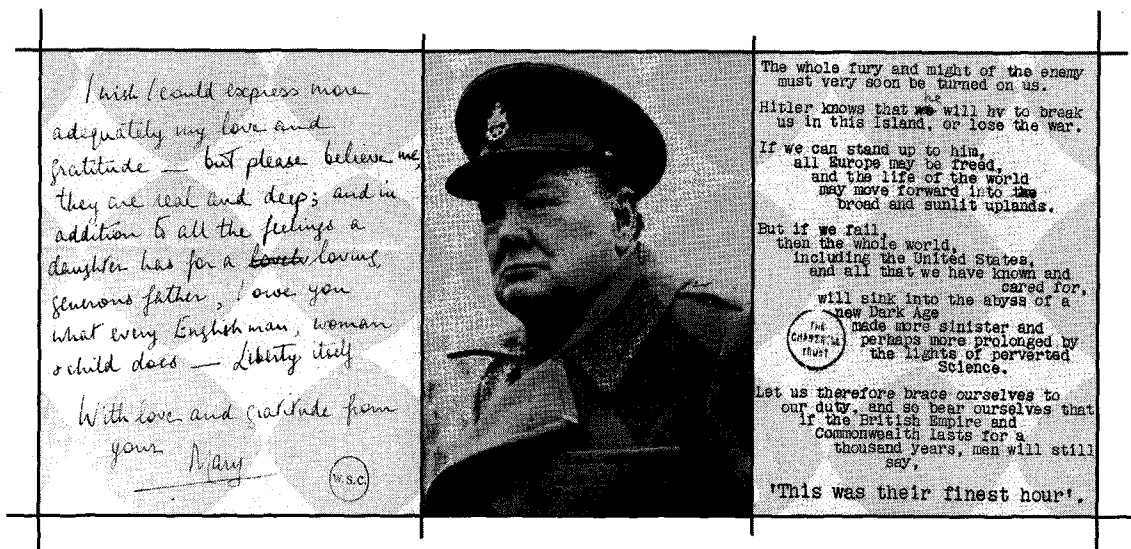
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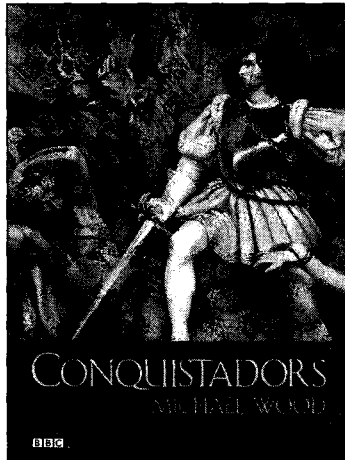
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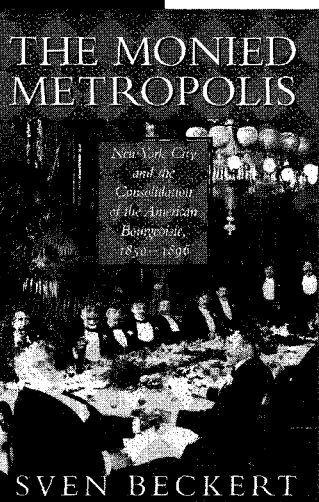
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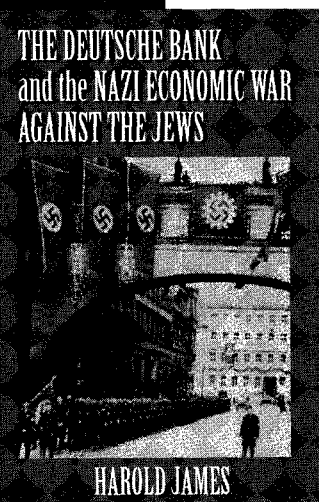
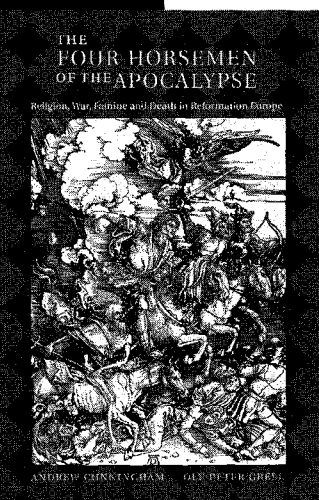
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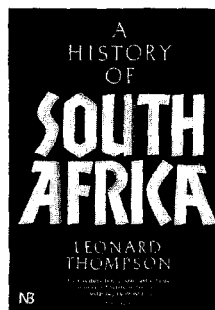
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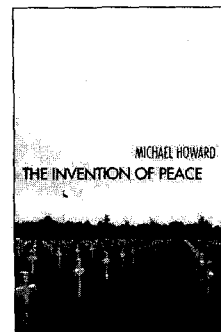
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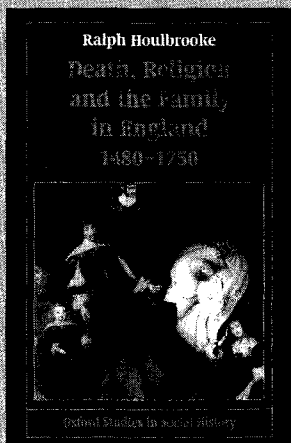


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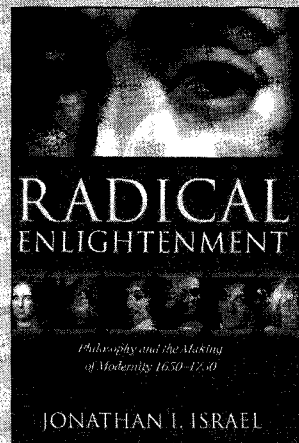
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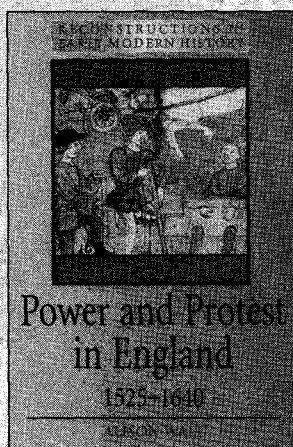
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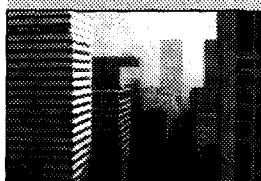
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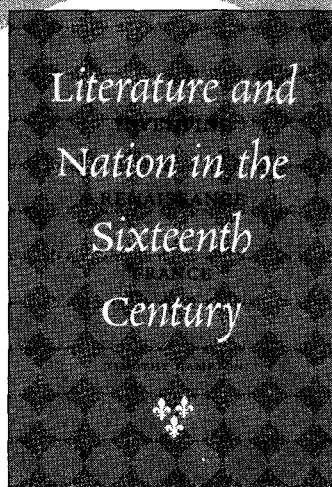
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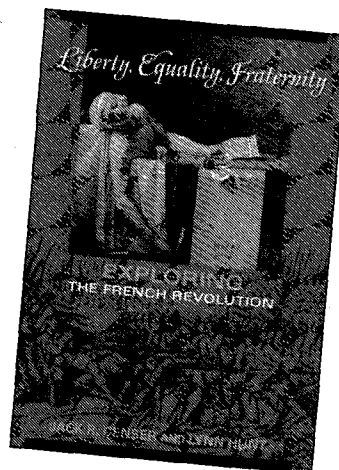
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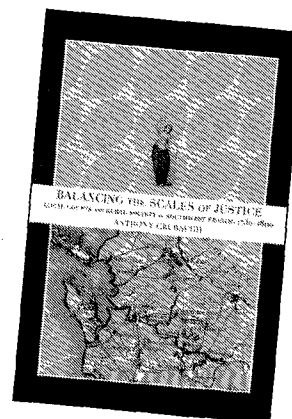
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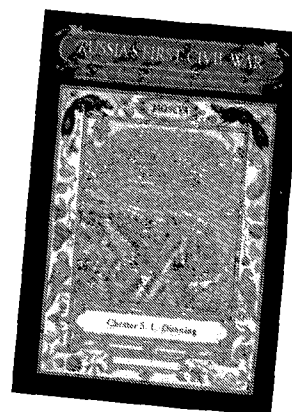
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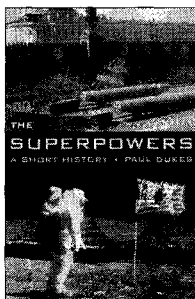
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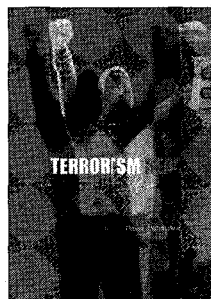
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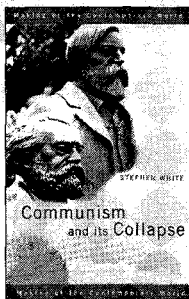


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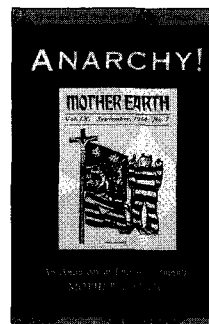
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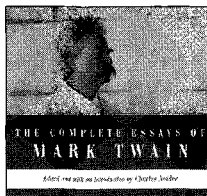
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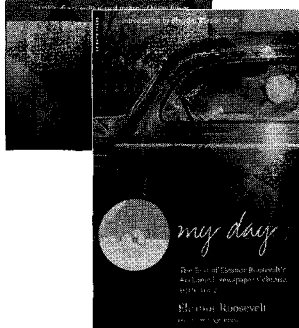
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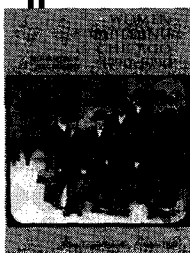
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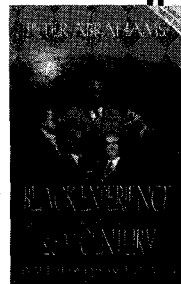
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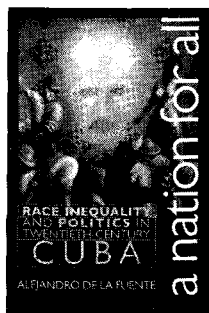
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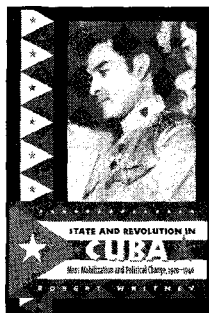
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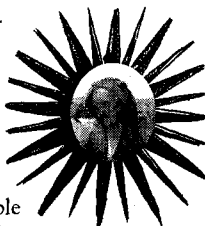
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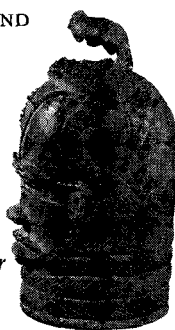
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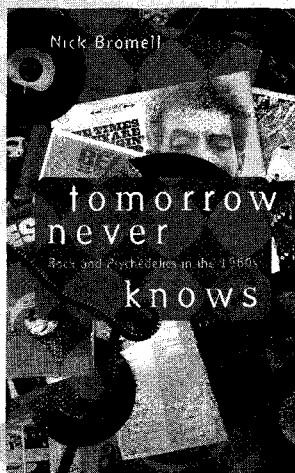
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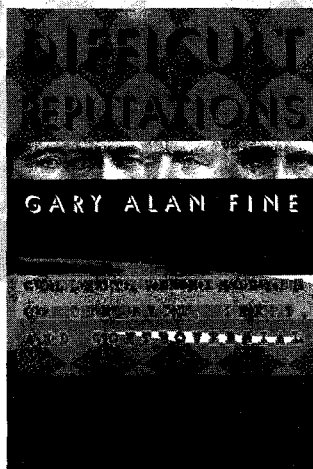
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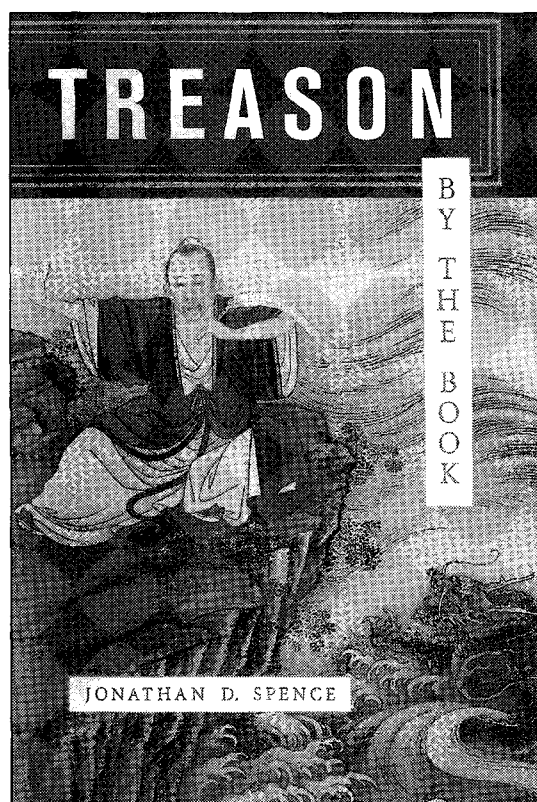
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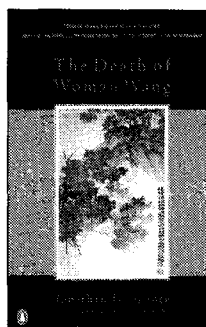
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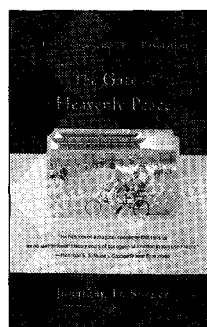
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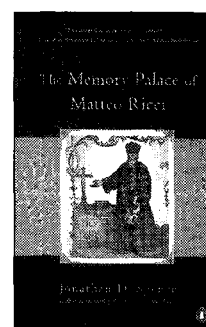
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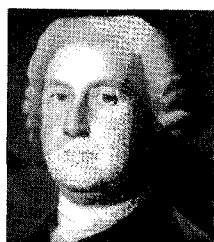
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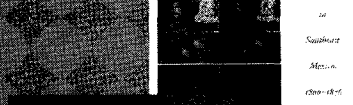
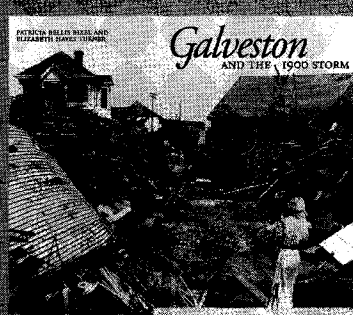
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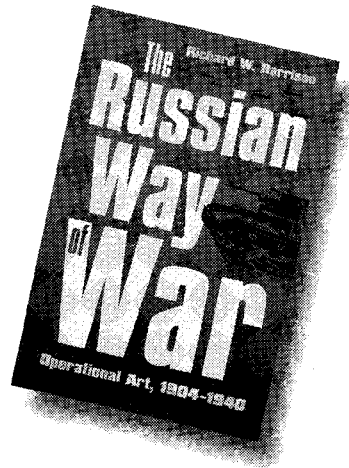
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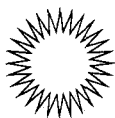
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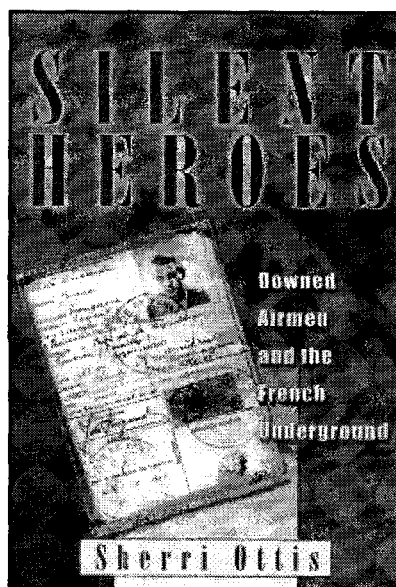
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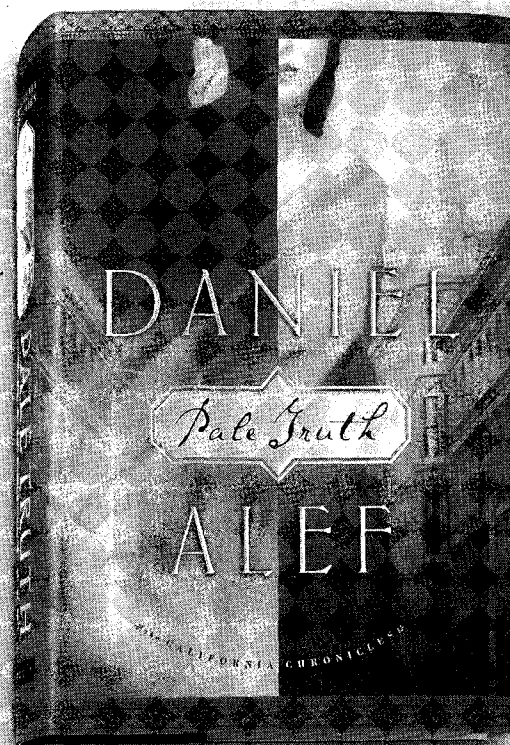
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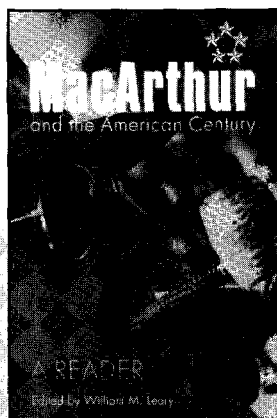
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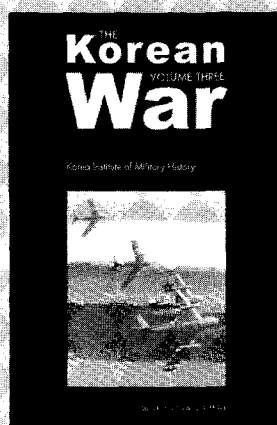
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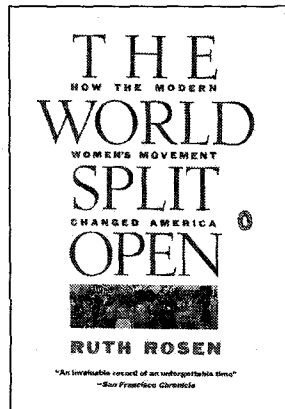
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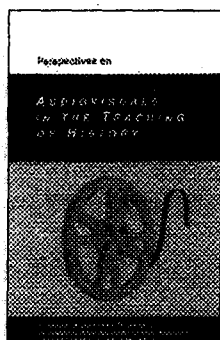
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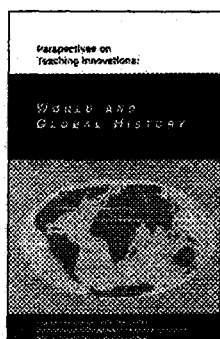
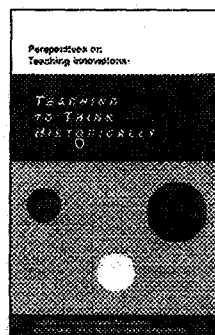


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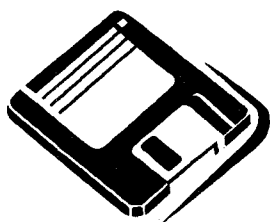
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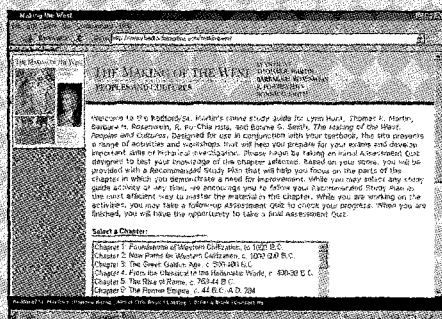
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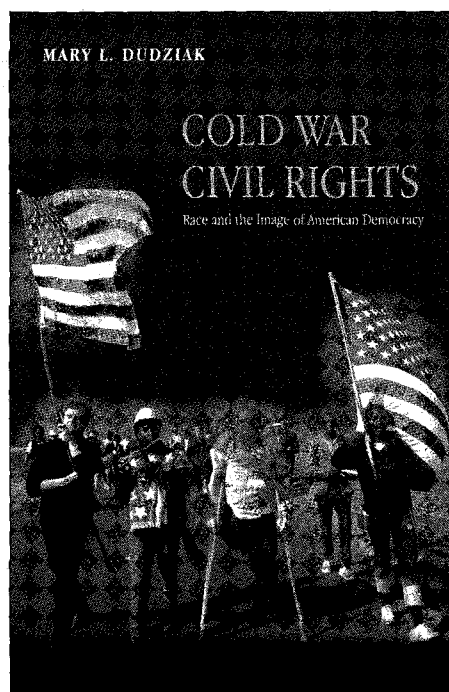
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